The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Table of Contents

VOLUME LXXII, NUMBER 4 JULY 1967

Articles

EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, by Nels Bailkey . 1211
THE "NEW LEFT" AND AMERICAN HISTORY: SOME RECENT TRENDS IN UNITED STATES HISTORIOGRAPHY, by Irwin Unger 1237
THE JACOBEAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, by Maurice Lee, Jr. 1264
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GARDEN: IDEAL AND SOCIETY IN AUSTRIAN LITERATURE by Carl E. Schorske 1283
PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS: WILLIAM McKINLEY AND THE TURPIE-FORAKER AMENDMENT, by Paul S. Holbo 1321

Reviews of Books

General

WOOD, *Report on Project History Retrieval,* by J. H. Silbey 1336
KURASOV *et al.,* eds., *Vsemirnaia Istoriia,* by J. M. Thompson 1337
MOORE, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy,* by C. E. Black 1338
HINSLEY, *Sovereignty,* by W. H. Dunham, Jr. 1338
KATZ, *The Things That Are Caesar's,* by R. F. Nichols 1339
WRIGHT, ed., *Shakespeare Celebrated,* by W L. Woodfill 1340
GILLE, *Engineers of the Renaissance,* by A. G. Debus 1341
PERKINS, *Voltaire's Concept of International Order,* by G. Bruun 1342
CRAIG, *War, Politics, and Diplomacy,* by G. E. Rothenberg 1343
CLARKE, *Voices Prophesying War,* by R. Higham 1344
ANDERSON, *The Eastern Question,* by L. S. Stavrianos 1345
SHARLIN, *The Convergent Century,* by T. P. Hughes 1346
TATON, ed., *Science in the Twentieth Century,* by H. I. Sharlin 1347
ROSOVSKY, ed., *Industrialization in Two Systems,* by J. B. Cohen . . . 1347
ROLFE, *Gold and World Power,* by J. P. Nichols 1349
HTIN AUNG, *The Stricken Peacock,* by R. Butwell 1350
KUMAR, *India and the Persian Gulf Region,* by J. C. Hurewitz 1351
CLENDENEN *et al., Americans in Africa,* by A. R. Booth 1352
KOELTZ, *La guerre de 1914–1918,* by M. Blumenson 1352
MESKILL, *Hitler & Japan,* by P. W. Schroeder 1353

Ancient

MOMIGLIANO, *Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e dal mondo antico,* by M. Hammond . . 1354
VAN SETERS, *The Hyksos,* by A. R. Schulman 1355
BLEGEN and RAWSON, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia,* I, Pts. 1 and 2, by J. W. Graham 1356
WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique,* I, by T. S. Brown 1357
BARR, *The Mask of Jove,* by L. L. Howe 1358
KENT, *Corinth,* VIII, Pt. 3, by S. Dow 1359
MEIER, *Res Publica Amissa,* by H. C. Boren 1360
COLEMAN-NORTON, *Roman State & Christian Church,* by F. S. Lear 1361
WHITE, ed., *The Transformation of the Roman World,* by C. G. Starr . . 1362

Medieval

TOUMANOFF, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History,* by S. Vryonis, Jr. 1363
CHUBATY, *Istoriya Khrystyanstva na Rusy-Ukraini,* I, by O. Halecki . . 1364
JENKINS, *Byzantium,* by P. Charanis 1365
BOSL, *Die Gesellschaft in der Geschichte des Mittelalters,* by G. C. Boyce 1366
HART, *The Early Charters of Eastern England,* by E. G. Kimball . . . 1367
BAKER, *The Normans,* by C. W. Hollister 1367
CHRISTIANSEN *et al.,* eds., *Middelalder studier,* by A. R. Lewis 1368
MEULENBERG, *Der Primat der Römischen Kirche im Denken und Handeln Gregors VII,* by R. E. Sullivan 1369
LOMAX, *La Orden de Santiago,* by C. J. Bishko 1370
LABIB, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter,* by W. J. Fischel 1371
WATT, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy*

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DABROWSKI *et al.*, eds., *Rozbiór Krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z Lat*, II, by J. W. Hoskins 1376
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Modern Europe

LUKACS, *Decline and Rise of Europe*, by E. C. Helmreich 1377
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OWSIŃSKA, *Powstanie Palatynacko- Badeńskie 1849 Roku Oraz Udział w Nim Polaków*, by W. S. Sworakowski 1380
WANDRUSZKA, *Schicksalsjahr 1866*, by O. J. Hale 1381
VOLKMANN, *Die russische Emigration in Deutschland*, by D. E. Emerson 1382
SENN, *The Great Powers, Lithuania, and the Vilna Question*, by S. W. Page 1383
THOMPSON, *1940*, by J. L. Godfrey 1383
ALLARD, *Diplomat in Wien*, by J. F. Zacek 1384
PAUL, *Catherine of Aragon and Her Friends*, by B. L. Beer 1385
Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Elizabeth I, V, by P. L. Hughes . . . 1386
WHITE, *Cast of Ravens*, by G. R. Abernathy, Jr. 1386
ROGERS, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, by L. F. Solt 1387
POOL, *Navy Board Contracts*, by P. H. Hardacre 1388
JONES, ed., *The Fire Court*, I, by J. M. Price 1389
SCOULLER, *The Armies of Queen Anne*, by D. A. Baugh 1389
HALSBAND, ed., *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, II, by T. Copeland 1390
SWAIN, *Edward Gibbon the Historian*, by C. F. Mullett 1391
COSTIGAN, *Makers of Modern England*, by D. Owen 1392
WILLIAMS *et al.*, *Merthyr Politics*, by C. F. Brand 1392
BARNES, *The Rise of the Midland Railway*, by P. d'A. Jones 1393
SILVER, *Manchester Men and Indian Cotton*, by A. H. Imlah 1394
HJELHOLT, *British Mediation in the Danish-German Conflict*, Pt. 2, by P. H. Scherer 1395
CHURCHILL, *Winston S. Churchill*, I, by S. J. Hurwitz 1396
SYMONDS, *The British and Their Successors*, by A. T. Embree 1397
ROCK, *Appeasement on Trial*, by W. N. Medlicott 1398
LAMMERS, *Explaining Munich*, by M. George 1399
BOLTON, *The Passing of the Irish Act of Union*, by L. J. McCaffrey . . . 1400
COORNAERT, *Les compagnonnages en France*, by P. N. Stearns 1400
BOUTRUCHE, under the direction, *Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715*, by W. F. Church 1401
ARTZ, *The Development of Technical Education in France*, by G. R. Driscoll 1402
DURAND, pub., *Cahiers de doléances des paroisses du bailliage de Troyes pour les États Généraux de 1614*, by L. Bernard 1403
SHAW, *Problems and Policies of Malesherbes as* Directeur de la librairie *in France*, by L. Bernard 1404
LE GUIN, *Roland de la Platière*, by E. L. Eisenstein 1405
GILLE, *Histoire de la Maison Rothschild*, I, by D. S. Landes . . . 1406
MICHEL, *Vichy*, by G. Wright . . 1407
NETANYAHU, *The Marranos of Spain, from the Late* XIVth *to the Early* XVIth *Century*, by E. Rivkin . . . 1408
DE JONG, *De krimpende horizon van de hollandse kooplieden*, by A. Vandenbosch 1409
WOLTRING, ed., *Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland*, II, by D. W. Jellema 1409
WUORINEN, *Turku Kauppakaupunkina Routsin Vallan Loppukautena*, II, by J. I. Kolehmainen 1410
GEJL, ed., *J. C. H. Fischers politiske dagbøger*, by H. E. Ellersieck . . 1411
BRUNN, ed., *Dansk historisk bibliografi*, I, by F. D. Scott 1411
SCHUBERT, *Die deutschen Reichstage in der Staatslehre der frühen Neuzeit*, by H. N. Weill 1412
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WOLFF, *Corpus Evangelicorum und Corpus Catholicorum auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskongress*, by C.-P. Clasen 1414
STRAUSS, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century*, by H. J. Grimm 1414
SCHOEPS, *Preussen*, by T. S. Hamerow 1415
JULKU, *Die revolutionäre Bewegung im Rheinland am Ende des achtzehnten*

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KRAMARZ, *Claus Graf Stauffenberg;* EHLERS, *Technik und Moral einer Verschwörung,* by C. G. Anthon . 1428
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KOMJÁTHY, comp., *Protokolle des Gemeinsamen Ministerrates der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie,* by I. Deak 1435
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PISCHEDDA, *Problemi dell'unificazione italiana,* by D. A. Limoli 1440
CAMMETT, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism,* by C. F. Delzell 1441
KATZ, *Death in Rome,* by C. F. Delzell 1443
HEYMANN, *Poland & Czechoslovakia,* by O. Odlozilik 1444
KOSSMANN, *Lodz,* by S. J. Zyzniewski 1444
HORNYKIEWICZ, *Ereignisse in der Ukraine,* I, by B. Dmytryshyn . . 1445
BEREND and RÁNKI, *Magyarország Gazdasága az Elsö Világháború Után,* by G. Kopits 1446
ZGÓRNIAK, *Wojskowe Aspekty Kryzysu Czechosłowackiego 1938 Roku,* by Z. J. Gasiorowski 1447
WATROUS, ed., *John Ledyard's Journey through Russia and Siberia,* by W. Kirchner 1448
BACON, *Central Asians under Russian Rule,* by D. W. Treadgold . . . 1449
KATZ, *Mikhail N. Katkov,* by M. Raeff 1450
BEYME, *Politische Soziologie im zaristischen Russland,* by R. E. McGrew 1450
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Istoriia Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny Sovetskogo Soiuza, VI, by A. J. Rieber 1452

Africa

BUTLER, ed., *Boston University Papers on Africa,* II, by R. O. Collins . . 1453
CONFER, *France and Algeria,* by R. F. Betts 1454
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SUTTOR, *Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia,* by C. S. Blackton . . . 1471
KNIGHT, *Illiberal Liberal,* by D. C. Gordon 1472

Americas

The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1965, by W. Rundell, Jr. 1473
SUTHERLAND, *Constitutionalism in America,* by A. Bestor 1474
SKOTHEIM, *American Intellectual Histories and Historians,* by J. L. Thomas 1475
BILLINGTON, *America's Frontier Heritage,* by H. R. Lamar 1476
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SIRMANS, *Colonial South Carolina,* by H. T. Lefler 1480
BERKELEY and BERKELEY, eds., *The Reverend John Clayton,* by G. F. Frick 1481
JONES, ed., *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks,* by W. S. Hudson 1482
HEIMERT, *Religion and the American Mind,* by R. Middlekauff 1482
HEUSSER, *George Washington's Map Maker,* by N. Callahan 1484
HUME, *1775,* by J. P. Greene . . . 1484
HUSTON, *The Sinews of War,* by W. W. Hassler, Jr. 1485
DILLON, *Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom,* by J. H. Franklin 1486
HARRIS, *The Artist in American Society;* MILLER, *Patrons and Patriotism,* by P. R. Baker 1486
MAGRATH, *Yazoo,* by R. B. Morris . 1487
WALKER, *The Wagonmasters,* by L. R. Hafen 1488
SMITH, *Millstone and Saw,* by A. J. Larsen 1489
CONNABLE and SILBERFARB, *Tigers of Tammany,* by R. V. Remini . . . 1490
DUBERMAN, *James Russell Lowell,* by G. M. Fredrickson 1491
BEMROSE, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War,* by R. W. Patrick . 1492
VAN ZANDT, *The Catskill Mountain House,* by D. M. Ellis 1493
FOGEL, *Railroads and American Economic Growth,* by E. C. Kirkland . 1493
RIDDLEBERGER, *George Washington Julian,* by D. J. Rothman . . . 1495
LEIMAN, *Jacob N. Cardozo,* by E. D. Genovese 1495
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RAWLEY, *Turning Points of the Civil War,* by J. P. Dyer 1499
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CONWAY, *The Reconstruction of Georgia,* by C. V. Woodward 1502
ADLER, *Claus Spreckels,* by H. W. Bradley 1503
PARKER, *Gold in the Black Hills,* by W. S. Greever 1504
BROWN, *The Flight of the Nez Perce,* by B. D. Madsen 1504
RAMMELKAMP, *Pulitzer's* Post-Dispatch, by J. C. Andrews 1505
HERRICK, *The American Naval Revolution,* by H. W. Morgan 1506
CORD, *Henry George,* by A. A. Ekirch, Jr. 1507
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BATES, ed., *Tom Walsh in Dakota Territory,* by H. S. Merrill 1509

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BERBUSSE, *The United States in Puerto Rico,* by F. O. Gatell 1510
HEINRICHS, *American Ambassador,* by L. E. Ellis 1511
DAHLBERG, *The New York Bureau of Municipal Research,* by S. B. Warner, Jr. 1512
BROWN, *Ships That Sail No More,* by E. Pomeroy 1513
FISHMAN *et al., Language Loyalty in the United States,* by M. Rischin . 1513
STRICKLAND, *History of the Chicago Urban League,* by R. L. Zangrando 1514
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POGUE, *George C. Marshall,* by T. Higgins 1516
BELOTE and BELOTE, *Corregidor,* by S. L. Falk 1517
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GALARNEAU and LAVOIE, eds., *France et Canada français du* XVI^e *au* XX^e *siècle,* by C. Nish 1519
OUELLET, *Histoire économique et sociale du Québec,* by R. Cook . . . 1520
RYAN, *The Clergy and Economic Growth in Quebec,* by C. Nish . . 1521
RODRIGUES, *Vida e história,* by D. E. Worcester 1522
GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru,* by C. Gibson . . 1522
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BENSON, ed., *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes,* by C. Griffin 1525
RODRIGUES, *Interêsse nacional e política externa,* by R. M. Morse 1525

Other Recent Publications 1527

Association Notes

American Historical Association 1576
Recent Deaths 1576
Communications 1576
Index to Volume LXXII 1581

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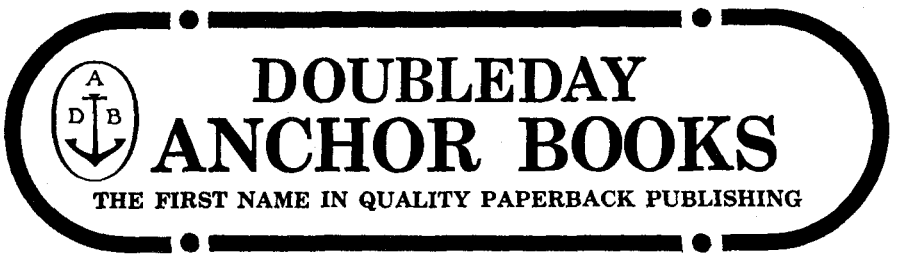
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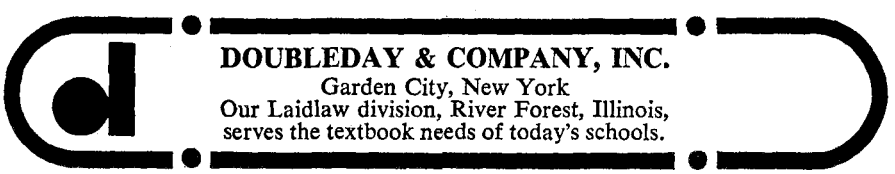
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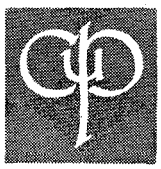
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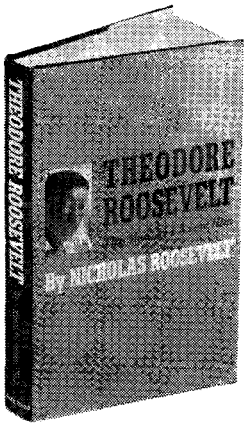
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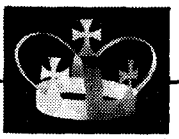
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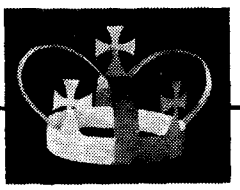
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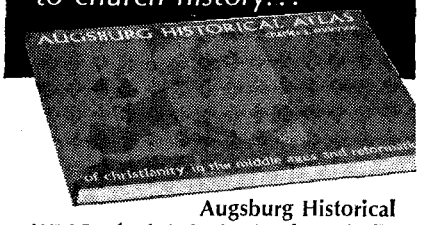
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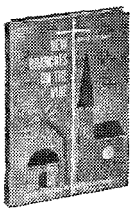


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Contents of Volume LXXII

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER 1966

Articles

THE SCHISM IN AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP
John Higham 1

SCIENCE AND SYMBOL IN THE TURNER FRONTIER HYPOTHESIS *William Coleman* 22

CURRENT SOVIET THEORY OF HISTORY: NEW TRENDS OR OLD? *Arthur P. Mendel* 50

PROTESTANTISM AND THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT: THE CHRISTIAN SPIRIT IN THE GILDED AGE
Herbert G. Gutman 74

HERODOTUS AND THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE INVASION OF XERXES *Arther Ferril* 102

Reviews of Books 116

Other Recent Publications 353

Association Notes 405

NUMBER 2. JANUARY 1967

Presidential Address

HISTORY IN A SELF-GOVERNING CULTURE
Roy F. Nichols 411

Articles

JACOPO ACONCIO AS AN ENGINEER . . *Lynn White, jr.* 425

THE STRANGE STILLBIRTH OF THE WHIG PARTY
Lynn L. Marshall 445

NONCAPITALIST WEALTH AND THE ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION *George V. Taylor* 469

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CLASS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: A DISCUSSION
Jeffry Kaplow, Gilbert Shapiro, and *Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* 497

Reviews of Books 523

Other Recent Publications 757

Association Notes 801

NUMBER 3. APRIL 1967

Articles

GUILLAUME BUDÉ AND THE FIRST HISTORICAL SCHOOL OF LAW *Donald R. Kelley* 807

EX PARTE McCARDLE: JUDICIAL IMPOTENCY? THE SUPREME COURT AND RECONSTRUCTION RECONSIDERED *Stanley I. Kutler* 835

ECONOMIC GROWTH, CAPITAL INVESTMENT, AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND *Emmet Larkin* 852

THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE ON THE AMERICAN CHURCHES, 1880–1910 . . . *Raymond J. Cunningham* 885

THE CONVERSION OF MYTHS INTO POLITICAL POWER: THE CASE OF THE NAZI PARTY, 1925–1926
Dietrich Orlow 906

Reviews of Books 925

Other Recent Publications 1132

Association Notes 1185

NUMBER 4. JULY 1967

Articles

EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT *Nels Bailkey* 1211

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THE "NEW LEFT" AND AMERICAN HISTORY: SOME RECENT TRENDS IN UNITED STATES HISTORIOGRAPHY *Irwin Unger* 1237

THE JACOBEAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE . . *Maurice Lee, Jr.* 1264

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GARDEN: IDEAL AND SOCIETY IN AUSTRIAN LITERATURE . . *Carl E. Schorske* 1283

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS: WILLIAM McKINLEY AND THE TURPIE-FORAKER AMENDMENT *Paul S. Holbo* 1321

Reviews of Books 1336

Other Recent Publications 1527

Association Notes 1576

Index to Volume LXXII 1581

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Early Mesopotamian Constitutional Development

NELS BAILKEY*

RELIGION excepted, few aspects of civilization in the ancient Near East hold the attention of modern students for long as they press on to the serious study of the Greeks. As pertinent today as it was nineteen hundred years ago is the observation by the Jewish historian Josephus of "the current opinion that, in the study of ancient history, the Greeks alone deserve serious attention" (*Against Apion,* I. 2). Particularly is this true in the area of politics where an unchanging "Oriental despotism" is commonly contrasted with the variety and uniqueness of the Greek achievement.

The view that the Greeks "invented politics" is a pardonable exaggeration that effectively points up the difficulty of naming a form of government unknown to this gifted people. Among the many types of polity which the Greeks experienced and to which they affixed enduring names, five may be singled out as marking basic stages in their constitutional development: monarchy, oligarchy, tyranny, democracy, and, finally, a return to tyranny.

The Greeks called their earliest form of government monarchy because

* A professor at Tulane University, Mr. Bailkey is interested in ancient Mesopotamia and the comparative history of civilizations. He is the author of "A Babylonian Philosopher of History," *Osiris,* IX (1950).

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of the prominent part played by the war leader in the Homeric epics. But since this Homeric basileus was not a monarch in the strict sense of the word, being limited by the active presence of an advisory council (boule) of his fellow nobles and by an assembly (agora) of all arms-bearing men whose assent was needed at moments of crisis, later Greeks were troubled by the term and qualified it in usage. Thus, for example, Thucydides (I. 13) called Homeric kingship "hereditary monarchy with established rights and limitations." Modern scholars, similarly troubled,[1] have preferred such terms as "primitive monarchy." Oligarchy followed primitive monarchy when the nobility succeeded in replacing the kings with short-term, compliant magistrates and in ignoring the popular assemblies. The baneful effects of oligarchic rule upon the common people, both peasantry and rising middle class, led next to the despotic rule of usurpers called tyrants (*tyrannoi*), apparently an Oriental term borrowed from nearby Lydia. When tyranny had served its purpose, political power in most Greek states became centered in a revived and democratic popular assembly. Finally, when democracy faltered, return to rule of the tyrant—the "champion powerful in action" of disillusioned democrats like the Athenian Isocrates—often followed.

The prevailing view that nothing approaching this rich and varied constitutional development can be dated earlier than the Greeks now needs considerable modification in the light of burgeoning evidence from ancient Mesopotamia. The object of this essay is to demonstrate the extent to which this evidence—chronologically surveyed to the end of the Old Babylonian period (about 1595 B.C.)—warrants the conclusion that, with the important exception of democracy, early Mesopotamia evolved constitutional forms that parallel, in their essentials, those of Greece. Consideration also will be given to a more plausible explanation for the failure of the ancient Mesopotamians to achieve democracy than simply the absence of a "democratic spirit," an unhistorical begging of the question first resorted to by ancient Greek writers.[2]

When history proper began in the city-states of Sumer around 2550 B.C. with the appearance of relatively abundant documentary sources, government was already in the hands of the ill-famed "Oriental despots" of

[1] E.g., "Agamemnon is an absolute [*sic*] king. . . . Yet the council of the Greek chiefs is obviously a normal and necessary institution, and the assembly of the army must have some standing, or why should it be summoned?" (A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* [London, 1956], 10.)

[2] E.g., Plutarch, *Solon*, 27 (tr. John and William Langhorne): "Solon . . . replied [to Croesus]: 'King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise has he favored them with a democratic spirit. . . .'"

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Western tradition. But there is conclusive evidence that this early despotism, which, as will be shown, closely resembled Greek tyranny in character and origin, was not the first form of government in Sumer. Thorkild Jacobsen's analysis of the chief literary sources for the preceding protohistorical period—epic tales that describe the institutions and ideas of a typical heroic age and the somewhat earlier myths that depict the life of the gods as a projection of human society—has demonstrated persuasively that the tyranny of historical times was preceded by primitive monarchy (or what he more aptly terms "primitive democracy") with its tripodal structure of war leader and two distinct "assemblies" (*ukkin*), one an aristocratic council of "elders" (*abba*), the other a popular assembly of "men" (*guruš*).[3] It remains to present evidence that not only did oligarchic aspirations, centered in the council, continually threaten the position of the primitive monarch, but that eventually, near the end of the protohistorical period, primitive monarchy was replaced by full oligarchic rule.[4]

Evidence of the suspicious hostility with which the aristocratic council viewed the Sumerian primitive monarch is not hard to find in the myths and epic tales. That this hostility was as old as kingship itself is disclosed in the Babylonian version of the myth on origins, *Enuma elish* (When Above), which, in recounting the origin of kingship among the gods, in reality describes its origin among men. Kingship did not exist in heaven until the gods were threatened with destruction by a host of monsters. To be their leader and champion, the "fifty senior gods" approached Marduk (Enlil in the lost Sumerian version), the heroic son of a fellow senior god. Yet so reluctant were the senior gods to grant adequate power to Marduk that he threatened to refuse the office unless they reconsidered: "If I am to be your champion, . . . and keep you alive, then establish an assembly and proclaim my lot supreme and let me when I open my mouth have power . . . even as [equal to] you, so that whatever I frame shall not be altered and the command of my lips shall not return void, shall not be

[3] Thorkild Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* II (No. 3, 1943), 159–72, and "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* LII (1957), 99–109. The Sumerian heroic age was first described by Samuel N. Kramer, "Heroes of Sumer: A New Heroic Age in World Literature," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XC (No. 2, 1946), 120 ff.

[4] In his indispensable "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," Jacobsen sees despotism emerging directly out of primitive democracy. (See also his "Primitive Democracy," 159.) The importance of oligarchic forces in the rise of Mesopotamian despotism is noted in I. M. Diakonoff's short study, *Vozniknovenie Despoticeskogo Gosudarstva v Drevnem Dvurecije* [The Origins of the Despotic State in Ancient Mesopotamia] (Leningrad, 1957); see summary by Joseph Klima, "Der altorientalische Despotismus unter neuen Streiflichtern," *Archiv Orientální,* XXV (1957), 660–70; see also Diakonoff, *Obshestvennyi i Gosudarstvennyi Stroi Drevnego Vostoka. Shumer* [Sumer. Society and State in Ancient Mesopotamia] [brief English résumé contained in this work] (Moscow, 1959).

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changed."[5] Repairing to their assembly hall, the senior gods "soaked themselves with sweetened liquor. . . . Thus they became careless and lighthearted and they transferred their powers to Marduk, the avenger."[6] Even when sober, however, the great gods did homage "joyfully," and for good reason: they now had a champion capable of fighting their battles, yet they retained power equal to his.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that when Marduk first called his councilors into session he was described as "ordering them kindly." Marduk had, we read, "conceived the idea of creating a clever device" that would further mollify the great gods: "I shall bring into existence a robot whose name shall be 'man'! . . . he shall be charged with the services of the gods, thus they will be relieved [of work]!"[7] Clearly, the role of mankind was to be that of serfs, mere machines to provide their lords with the needs of subsistence. This "clever idea," as it was also called, brings to mind a similar concession—a free hand over their peasants—granted in early modern times to the powerful nobility of Eastern Europe by their emerging kings.

The myths contain additional evidence of the primitive monarch's limited power and provisional status. Kingship is termed a "counseling" (*mitluku*) and a "turn of office" (*bala*), meaning that consultation with the council of senior gods was mandatory and that the office was granted for a limited term and was recallable at will.[8] Indeed, Enlil once experienced the indignity of being exiled. Having charged him with the rape of a young goddess, the council of "fifty senior gods and the seven gods who determine destinies had Enlil arrested . . . [tried, and sentenced:] 'This sex-criminal Enlil will leave the town!'"[9] Furthermore, when kingship eventually "descended from heaven" as a gift of the gods to the "beclouded people," it was established as an exact copy, "a likeness on earth," of the limited kingship among the gods in heaven.[10] Finally, while the high

[5] *Enuma elish,* ii. 123 ff., tr. Jacobsen, in "Primitive Democracy," 169–70.

[6] *Enuma elish,* iii. 135 ff., tr. A. Leo Oppenheim, in "Mesopotamian Mythology I," *Orientalia,* XVI (No. 2, 1947), 223.

[7] *Enuma elish,* vi. 2 ff., tr. *ibid.,* 233–34.

[8] On *mitluku,* see "Myth of Etana," tr. E. A. Speiser in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament,* ed. James B. Pritchard (2d ed., Princeton, N. J., 1956), 114 and n. 9; and Speiser's commentary in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXXIV (No. 3, 1954), Suppl. 17, *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient,* 9; cf. *Enuma elish,* iv. 2: "Facing his fathers [council of elders], he [Marduk] sat down, for advising." (*Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 66 and n. 63.) On *bala,* see, *inter alia,* Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy," 170–72; William W. Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* XIV (No. 3, 1960), 89–90.

[9] "Myth of Enlil and Ninlil," tr. Thorkild Jacobsen, in "Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* V (No. 2, 1946), 133, n. 9.

[10] "Myth of Etana," A-1, line 6; *Enuma elish,* vi. 113; see also Oppenheim, "Mythology I," 236.

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priestship headed the list of the outstanding creative works of the great gods, human kingship was ranked only ninth.[11]

Despite the myths' persistent emphasis on the limited and precarious nature of early kingship, the primitive monarchs whose heroic exploits are described in the epic tales are frequently seen ignoring or openly rejecting the advice of their priest-dominated councils. As is true of epic tales generally, those from Sumer spring from an age of incessant warfare, and the consequent enhancement of the primitive monarch's power as war leader met with determined opposition from his aristocratic council. Indeed, there was a significant correlation between a heroic age ruler's power and success and his ability to by-pass his council. Much to the point is the evidence contained in two tales that describe a clash between Enmerkar of Uruk and Ensukeshdanna of Aratta. The latter demanded the submission of Enmerkar, son and successor of the "high-priest and king" remembered in later historical tradition as the founder of the First Dynasty of Uruk, but before Ensukeshdanna could implement his threat he was roundly censored by his council for acting without its consent: "You yourself first sent to the ruler of Uruk [an] arrogant message. . . . It is not Enmerkar's doing, it is your own doing, your wicked heart prompted everything as far as can be known."[12] Lacking his council's support, Ensukeshdanna backed down and meekly acknowledged Enmerkar's superiority: "You are the 'big brother,' I cannot compare with you ever." When next Enmerkar in turn demanded the submission of Aratta, and Ensukeshdanna was futilely remonstrating with him for resorting to arms, the real power at Aratta was again revealed to lie in the council of elders, headed by the high priest. "None less than Nigi, the high-priest, is its [Aratta's] hero," begins the message that the elders sent to Enmerkar as they took over the negotiations. The message goes on to reveal that the elders' decision to dispense with strong personal leadership in the face of threatened war stemmed from their confident belief that Aratta's varied defense works and abundant resources of food and population provided ample deterrence to aggression: "Its wealth is in the grain-bins, its beacons are on all the mountains [surely history's first early-warning system!], the population is of a size suitable for it, it is adorned with seven town-walls."[13] When Enmerkar was not

[11] "Myth of Inanna and Enki" (see list in Samuel N. Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* [Chicago, 1963], 116); see also the Akkadian ritual text, tr. A. Sachs, in *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 342 (lines 36–37); and "Myth of Adapa," D, 10–11 (tr. E. A. Speiser, *ibid.,* 102).

[12] "Enmerkar and Ensukeshdanna," tr. Jacobsen, in "Early Political Development," 101, n. 11; see also Maurice Witzel, "Zu den Enmerkar-Dichtungen," *Orientalia,* XVIII (No. 3, 1949), 272–80; Samuel N. Kramer and Thorkild Jacobsen, "Enmerkar and Ensukušsiranna," *ibid.,* XXIII (No. 3, 1954), 232–34.

[13] "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," lines 286 ff., tr. Thorkild Jacobsen, in "New

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deterred by this or subsequent messages from "the elders who are word-wise," Aratta submitted without fighting.

In striking contrast to the hapless Ensukeshdanna, "big brother" Enmerkar is revealed as acting without reference to his council. Whereas Ensukeshdanna had received Enmerkar's ultimatum while seated with the elders "in his council house" (*giparu,* a building of sacred character located in the temple complex),[14] Enmerkar met with the messengers from Aratta "in the courtyard of the assembly hall" (*guenna*),[15] that is, before the convened popular assembly. So overshadowed by Enmerkar was Uruk's council that it is nowhere mentioned. Furthermore, contrary to the state of affairs in Aratta, at Uruk it was Enmerkar who boasted of his great power, symbolized by his scepter, and implied that it stemmed from his role as protector of his city: "My scepter, . . . which is the dynamic force of princeship, that scepter has been a protecting shade over Uruk, . . . has banished all fear."[16]

Enmerkar's device of taking the common people into partnership in order to circumvent his council's opposition was employed also by the famed Gilgamesh, traditional fifth ruler of Uruk. In the tale of "Gilgamesh and Agga," Gilgamesh was determined to resist the demand of the powerful Agga of Kish for the submission of Uruk, and so "before the elders of his city puts the matter, seeks out their word: '. . . Let us not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons.'" When the elders, however, advised submission—apparently they, like their counterparts at Aratta, considered appeasement of the aggressor a lesser evil than the enhancement of the ruler's power through war—Gilgamesh appealed to "the convened assembly of the men of his city," who readily supported him and used the occasion to rebuke the appeasing aristocrats in the council: "O ye who are raised with the sons of the king, O ye who press the donkey's thigh. . . . Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons." Whereupon, we are told, Gilgamesh's "heart rejoiced, his spirit brightened."[17]

Sumerian Literary Texts," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* No. 102 (Apr. 1946), 13.

[14] Kramer and Jacobsen, "Enmerkar and Ensukušširanna," 232. On *giparu,* see also Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 107–109, n. 32.

[15] "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," line 301, tr. Samuel N. Kramer, in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran* (Philadelphia, 1952), 25, 50 (commentary). It is noteworthy that historical tradition remembered Enmerkar's father as ruler of E-Anna ("Temple of Anna") and Enmerkar as "king of Uruk, the one who built Uruk"; that is, Enmerkar moved his residence from the temple area to a new district whose name became identified with the city. (Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* [Chicago, 1939], 85 and n. 108, 87.) On the separation of ruler from temple, see Adam Falkenstein, "La cité-temple sumérienne," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale,* I (Apr. 1954), 798–99.

[16] "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," tr. Kramer, lines 341 ff.

[17] Tr. Samuel N. Kramer, in *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 44–47, and (with commentary by Thorkild Jacobsen), *American Journal of Archaeology,* LIII (No. 1, 1949), 1–18;

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Small wonder then that the great "Epic of Gilgamesh"[18] should begin with the statement that "the nobles of Uruk are gloomy in their chambers. . . . Day and night is unbridled his [Gilgamesh's] arrogance." By night, the nobles charged, "Gilgamesh leaves not the maid to her mother, the warrior's daughter, the noble's spouse," while by day he "leaves not the son to his father" (I. ii. 11 ff.). The first charge involves sex crimes (repeated in II. iv. 25 ff.), and is of a piece with the above-noted attack on Enlil for rape; the second refers to the conscription of young men to construct the city walls (I. i. 9 ff.), apparently resented as an arbitrary action that would increase Gilgamesh's military power.[19] Having justified their opposition to Gilgamesh's "arrogance," the nobles appealed to the gods as "Uruk's [true] rulers" to "create now his double. . . . Let them contend, that Uruk may have peace" (I. ii. 19, 31 ff.). Although this tactic failed—Enkidu, the antiking, was bested by Gilgamesh in single combat, and the two thereupon became boon companions (II. vi)—there is independent evidence that the nobles eventually resorted to direct action, severely wounded Gilgamesh, and drove him into temporary exile.[20]

The intransigence and power of the nobles of Uruk help to explain why Gilgamesh was the last of the heroic age rulers of Sumer whose exploits as pre-eminent war leaders were celebrated in epic tales. Primitive monarchy had become a spent force, and there is good evidence that for something like a century and a half following Gilgamesh (now dated shortly after 2700 B.C.), until the reappearance of strong rulers at the beginning of the historical period, oligarchy was triumphant in Sumer.[21]

cf. Abraham Malamat, "Kingship and Council in Israel and Sumer: A Parallel," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* XXII (No. 4, 1963), 247–53. The assemblymen went on to cite the "great wall touching the clouds" constructed by "their king and defender" as their reason for supporting Gilgamesh (lines 33, 35; see Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 116 and n. 53). See also "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" (tr. Kramer, in *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 47–50), in which Gilgamesh circumvented his council's opposition (not mentioned in this tale, but described in the "Epic of Gilgamesh," III. v [*ibid.,* 80]) to his proposed expedition to the Cedar Forest (the Lebanon) by convening the popular assembly (lines 48 ff.; see Kramer's commentary in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* I [No. 1, 1947], 37) to conscript an army of fifty "single males who would do as I do" and who have neither "house" or "mother."

[18] Latest bibliography and commentary, *Gilgameš et sa légende,* ed. Paul Garelli (Paris, 1960); lines quoted tr. E. A. Speiser, in *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 72 ff.

[19] Scholarly commentary has completely overlooked the power rivalry between the nobles and Gilgamesh. (See Thorkild Jacobsen, "How did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?" *Acta Orientalia,* VIII (1930), 62–74; O. E. Ravn, "The Passage on Gilgamesh and the Wives of Uruk," *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* X (No. 1, 1953), 12–13; A. Leo Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II," *Orientalia,* XVII (No. 1, 1948), 21–23; V. Korošec, "Gilgameš vu sous son aspect juridique," in *Gilgameš et sa légende,* ed. Garelli, 164, 165–66.

[20] See Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 116–18, n. 55.

[21] John Gray, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice," *Vetus Testamentum,* II (1952), 193–200, details a later parallel development in which a heroic age monarchy was replaced by an oligarchy of "elders" (*'adrm*) and feudal "equestrians" (*mrynm*). On the date of Gilgamesh, see now M. R. Rowton, "Chronology: Ancient Western Asia," *Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed. of I–II in progress, Cambridge, Eng., 1962–), I, Chap. VI, 66.

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The oligarchic character of the economy, society, and government of the late protohistorical period is revealed by archaic texts, archaeological finds, and trends in art. A purely decorative art, mainly religious in character, replaced the earlier narrative art which had featured the exploits in war and peace of the city ruler.[22] The archaic texts of the period, most of which are from Shuruppak (modern Fara), show political power firmly in the hands of an oligarchy led by priests. The earlier primitive monarchs —at Shuruppak only one was famed in later tradition, and that was owing to his obsequiousness[23]—have been replaced by a plural executive with limited powers and tenure.[24] These weak magistrates bore a new title, *ensi-gar,* literally "governor installed (by a superior),"[25] an indication of their subordination to the gods and to the gods' priestly representatives in the council of elders. Attesting to the great wealth possessed by the aristocracy were a cult statue donated by an "elder of the city" of Adab to a temple "for the life of" an *ensi-gar* of his city,[26] the numerous rich landowners of Shuruppak who rode about in chariots drawn by four asses ("seemingly a typical sign of riches"),[27] and the many sumptuous graves of "great householders" (*lugal,* literally "great man") and their "ladies" (*nin*) in the predynastic cemetery at Ur.[28]

[22] Ann Perkins, "Narration in Babylonian Art," *American Journal of Archaeology,* LXI (No. 1, 1957), 56.

[23] Ziusudra (Akkadian Utnapishtim), the Sumerian Noah who was forewarned of the flood because he was "humbly obedient" to the gods, and who took care to consult "the people and the elders" of Shuruppak before acting. (See *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 44 [lines 147–48], 93 [xi, 35].) The Fara texts are dated about 2650 B.C. by Adam Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), 16 *passim,* esp. 22.

[24] A. I. Tiumenev, *Gosudarstvennoe Khozyaistvo Drevnego Shumera* [The Economy of the Ancient Sumerian State] (Moscow, 1958) (see résumé by Achsa Belkind, *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* [hereafter cited as *Revue d'Assyriologie*], LII [No. 2, 1958], 95); Maurice Lambert, "La période présargonique: La vie économique à Shuruppak (I)," *Sumer,* IX (1953), 210. Lambert's difficulties with the question "Who were the rulers of Shuruppak?" derive, in my view, from his late date for the Fara texts (time of Ur I, that is, after about 2550 B.C.) and from his translation of *é-gal* as "palace" of a prince rather than "great house" of a great landowner (see note 33, below). On the large number of short-term eponymous *bala* officials at Shuruppak, see Hallo, "Sumerian Amphictyony," 89; Jacobsen, *King List,* 148.

[25] Lambert, "Vie économique," 210–11; see also William W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philologic and Historical Analysis* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), 35–38, 39; Raymond R. Jestin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak au Musée d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1957), 18.

[26] Hallo, *Royal Titles,* 38, 107–108. For a similar donation at Uruk, see Maurice Lambert, "La période présargonique: Essai d'une histoire sumérienne," *Sumer,* VIII (1952), 61.

[27] *Id.,* "Vie économique," 198. It is noteworthy that a majority of the Fara economic texts represent private and not temple accounts. (Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte,* 47.)

[28] Concisely described in André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne* (2 vols., Paris, 1946–53), I, 297–304. The generally held view that all the great Ur tombs are "royal" appears untenable. Since *lugal* originally did not mean "king" and, as will be noted below, can be so translated only when followed by a name of a city, with one exception the male occupants of all these rich tombs should be considered "great householders" (one of the original meanings of *lugal*) living in what was still an oligarchic age. The exception was Akalamdug, who alone bore the title *lugal uri,* "king of Ur," and who apparently was the immediate predecessor of Mesannipada, founder of the First Dynasty of Ur about 2550 B.C. Of the six other male occupants of the cemetery who are known by name, one (Meskalamdug) was

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Significantly corroborative of oligarchy during this period is the newly revealed evidence that much of the communally owned clan land was falling into the hands of private "owners," together with "master" and "great householder" one of the several meanings of *lugal*. Deeds of sale from Shuruppak and elsewhere, witnessed and sealed by a magistrate, describe in detail how the rights of many minor members of the community were extinguished by being made a party to the act of sale. The lesser folk are recorded as receiving insignificant quantities of various staples from the buyer, while the few "owners," or, in some instances, a small group identified as "men who enjoy the price," received much more substantial payments, usually in copper. On occasion an alienated field is called "the lot of the clients," an indication, along with other evidence, that some members of the clan had been reduced to a state of dependency upon the "owners."[29]

The beginning of tyranny (in the Greek sense of the term) in Sumer was marked by the reappearance of strong city rulers whose usurpation of power terminated the era of oligarchy and ushered in the Old Sumerian, or Early Historical, period (about 2550–2370 B.C.). Since this Old Sumerian tyrant was invariably a *lugal*—a "great householder" who had become "master" of a city—the term *lugal*, when followed by a city name, became

called simply *lugal* on a seal found in his wife's tomb, while his name only appears on several objects in his own tomb; another (Abargi) added no title to his name found on his seal; and the remaining names were compounded with the word *lugal*. (See Edmond Sollberger, "Notes on the Early Inscriptions from Ur and 'El-Obēd," in *Ur in Retrospect: In Memory of Sir C. Leonard Woolley*, ed. M. E. L. Mallowan and D. J. Wiseman [London, 1960], 79 ff., Nos. 3, 15, 28, 33; Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 13–14, 21 and n. 1, 29–32.) The Fara texts contain many examples of personal names compounded with *lugal*. (See lists in Raymond Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul* [Paris, 1937], 65, and *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak*, 12.) Also to be regarded as the head of a great household is the victorious and feasting war leader shown on the celebrated "Standard of Ur" found in the earliest of the "royal" tombs. In contrast to the gigantic representations of the ruler of the city in the art of historical times, he is scaled only slightly larger than his drinking companions and household troops. (See Perkins, "Narration in Babylonian Art," 56-59; on the stylistic similarities that connect the "Standard" with the art of the Fara period, see Donald P. Hansen, "New Votive Plaques from Nippur," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXII [No. 3, 1963], 166.) Cf. the similarly depicted war leaders on other mosaics of the Fara period, one from Kish inscribed with a personal name compounded with *lugal* (Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne*, I, 312–13; Ernest Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia* [Chicago, 1929], 120–22), and the other from Mari (André Parrot, *Mari, une ville perdue* [Paris, 1945], 124–33).

[29] I. M. Diakonoff, "Sale of Land in Pre-Sargonic Sumer," *Papers Presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists. Assyriology* (Moscow, 1954), 19–25. See also Lubor Matouš, "Zu den Ausdrücken für 'Zugaben' in den vorsargonischen Grundstückkaufurkunden," *Archiv Orientální*, XXII (1954), 434–43; Lambert, "Vie économique," 208–10; Émile Szlechter, "De quelques considérations sur l'origine de la propriété foncière privée dans l'ancien droit mésopotamien," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, 3d Ser., V (1958), 127–32. The earliest term for "client" (*maš-en-kak*) is on an archaic tablet found in a "great house" (*é-gal*) at Kish. (Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte*, 57 and n. 6.) See the Fara text which compares the number of men "in servitude to a great house" (*šag é-gal*) with those "in servitude to the city" (*šag uru*), that is, probably the city's temples. (Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes*, 18, No. 554.)

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for the first time a true political title and can be translated "king."[30] While the *lugal* who ruled the city resembled the primitive monarch of the epics, who commonly bore the title *en* ("lord"), in rising to power out of a war emergency and in having to face the hostility of a priest-led aristocracy, there were also marked differences between them.[31] Whereas the *en* was originally a priest-ruler whose short-lived pre-eminence vis-à-vis his council was largely owing to the support of the popular assembly and the acquisition of a conscript army,[32] the *lugal* was of purely secular origin, and his power rested on his private resources: great wealth in the form of purchased land and booty acquired in razzias, a fortified "great house" (*é-gal,* which now can be translated "palace"),[33] and an army composed of his own household troops. During the nearly two centuries of the Old Sumerian period, however, most city rulers bore the title *ensi* ("governor"),[34] apparently an abbreviated form of the *ensi-gar* title borne by the oligarchic magistrates of the preceding age and like it reflecting a resurgence of priestly power.

By the chance of discovery the city-state of Lagash under its First Dynasty provides the only continuous record of what was probably in large part typical of developments elsewhere during the Old Sumerian period.[35] Here a strong *lugal* who founded a dynasty was followed by five descendants and two usurping high priests, all of whom eschewed the title of *lugal* for that of *ensi*. These seven generally weak *ensi*'s acknowledged the city's patron god as their "true *lugal*" and filled their inscriptions with accounts of their piety and devotional works. A resurgent oligarchy, allowed many opportunities for oppression, created a domestic malaise that led to the reappearance of a usurping *lugal*-tyrant near the end of the period.

[30] Hallo, *Royal Titles,* 10–12, 21, n. 1, 29. At most, the *lugal*'s of the archaic texts, who were essentially aristocratic chieftains and war leaders (see note 28, above), can be called "kinglets" in the same sense as the numerous *basileis* of the Greek dark age who replaced the strong Mycenaean *wanax*. Like *lugal, basileus* was also used in the sense of "master." (M. I. Finley, "Homer and Mycenae: Property and Tenure," *Historia,* VI [No. 2, 1957], 141.) In the Sumerian myths and epic tales, which generally depict an age earlier than the archaic texts, *lugal* was frequently used as an epithet ("master," "big man") in addressing the primitive monarch.

[31] D. O. Edzard, "Enmebaragesi von Kiš," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* LIII (1959), 23–24; Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," esp. 103, 107 and n. 32, 119–20; Hallo, *Royal Titles,* 3–29.

[32] See note 17, above.

[33] The *é-gal* of the Fara period resembles the *pyrgos* of the post-Mycenaean landed aristocracy. (See D. W. S. Hunt, "Feudal Survivals in Ionia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LXVII [1947], 71–72; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* [London, 1958], 157.)

[34] On the nature of this office, see esp. Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 123–24, n. 71; Hallo, *Royal Titles,* 34–48.

[35] See André Parrot, *Tello, vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877–1933)* (Paris, 1948), 54, 60, 124–32; Lambert, "Essai d'une histoire sumérienne," 68–75, 198–216; C. J. Gadd, "The Cities of Babylonia," *Cambridge Ancient History,* I, Chap. XIII, 23–30; Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 124–29.

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About 2550 B.C., following a particularly destructive attack by mountain-dwelling Elamites, the First Dynasty of Lagash was founded by Ur-Nanshe who assumed power as "*lugal* of Lagash" and energetically proceeded to rebuild the walls, canals, temples, and trade of his ruined city. Ur-Nanshe was a new man, unrelated to his predecessor, an *ensi-gar,* and unconnected with the priesthood;[36] indeed, he boldly introduced a new goddess, Nanshe, whom he favored over Ningirsu, formerly the sole patron god of the city. The power of Ningirsu's priests did not remain long in eclipse, however. Apparently Ur-Nanshe himself soon found it expedient to conciliate them,[37] and his weak and little-known son and successor began the practice of using only the modest and pious title of *ensi.*[38] Even the self-styled "world conquering" Eannatum, Ur-Nanshe's grandson, whose victories over neighboring cities made Lagash for a short time the most powerful city in Sumer, ventured only twice, early in his reign, to style himself "*lugal* of Lagash,"[39] preferring thereafter to subordinate himself to "the *lugal* whom he loves, Ningirsu."[40] Under Entemena, nephew and second successor of Eannatum and only other militarily strong member of Ur-Nanshe's dynasty, the high priests of Ningirsu appeared on inscriptions as coequals with the *ensi.* The second of these high priests, Enetarzi, allowed Entemena's son only some four years of puppet rule before usurping the position of *ensi* and drawing down the curtain on Ur-Nanshe's dynasty. The next twelve years, during which Enetarzi was followed in the office by his son, the high priest Lugalanda, marked the high point at Lagash of the abusive practices that for some time had been eroding the "theocratic socialism" of the temple communities and the remaining clan lands. A reaction ensued (about 2400 B.C.) that saw Lugalanda replaced by Urukagina, a man of unknown background, whose efforts to restore the former collectivism and equalitarianism make him the first known social reformer in history.[41]

[36] Significantly, the earlier of his two known predecessors, Enhegal, was a great landowner whose single inscription as "*lugal* of Lagash" records his expenditure of nearly two tons of copper for the purchase of some 2,500 acres of land from 8 different *lugal*'s (Diakonoff, "Sale of Land," 22–24; Lambert, "Essai d'une histoire sumérienne," 59.) His tyranny seems to have been premature, however, since Lugalshagengur, his apparent successor and Ur-Nanshe's immediate predecessor, was a weak *ensi-gar.* (Hallo, *Royal Titles,* 38; Edzard, "Enmebaragesi," 24–25.)

[37] Maurice Lambert, "Sur deux textes d'Ur-Nazi," *Revue d'Assyriologie,* LIII (No. 3, 1959), 153, finds evidence of a "contract" between Ur-Nanshe and the high priest of Ningirsu.

[38] William W. Hallo, review of Edmond Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš* (Geneva, 1956), in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* XVII (No. 3, 1958), 214.

[39] Hallo, *Royal Titles,* 40–42.

[40] George A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, Conn., 1929), 47 *passim.* This is the formula used by Eannatum's brother and successor, Enannatum I; Eannatum's (*ibid.,* 43 *passim*) is slightly less extreme.

[41] See Gadd, "Cities of Babylonia," 30, 49–52, to whose references can be added W. von

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By the time of Urukagina, the communal clan lands had disappeared at Lagash, and both the sanctity of the temple property and the rectitude of temple administrators had been seriously undermined.[42] Temple offices were inherited, and temple lands held as prebends were treated as private property. Most active as despoilers of temple property were those former pontiffs of Ningirsu, the *ensi*'s Enetarzi and Lugalanda, who appropriated for themselves and their relatives the oxen, gardens, houses, fields, and even the commerce of a number of temples.[43] Graft and corruption flourished with the connivance of the *ensi,* who received in some instances a stipulated share of the exorbitant fees and dues extorted by temple functionaries from the depressed and defenseless lower classes.[44] Each acted "for his own benefit" was Urukagina's summary indictment of the ruling class and its hirelings.[45] Of particular interest among the many resulting abuses that Urukagina denounced and remedied was the use of coercion by a "powerful man" (*lugal*) to force a "client" (*šub-lugal,* "one who falls down before his master") to sell his stock and house at a fraction of their worth.[46] But the most burdensome abuse, and the one that Urukagina took greatest pride in uprooting, was the seizure of the property and even the person of debtors by temple officials, sometimes of high rank, working in collusion with corrupt judges (*maškim*)[47]—the same evil that would inspire Hesiod's demand for social justice at a parallel moment in Greek history.

Aristotle's observation (*Politics,* 5. 6) that oligarchy frequently succumbs to attacks not by the mass of the people but by a dissident oligarchic faction seems the best explanation for Urukagina's rise to power. The

Soden, *Herrscher im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1954), Chap. 1. The latest translations, with commentary, of Urukagina's reform texts (Cones A, B, and its duplicate C, and Oval Plaque) are: Yvonne Rosengarten, "La notion sumérienne de souveraineté divine: Uru-ka-gi-na et son dieu Nin-gir-su," *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* CLVI (Oct.–Dec. 1959), 129–60; Maurice Lambert, "Les 'réformes' d'Urukagina," *Revue d'Assyriologie,* L (No. 4, 1956), 169–84; Kramer, *Sumerians,* 317–22 (commentary, 79–83), and "Sumerian Historiography," *Israel Exploration Journal,* III (No. 4, 1953), 227–32; Joseph Klima, "Urukagina, der grosse Reformer in der mesopotamischen Frühgeschichte," *Das Altertum,* III (1957), 67–78; see also I. M. Diakonoff, "Some Remarks on the 'Reforms' of Urukagina," *Revue d'Assyriologie,* LII (No. 1, 1958), 1–15.

[42] Tiumenev, *Gosudarstvennoe Khozyaistvo,* résumé, 96 (see note 24, above); Diakonoff, "Sale of Land," 25–27; Szlechter, "Origine de la propriété foncière privée," 122–24.

[43] Urukagina Cones B–C vii, 5 ff.; Maurice Lambert, "Textes commerciaux de Lagash (époque présargonique)," *Revue d'Assyriologie,* XLVII (Nos. 2, 3, 1953), 57 ff., 105 ff.

[44] Urukagina Oval Plaque ii, 15–iii, 5.

[45] Cones B–C iii, 5 ff.; see Diakonoff, "Remarks," 2, 3; Rosengarten, "Notion sumérienne," 136–38, 147, n. 1.

[46] Cones B–C xi, 20 ff.; see Diakonoff, "Remarks," 8. This abuse resembles the alienation of communal lands described above.

[47] Cones B–C iii, 5 ff.; vii, 12 ff. On the operation of this onerous abuse, see Ferris J. Stephens, "Notes on Some Economic Texts of the Time of Urukagina," *Revue d'Assyriologie,* XLIX (No. 3, 1955), 129–30, 132–35.

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view that Urukagina "must have been a creature of the priests"[48] of Ningirsu and other despoiled deities is supported by good evidence: his initial use of the subordinate *ensi* title, his gentle treatment of Lugalanda (granted the honorary title of "great *ensi*"), and, above all, his self-denying action in returning to the temples their lost properties and prerogatives. Furthermore, the evident impotence of the lower classes—"the widow and the orphan" is Urukagina's collective term for them—meant that an aspiring tyrant could expect no effective support from that quarter. Yet the acceptance of this view of the circumstances surrounding Urukagina's usurpation of power should not blind us to what is otherwise clearly evident in his inscriptions, which are generally held to have been composed late in his short reign to justify his reform work: Urukagina's main concern soon came to be the plight of the depressed commoners, many of whom, he noted, "had to beg for their bread," and this concern led to a break with his priestly supporters and to his early ruin.

The break can be dated at the end of Urukagina's first year when he assumed the long-suppressed title of *lugal*. In the prologue to his reform inscriptions Urukagina stated that in order to wipe out the abusive "former customs," which appeared to him to have existed "since time immemorial," he by-passed the priesthood and made a covenant with the city's divine *lugal*, Ningirsu: "When Ningirsu . . . had given the *lugal*-ship of Lagash to Urukagina, picking him out of the entire population, then he [Ningirsu] enjoined upon him [the restoration of] the divinely decreed way of life of former days. He carried out the instructions of his (divine) *lugal*, Ningirsu." And it is the substance of Urukagina's epilogue that in carrying out these instructions he became engrossed in the plight of the oppressed and defenseless: "He freed the inhabitants of Lagash from usury, burdensome controls, hunger, theft, murder, and seizure [of their property and persons]. He established liberty [*amargi*]. The widow and the orphan were no longer at the mercy of the powerful man: for them has Urukagina made his covenant with Ningirsu."[49]

Seven years after his assumption of the office of *lugal*, Urukagina was overthrown by the *ensi* of the neighboring Umma, Lagash's long-time

[48] Diakonoff, "Remarks," 12, who adds that "it seems most probable that the 'reforms' were the outcome of a struggle of the priests and aristocracy (standing for the economic and political autonomy of the temple estates) against the ruler [Lugalanda], who sought to strengthen his economic and political position by annexation of the temple estates." While some scholars (e.g., Kramer, *Sumerians*, 79–82) are in general agreement with this interpretation, most (e.g., Parrot, *Tello*, 131) view Urukagina as the product of a popular revolution against oppression by priests and "leading families." Since there is evidence to support both interpretations, the source of error apparently lies in the acceptance of one to the exclusion of the other.

[49] Cones B–C iii, 2 ff.; vii, 26 ff.; xii, 13 ff. (see translations by Rosengarten and Lambert).

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enemy, with an ease that suggests he lacked the support of the "powerful" men of his city. To counter oligarchy and maintain tyranny successfully, a source of support more effective than "the widow and the orphan" was required.

Within a generation after Urukagina's failure, tyranny was firmly established in Sumer by Sargon (about 2370–2315 B.C.) of neighboring Akkad, whose large standing army enabled him to subdue the Sumerian temple-dominated cities and create an empire in which, he thought it important to record, "natives of Akkad are holding the *ensi*-ships."[50] Evidence that Sargon's success both as tyrant and as empire builder was linked with the interests and support of an influential class of private merchants that had arisen in Semitic Akkad, in unaccountable contrast to the Old Sumerian cities where merchants remained temple agents, is contained in a later literary composition, the "King of Battle," which has a well-established historical nucleus.[51] During the third year of Sargon's rule, the story goes, a delegate of the merchants appeared in audience before Sargon and, after emphasizing that merchants were not soldiers, asked that the army be sent to far-off Cappadocia to protect an Akkadian merchant colony from interference by a local ruler. The merchant's plea, which would do honor to economic imperialists of all ages, detailed the rich natural resources of Anatolia and included an offer to defray the costs of the expedition. Sargon's army commander spoke out in opposition, citing the vast distances, the mountainous terrain, and the danger of revolt at home. Sargon resolved, nevertheless, to assist the aggrieved merchants, who were "bitterly incensed" at the army leader—"may a hurricane . . . sweep [him] away!"—and personally headed the successful expedition.

Like Urukagina before him, Sargon stressed his role as a popular leader. But while Urukagina only implied that he was a man of the people (Ningirsu had selected him out of the "entire population" to be *lugal*), Sargon

[50] Tr. Oppenheim, in *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 267. Sargon stated that "5,400 soldiers ate daily with him in his palace" (*ibid.,* 268), that is, he was not dependent, as Urukagina probably was, on temple levies, and he referred to Lagash as the "Temple of Ninmar" (*ibid.,* 267), apparently a reference to rule of the priests in that city (see Arno Poebel, *Historical Texts* [Philadelphia, 1914], 220–21). There is documentary evidence that the high priest of Ninmar exercised governmental functions as early as the puppet rule of the last *ensi* of Ur-Nanshe's dynasty. (See Barton, *Royal Inscriptions,* 67–69.)

[51] See William F. Albright, "The Epic of the King of Battle: Sargon of Akkad in Cappadocia," *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research,* VII (No. 1, 1923), 1–20; see also C. J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *Cambridge Ancient History,* I, Chap. XIX, 12–15, and literature cited. On the archaeological evidence and the comparable nineteenth-century B.C. Assyrian merchant colonies, which are well documented, see Albrecht Goetze, *Kleinasien* (2d ed., Munich, 1957), 64–81. The Assyrian texts frequently allude to strained relations between merchants and local rulers. (See Hildegard Lewy, "Notes on the Political Organization of Asia Minor at the Time of the Old Assyrian Texts," *Orientalia,* XXXIII [No. 2–3, 1964], 189–96.)

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proudly detailed his humble beginnings—his unknown father was from "the hills"; his "lowly" mother was forced to abandon him; a "drawer of water" raised him to manhood[52]—before becoming army commander and usurping *lugal* of Kish, a city in the north of Sumer with a large Akkadian population. Yet despite this emphasis, the Sargonid sources never refer to "the widow and the orphan" whose welfare was Urukagina's main concern; instead, they dwell at some length, as in the "King of Battle," on the extent of Sargon's imperialism and the resulting general well-being. Thus, typically, we read that "three times by his own hand Sargon, the king of the universe, conquered . . . the lands beyond the Upper Sea [Mediterranean] and . . . the lands beyond the Lower Sea [Persian Gulf],"[53] and that "at the wharf of Agade [Sargon's newly founded capital] he made moor ships from Meluhha [Western Asia?], ships from Magan [southeastern Arabia?] and ships from Dilmun [Bahrein]."[54] Indeed, as a slightly later source puts it, Sargon "did not sleep" in his mercantilistic efforts to promote general prosperity by providing peace and unhampered large-scale commerce: "Brisk activity dominates the wharf where the ships are docked; all lands live in peace, their inhabitants prosperous. . . . [Trade flows freely because] the city gates are [wide open] like the Tigris where it flows into the sea, . . . without hindrance ships bring their merchandise to Sumer."[55]

Yet the apprehensions of Sargon's army commander that imperialistic ventures abroad would encourage revolt at home turned out to be well founded. Despite the presence of Akkadian garrisons, what Sargon's inscriptions call the "rebellious" and "guilty cities" of Sumer organized a series of formidable revolts against him and his successors. The instigators of the great rebellion against Sargon, according to Old Babylonian omen texts, were the "elders of the land" who, after Sargon "overthrew their mighty host . . . gathered their movable goods and found sanctuary in the temple of Inanna" at Kish.[56] Thus it appears that the forces behind these

[52] "The Legend of Sargon" (tr. E. A. Speiser, *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 119), another example of the historically founded literature dealing with the Sargonid rulers.

[53] Tr. Ernst F. Weidner, "Das Reich Sargons von Akkad," *Archiv für Orientforschung,* XVI (No. 1, 1952), 22.

[54] *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 268. On the location of Meluhha and Magan, see W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* (Leiden, 1960), 159–66; Kramer, *Sumerians,* 276–81; A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), 63–64.

[55] "The Curse of Agade," tr. Adam Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, 1953), 188; see also note 60, below.

[56] L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (2 vols., London, 1907), II, 34–35. (For inscriptional evidence on this oligarchic revolution, see note 60, below.) The briefer mention of this revolt in the still later "Sargon Chronicle" (*Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 266) has "in his [Sargon's] old age" in place of "elders," yet even those scholars who consider this "the more probable version" have otherwise noted the general untrustworthiness of the chronicle vis-à-vis the omen texts. (See, e.g., Gadd, "Dynasty of Agade," 11, 19.) The historical content and value of the omen texts are now generally recognized. (See Al-

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uprisings were social and political and not, as is sometimes conjectured, racial.[57] At issue was the old question of who would exercise power in the Mesopotamian theocratic state: the priestly oligarchs of the temple-dominated cities or the secular but god-appointed tyrant.[58] The issue came to a head during the reign of Naram-Sin (about 2290–2254 B.C.), Sargon's grandson and third successor, who, as the "mighty god of Akkad," was the first Mesopotamian ruler to carry the protyrant version of theocracy to the extreme of self-deification,[59] but who was crushed when his priestly opponents resorted to force. According to the slightly later Sumerian composition known as "The Curse of Agade," a remarkable example of the many partisan ecclesiastical interpretations of the history of this period, it was after Naram-Sin had confiscated some temple property that the priests of Enlil's "holy city" of Nippur proclaimed that "the good sense of Agade [has] turned to folly." They set up an antiking at Nippur and were joined by the "gods" of eight other Sumerian cities in pronouncing "a curse of destruction upon Agade" and the tyrant "who defied Enlil."[60] The Akkadian Empire did not recover from the onslaught of this coalition whose more than twenty eventual members included lands stretching from Cappadocia to Magan, which had harbored outposts of Akkadian imperialism.

brecht Goetze, "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* I [1947], 253 ff., esp. 266; Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Reign of Ibbi-Suen," *ibid.,* VII [1953], 38; Poebel, *Historical Texts,* 241–42.)

[57] Of late a growing compulsion to explain the continued conflict between the Akkadian rulers and the explicitly identified "cities of Sumer" has led to a revival of the racial conflict theory, persuasively attacked long ago by Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LIX (No. 4, 1939), 485 ff. Falkenstein's stress ("Cité-temple sumérienne," 808) on two opposing "traditions" and Gadd's description ("Dynasty of Agade," 33, 35–36) of "a burning zeal of patriotic sentiment" among the Sumerians support the interpretation presented here.

[58] On god-ruler relationships, see Hallo, *Royal Titles,* 132–42.

[59] Perhaps the key to the much-argued significance of the sporadic self-deification of rulers beginning with Naram-Sin (see list, *ibid.,* 152–53) lies in a phrase employed by one of the deified kings of the Ur III period: "by the awe of my countenance (to secure) obedience to orders." (*Ur Excavations, Texts,* tr. C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain [5 vols., London, 1928–53], I, 44.)

[60] "Fluch über Akkade," tr. Adam Falkenstein, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* LVII (1965), 67 ff. (commentary, 47, 89); Kramer, *Sumerians,* 64–65; see also J. J. Finkelstein, "The So-Called 'Old Babylonian Kutha Legend,'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* XI (No. 4, 1957), 86, 88. On the anti-Sargonid bias of priestly historiography, see E. A. Speiser in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East,* ed. Robert C. Dentan (New Haven, Conn., 1955), 58–60; Burr C. Brundage, "The Birth of Clio: A Résumé and Interpretation of Ancient Near Eastern Historiography," in *Teachers of History: Essays in Honor of Laurence Bradford Packard,* ed. H. Stuart Hughes (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), 207–208. Naram-Sin's own account ascribes the leadership of the revolt to Kish: "In the Common of Enlil, a field belonging to . . . the temple of Gula, Kish assembled and Iphur-Kish [literally "He rallied Kish"], a gentleman [*awel*] of Kish, son of Marzala and Zarikhtim, they raised to kingship." ("Inscription de Naram-Sin," tr. A. Boissier, *Revue d'Assyriologie,* XVI [No. 3, 1919], 162–63; cf. the concluding line of "The Curse of Agade": "Praise be to Inanna [of Kish] for the destruction of Agade!") The view that this passage describes a last, isolated instance of political power being exercised by a popular assembly (see Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy," 165; Diakonoff, "Remarks," 10) clearly needs to be qualified. (See also note 71, below.)

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Reduced to provincial size either by the time of Naram-Sin's death or early in the reign of his successor, the weak remnant could not prevent the invasion of booty-seeking Guti mountaineers who in time extended their sway over most of Sumer and Akkad. Yet so feeble and sporadic was the Gutian ascendancy of somewhat more than a century that the Sumerian cities could resume their pre-Sargonic way of life under the control of the "local nobility and temple administration."[61]

The next turn in the course of Mesopotamian politics was unwittingly foretold by the author of "The Curse of Agade" in stating that as a consequence of the dire economic aftermath of the breakup of the Akkadian Empire—collapse of trade, inflation, and famine[62]—for which, characteristically, he held Naram-Sin to blame, the gods of the Sumerian cities were forced to take action to save "all mankind fashioned by Enlil" from want and misery. As it happened, however, the savior "gods" who eventually accomplished this task were the self-deified *lugal*'s of the Third Dynasty of Ur (about 2113–2006 B.C.). In the guise of "faithful shepherds" of an errant flock, these five rulers proceeded, much like Urukagina before them but with far greater success, to lead mankind back onto the "right path."[63] Thus Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty, is found echoing Urukagina on three counts: (in a royal hymn) "Enlil appointed him from among all the people: 'Let him be shepherd!' ";[64] (in an inscription) "Ur-Nammu . . . brought about the reëmergence of the ancient state of affairs";[65] and (in the prologue to his collection of reform laws) "[Ur-Nammu] established equity in the land and extinguished disorder and inequity. . . . He made the arrogant have a master. The orphan was not given over to the rich, the widow was not given over to the powerful, the man of one shekel was not given over to the man of one mina [sixty shekels]."[66]

In their zeal to restore "the ancient state of affairs," the rulers of the Third Dynasty created the most highly centralized state ever to appear in ancient Mesopotamia. The "arrogant" and the "rich" of Ur-Nammu's prologue to his reform laws, apparently the priestly instigators of the bitter

[61] Klima, "Altorientalische Despotismus," 666; see also Gadd, "Dynasty of Agade," 43–44.

[62] The long, graphic description reads in part: "the sea-rider could not sail his boat. . . . brigands dwelt on the roads. . . . The great fields and plains produced no grain. . . . a shekel of silver bought only a half *sila* of grain [six-hundred times the normal price—undoubtedly an exaggeration]. . . ." (Tr. Kramer, in *Sumerians,* 64–65; see also Falkenstein, "Fluch über Akkade," 70–75, 109, n. 179.)

[63] This is one of the meanings of *nìg-si-sá,* usually translated "equity," on which, see below.

[64] *Hymnen und Gebete,* tr. Falkenstein and Von Soden, 87, lines 5–6.

[65] Tr. S. N. Kramer, "Ur-Nammu Law Code," *Orientalia,* XXIII (No. 1, 1954), 45–46, n. 3.

[66] *Ibid.,* 46–47, lines 112 ff., 162 ff.

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revolts that had fatally weakened the Akkadian Empire and the new elite of merchant capitalists whose rise had been fostered by Akkadian mercantilism, were effectively curbed by the creation of a bureaucratic state in which all important officials (*ensi*'s, *šakkana,* high priests, and temple administrators) were appointees of the central government.[67] The temple economic organization of the Old Sumerian period was fully revived to function as the state's economic arm, much like Colbert used the guild system in seventeenth-century France, with the result that most merchants again became temple agents, losing the freedom of enterprise acquired under the Sargonids.[68]

A gradual revival of private business activity soon began, however, and reached large-scale proportions early in the troubled reign of Ibbi-Sin, the last member of the dynasty. There is good reason to identify these reviving merchant capitalists (*tamkaru*) with the "gentlemen" (*awelu*) who are described in a number of Old Babylonian omen texts that mirror the unhappy events of Ibbi-Sin's reign as aspiring to "guide the palace," and to conclude that they joined with those other enemies of strong government, the priests, in instigating (to quote again from the omens) the "riots," "uprisings," and "defections" that early undermined Ibbi-Sin's power and eventually resulted in his defeat by Elamite hordes who sacked his capital and carried him into captivity.[69] As in the case of Naram-Sin, the initial event in the story of Ibbi-Sin's downfall occurred at the "holy city" of Nippur, the residence of the powerful priests of Enlil and the center of the reviving free economy. Here, early in Ibbi-Sin's twenty-four-year reign, his military commander, Ishbi-Erra, who was charged with the defense of Nippur and Isin against an incursion of Semitic Amorites, successfully defected with the

[67] See, e.g., F. R. Kraus, "Le rôle des temples depuis la troisième dynastie d'Ur jusqu'à la première dynastie de Babylone," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale,* I (Jan. 1954), 524–32; Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 138–39; C. J. Gadd, "Babylonia, *c.* 2120–1800 B.C.," *Cambridge Ancient History,* I, Chap. xxii, 8, 25–27. The *šakkana* exercised the military power formerly held by the *ensi,* now strictly a civil official.

[68] W. F. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant: His Business and His Social Position* (Leiden, 1950), 42–48, and *Foreign Trade,* 18–22; A. L. Oppenheim, "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXXIV (No. 1, 1954), 13–14. A late copy of a literary composition honoring Shulgi, son of Ur-Nammu and real founder of the bureaucracy of the Third Dynasty, epitomizes in poetic form the transition from the state-assisted economy of the Sargonids to the state-controlled economy of the Third Dynasty: The deified "god Shulgi" visited many lands, finally settling in Anatolia where he established trade routes with his homeland and introduced its products. After twenty-five years of such mercantilistic activity, he returned home where, because strife and affliction had arisen in his absence, he inaugurated a reign of justice and plenty. (See C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* [London, 1948], 28–29.)

[69] See Jacobsen, "Reign of Ibbi-Suen," 38. On the revived private business activity, see Leemans, *Merchant,* 11, 42, 45–47, 113, 121; Gadd, "Babylonia," 29; M. Çig *et al.,* "Neue Rechts- und Gerichtsurkunden der Ur III-Zeit aus Lagaš . . . ," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* LIII (1959), 83 ff., Nos. 22–25. The merchant capitalists of the Old Babylonian period immediately following the Third Dynasty are commonly called *awelu;* see also *awel* in note 60, above.

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overt support, perhaps even at the instigation, of the priests[70] and, the evidence strongly suggests, of the capitalists as well.[71]

The fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur abruptly ended a century of economic stability and prosperity that, in view of the frequency with which the first two members of the dynasty utilized inscriptions, year names, royal hymns, and even a law code prologue to boast of their successful efforts in the matter, must have depended in large part upon a revived and closely supervised foreign trade with Cappadocia and other celebrated centers of Sargonid imperialism.[72] As in Greece after the fall of the Athenian Empire, there now ensued a long period characterized by political instability, chronic depression, and extremes of wealth and poverty commonly but imprecisely called the Old Babylonian period (about 2006–1595 B.C.). During this Era of Contending Kingdoms, as the period is increasingly called, incessant wars to maintain the balance of power, fought by constantly shifting coalitions ("there is no king who is powerful on his own"[73]), beset the land together with resurgent oligarchy.[74] Temporary respite from the latter evil came with the emergence of a strong ruler, but even then, with the

[70] Ibbi-Sin complained in a letter that "Enlil [i.e., the Nippur priesthood] has chosen Ishbi-Erra as king." (Tr. Kramer, in *Sumerians,* 71.) Maurice Lambert, "La littérature sumérienne, à propos d'ouvrages récents (suite)," *Revue d'Assyriologie,* LVI (No. 2, 1962), 88, concludes that Nippur not only abandoned Ibbi-Sin for Ishbi-Erra, but also treasonably favored the invading Bedouin Amorites. Especially revealing is the beginning of a Nippur religious text in praise of Ishbi-Erra: "Father Enlil, his words to the oppressed. The *en* of Ur [Ibbi-Sin; note omission of the *lugal* title], the hostile man, verily he has subdued; Ishbi-Erra . . . his [Ibbi-Sin's] foundation has broken. 'Sumer I truly love,' thus he [Enlil] said, 'and quickly as *ensi* of two cities [Nippur and Isin] I present him [Ishbi-Erra] to you.'" (*Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions,* tr. George A. Barton [New Haven, Conn., 1918], 57.)

[71] Omens based on the events surrounding Ibbi-Sin's downfall predicted that "the will of an *awelum* [another example has "the wills of the (members of the) country"] will guide the palace," and stated flatly that "the rise of a usurper, its other name is: the wealth (of tribute and taxes) will not enter the palace." (See Jacobsen, "Ibbi-Suen," 38.) Another passage *(ibid.),* "Ibbi-Suen under whom the country assembled (to choose another ruler)," parallels Naram-Sin's description of the oligarchic uprising against him. (See note 60, above.)

[72] E.g., Ur-Nammu boasted that "he saw the sea-traders safely home" (tr. Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Waters of Ur," in *Ur in Retrospect,* ed. Mallowan and Wiseman, 184) and "became celebrated in Ur" when he restored trade with Magan ("Ur-Nammu Law Code [prologue]," tr. Kramer, 45). For the archaeological evidence, see M. E. L. Mallowan, *Twenty-five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery (1932–1956)* (London, 1956), 24, 34. Administrative officers of the Third Dynasty were stationed in Cappadocia (Julius Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual,* XXVII [1956], 11, n. 48) and at Byblos (Edmond Sollberger, "Byblos sous les rois d'Ur," *Archiv für Orientforschung,* XIX [1959–60], 120–22). See also Oppenheim, "Seafaring Merchants," 13–14; Leemans, *Merchant,* 2, 5.

[73] This is from a diplomat's account of five coalitions of the moment. (Quoted by Albrecht Goetze, "Mesopotamian Laws and the Historian," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXIX [No. 3, 1949], 119.)

[74] "Kings will team up and will dominate the land. . . . Elders will team up and will dominate the land," reads a pertinent omen passage. (See Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy," 164, n. 24.) Cf. the following characteristic passage from the often socially conscious "wisdom" literature: "People extol the word of a strong man. . . . They fill the storehouse of the oppressor with gold. . . . They support the powerful, . . . but destroy the weak and drive away the powerless. And as for me, the penurious, a nouveau riche is persecuting me." ("The Babylonian *Theodicy,*" lines 267 ff., *Babylonian Wisdom Literature,* tr. W. G. Lambert [Oxford, Eng., 1960], 87.)

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exception of Hammurabi of Babylon (about 1792–1750 B.C.), hardly more than locally. This oscillation between despotic rule and oligarchy is epitomized in a contemporary prophecy (like the omens, prophecies sought to predict the future by describing past events in the future tense): "There will be confusion, disturbance, and disorder in the land. The nobility will lose prestige. Another man who is unknown will arise, seize the throne as king, and put his grandees to the sword."[75]

Given conditions such as followed hard on the breakup of the tightly bureaucratic state of the Third Dynasty of Ur, the Old Babylonian omen writers could with good reason predict that "the wealth (of tribute and taxes) will not enter the palace."[76] Put another way by an unknown author of a piece of Old Babylonian "wisdom" literature (many examples of which are virtual documents of social history), it was now "the opulent nouveau riche who heaps up goods" and "has multiplied his wealth."[77] The predominantly private economic records of the period describe in detail how these ubiquitous rich and powerful "gentlemen" (*awelu*) invested their accumulated "capital" (*qaqqadum,* literally "head")[78] in domestic and foreign commerce and industry, purchased extensive landed estates, and made loans to peasant farmers and sharecroppers at interest rates so excessive as to become proverbial: "The *awelum* who makes [grain] loans as a creditor—his grain remains his grain, while his interest is enormous."[79] So prevalent was debt slavery that, according to a popular saying, "The strong man lives off what is paid for his strength, and the weak man off what is paid for his children."[80] A new term, *muškenu* ("clients"), was now used for the mass of the population who had been reduced to a state of dependency, which, for

[75] "Akkadian Prophecies," tr. A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* XVIII (No. 1, 1964), 14 (commentary, 9).

[76] See note 71, above.

[77] "Babylonian *Theodicy,*" tr. Lambert, lines 52–53.

[78] On the "balanced accounts," the system of double-entry bookkeeping in which this term was used, see Leemans, *Merchant,* 43–45; John B. Curtis and William W. Hallo, "Money and Merchants in Ur III," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* XXX (1959), 108–12, 115–16.

[79] "The Dialogue of Pessimism," line 64, *Wisdom Literature,* tr. Lambert, 149. The other side of the picture is a favorite subject of proverbs, for example, "The poor man—by (his) debts is he brought low! What is snatched out of his mouth must repay (his) debts." (*Sumerian Proverbs: Glimpses of Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia,* tr. Edmund I. Gordon [Philadelphia, 1959], 195, No. 2.30; see also Nos. 1.55, 2.15–2.19, 2.29, 2.31–2.35.) On the multiple activities of these numerous entrepreneurs, including priests and priestesses who rivaled the merchant capitalists as bankers, see C. J. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of His Dynasty," *Cambridge Ancient History,* II, Chap. v, 19–20, 33, and literature cited, to which should be added Oppenheim, "Seafaring Merchants," 6–12; Lubor Matouš, "Purchase of Landed Property in Ur by Balmunamhe," *Charisteria Orientalia,* I (1956), 179–85; Leemans, *Foreign Trade,* 23 *passim,* and *Merchant,* esp. 49–67, 96, 98, 118–19, 121; D. O. Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 46–47; Rivkah Harris, "The Archive of the Sin Temple in Khafajah (Tutub)," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* IX (No. 1, 1955), 31–55, "Old Babylonian Temple Loans," *ibid.,* XIV (No. 4, 1960), 126–37, and "Biographical Notes on the *naditu* Women of Sippar," *ibid.,* XVI (No. 1, 1962), 1–12.

[80] *Wisdom Literature,* tr. Lambert, 248. Lipit-Ishtar of Isin cited his ending of debt slavery as a major factor in establishing "equity in Sumer and Akkad." (See "Le code de

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many if not most, bordered on destitution.[81] Their plight was accentuated by inflation and famine, twin evils of a stagnant economy caused by a sharp decline of foreign and domestic trade and a continuing decrease in agricultural production caused by the gradual salting up of the irrigated land.[82] Such conditions led one bold thinker to conclude that human nature has always been prone to evil, that at the very moment when the gods created mankind they

> Gave perverse speech to the human race.
> With lies, and not truth, they endowed them for ever.
> Solemnly they speak in favor of a rich man,
> "He is king," they say, "riches go at his side."
> But they harm a poor man like a thief,
> They lavish slander upon him and plot his murder,
> Making him suffer every evil like a criminal,
> because he has no protection.
> Terrifyingly they bring him to his end, and extinguish
> him like a flame.[83]

That the poor did not always lack protection, however, is the major glory of the Old Babylonian period: the strong rulers who arose made ameliorative state action their main domestic concern. In broad reference to their work as social reformers, these rulers commonly employed the terse expression first used, as we have seen, by Urukagina, "I have established liberty [*amargi*]," meaning the removal of abuses from the oppressed and, more positively, the restoration and safeguarding of their rights.[84] In part, these Old Babylonian reformers followed their predecessors of the Third Dynasty in viewing social justice as a return to what Urukagina had called

Lipit-Ištar," tr. Émile Szlechter, *Revue d'Assyriologie,* LI [Nos. 2, 4, 1957], 62, 178–79 [commentary]; cf. Edzard, *"Zweite Zwischenzeit,"* 95–97.) See also Isaac Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1949), 14–16, 23–27, 112–13; Harris, "Archive of the Sin Temple," 43–44.

[81] On the nature, origin, and number of the *muškenu,* and the connotation "pauperism" borne by the term *muškenutu,* see Gadd, "Hammurabi," 23–24, 45, and literature cited, to which should be added E. A. Speiser, "The *muškênum,*" *Orientalia,* XXVII (No. 1, 1958), 19–28; W. von Soden, "*muškēnum* und die Mawālī des frühen Islam," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* LVI (1964), 133–34; Mendelsohn, *Slavery,* 109.

[82] See Thorkild Jacobsen and Robert M. Adams, "Salt and Silt in Ancient Mesopotamian Agriculture," *Science,* CXXVIII (No. 3334, 1958), 1251–58. The earliest evidence of declining grain production, it is worthy of note, derives from Lagash around the time of Urukagina. Proverbs pungently reflect the effects of inflation and famine (see *Proverbs,* tr. Gordon, Nos. 1.15, 1.55, 1.165, 2.15, 2.28, 2.35). One reason for the general decline of trade (see Oppenheim, "Seafaring Merchants," 14–16; Leemans, *Foreign Trade,* 139, 164–65) is revealed in a letter from a merchant to his colleague: "Since I arrived here [Eshnunna] I am in trouble and the whole land is in trouble. Do not come here this year. . . ." (*Ibid.,* 78, see also 99.)

[83] "Babylonian *Theodicy,*" tr. Lambert, lines 279 ff.

[84] Szlechter, "Code de Lipit-Ištar," 178; Joseph Klima, "La base religieuse et éthique de l'ordre social dans l'Orient ancien," *Archiv Orientální,* XVI (1947–49), 350. The literal meaning of *amargi* is "return to the mother." (Kramer, *Sumerians,* 79.)

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"the divinely decreed way of life of former times," or what was now termed *kittum* (in Sumerian, *nìg-ge-na*), "truth," the fixed and invariable body of law upon which society was founded, the creation of the gods who had entrusted it to the ruler's care.[85] Increasingly, however, stress was placed on a new, dynamic type of law that had come to the fore during the period of the Third Dynasty as a supplement to *kittum*. Called *mišarum* (in Sumerian, *nìg-si-sá*), literally "rightings" and hence translated "justice" or "equity," this new law was clearly of human origin, the work of a true "legislator" (*lugal mišarum,* "master of equity law").[86] Promulgated as "ordinances of the king," *mišaru* acts sought to alleviate the injustices produced by the extreme economic and social dislocations of the Old Babylonian period for which *kittum* had no specific remedy.[87]

The evidence that many of the Old Babylonian rulers issued *mišaru* acts ranges from brief phrases in inscriptions and date formulas to extensive collections of remedial legislation: the recovered "codes" of Lipit-Ishtar, Hammurabi, Ammiṣaduqa, and, earliest of all, an unknown ruler of Eshnunna.[88] This pursuit of social justice, broadly defined by Lipit-Ishtar of Isin (about 1934–1924 B.C.) in the prologue to his code as a desire "to establish equity [*nìg-si-sa*] in the land, to banish complaints, to destroy wickedness and malevolence, and to establish prosperity in Sumer and Akkad,"[89] produced a wide variety of legislation. Most common were Solon-like *seisachtheias,* issued at the beginning of a reign and possibly repeated if necessary, proclaiming the remission of various types of indebtedness and other obligations including, at times, the freeing of persons enslaved for debt.[90] Debt bondage was limited to three years, an indication of the fre-

[85] See, *inter alia,* Émile Szlechter, "Les anciennes codifications en Mésopotamie," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité,* 3d Ser., IV (1957), 85–86.

[86] Thus Hammurabi styled himself "the master of equity law, to whom Shamash committed truth [*kittum*]." (Code of Hammurabi [hereafter cited as CH] xxvb, 96–97; for tr. and commentary, see Szlechter, "Codifications," 83; cf. G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* [2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1952, 1955], II, 99.) On *mišarum* and its relation to *kittum,* see *ibid.,* I, 20–23, 37–39; Speiser, in *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient* (see note 8, above), 12–14; B. A. van Proosdij, "*Shar mésharim:* Titre des rois babyloniens comme législateurs," in *Symbolae van Oven* (Leiden, 1946), 29–35; Klima, "Base religieuse et éthique de l'ordre social," 348–52.

[87] Gadd's conjecture ("Hammurabi," 19), that "the motive of law-giving at this period seems not to have been reform but the need of forging a single government out of differing [ethnic] elements," is controverted by evidence he presents elsewhere (e.g., *ibid.,* 22–23).

[88] See *ibid.,* 14–15, 22–23, and literature cited. See also Georges Boyer and Émile Szlechter, "Introduction bibliographique à l'histoire du droit suméro-akkadien (1939–1955)," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité,* 3d Ser., III (1956), 41–79; Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws,* I, 5–17; Szlechter, "Codifications," 75–80; Edzard, *"Zweite Zwischenzeit,"* esp. 68–69, 76–86, 125–26, 165–66.

[89] Code of Lipit-Ishtar [hereafter cited as CL] ii, 25 ff. ("Code de Lipit-Ištar," tr. Szlechter, 61; see also F. R. Steele, "The Code of Lipit-Ishtar," *American Journal of Archaeology,* LII [No. 3, 1948], 425 ff.; Kramer, in *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 159 ff.)

[90] On the general subject, see Edzard, *"Zweite Zwischenzeit,"* 81–86, 97, 126; Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws,* I, 22; J. J. Finkelstein, "Ammiṣaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law Codes,'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* XV (1961), 100, 101–103; F. R. Kraus, *Ein*

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firmly believed that Spain, and perhaps the Jesuits, were supporting Vorstius, so that they could argue that, if the Dutch tolerated Vorstius, they ought to be willing to tolerate Catholics.[35] The tract was ready for publication by the beginning of February. Winwood duly presented a copy to the States-General; if they had refused to receive it, he was prepared to appeal to Dutch opinion by distributing it in quantity to the clergy.[36] The royal attack upon Vorstius' opinions was vehement, but the conclusion, addressed to the Dutch government, was surprisingly mild, because, so the insiders said, James had received private assurances that Vorstius would be removed.[37] And so, indeed, he was. Prince Maurice intervened in support of the English demand. In March the estates of Holland, having heard Vorstius, forced him to withdraw from Leiden and to answer the charges made in the books already written, or to be written, against him. He was to have one and a half years to compose his reply. James wanted him banished from the United Provinces altogether, but this the Dutch government refused to do.[38] Winwood was pleased enough; his own indiscretion had not damaged his career. "I think we shall have rest, at least for some months, from any more trouble with this atheistical wretch, who here in Holland is adored as an idol."[39] Vorstius never occupied his chair, and the whole matter was eventually forgotten.

The Vorstius affair has no significance in itself; what it does reveal is that in James's day it was possible, because of the King's particular cast of mind, for a theological side issue of this kind momentarily to take up a disproportionate amount of the time and energy of the English diplomatic service. This affair did not improve Anglo-Dutch relations, and it entertained the Spaniards, who hoped to make capital of it.[40] James's concern with this heterodox theologian brought none of the important problems England faced one whit nearer solution.

[35] Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, Mar. 10–20, 1612, in *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1610–1613,* ed. H. F. S. Brown (London, 1905), 320–21. Foscarini seems to have shared the King's opinion.

[36] Winwood to Cecil, Feb. 11, 20, 1612, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 240–42, 244–46.

[37] More to Trumbull, Feb. 14, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 239–40.

[38] James to Winwood, Feb. 18, 1612, Winwood, *Memorials,* ed. Sawyer, III, 339; Winwood to Cecil, Mar. 18, 19, 1612, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 254–55, 260–62; Throckmorton to Trumbull, Apr. 17, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 277. In his letter James instructed Winwood not only to thank Maurice for his help, but also to ask him whether he would be able to accept a Garter without annoying the States-General.

[39] Winwood to Edmondes, Mar. 17, 1612, BM, Stowe MS. 172, fols. 210–12. There is a brief account of the Vorstius affair in the introduction (pp. xxxiv–xxxvii) of *Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley,* V, ed. Shaw; see also the footnote on pages 35–36 of that volume.

[40] Digby to Trumbull, Apr. 18, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 278.

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they engaged in their usual game of referring matters back and forth between the States-General and the provincial estates, in this case the estates of Holland, which had jurisdiction over the University of Leiden. Winwood was finally goaded into a tactical error: on December 9, 1611, he declared to the States-General that its inaction, and that of the estates of Holland, constituted a breach of Anglo-Dutch friendship.[30] Twelve days later he saw something far more sinister in Dutch behavior—their deliberate affront to James was designed to weaken the orthodox Protestant party in the Netherlands and thus pave the way for the toleration of Roman Catholicism, a condition on which Spain was insisting as the price of converting the twelve-year truce into a permanent peace.[31]

James's apparent first reaction to Winwood's zeal was favorable,[32] but then, under Cecil's sobering influence, he had second thoughts, as he so often did. If necessary Winwood would be the scapegoat for James's theological enthusiasm. Cecil informed Winwood that the King felt that he had gone much too far, but he had not been repudiated. Instead James had told Noel de Caron, the Dutch representative in London, that what Winwood had really meant was that if no action were taken against Vorstius in the February meeting of the States-General, then England would regard such inaction as a breach of the amity. Cecil's letter betrayed his impatience at this whole affair, caught as he was between the tactlessness of his agent and the stubbornness of his master. He was far more interested in when England could expect to see the installment of twenty thousand pounds on the debt that the Dutch now owed.[33]

Winwood's defense of his misstep was rather lame: he talked of the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1585 and its clause on the maintenance of religion, which, he said, the appointment of Vorstius violated, and he claimed that he had not spoken about the Anglo-Dutch amity, but rather about the violence that Vorstius' appointment offered to James's susceptibilities. He continued to bemoan the religious laxity of the Dutch.[34] James, meanwhile, was at work on a pamphlet against this blasphemous atheist. The King

Englishman in the Netherlands with this low opinion of Vorstius. The Puritan-minded Sir John Throckmorton, the commander of the English garrison at Flushing, used even more violent language. See his letters from September 1611 to May 1612, in HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley,* ed. C. L. Kingsford *et al.* (6 vols., London, 1925–66), IV, 287 ff.; V, 1 ff.

[30] Winwood to Cecil, Dec. 10, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 176–85; see also Winwood, *Memorials,* ed. Sawyer, III, 309–10.

[31] Winwood to Cecil, Dec. 21, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 192–94. Winwood still believed this after the event. (Winwood to Trumbull, Apr. 13, 1612, Winwood, *Memorials,* ed. Sawyer, III, 357.)

[32] More to Winwood, Jan. 1, 1612, *ibid.,* 318–20.

[33] Cecil to Winwood, Dec. 29, 1611, *ibid.,* 316–18.

[34] Winwood to Cecil, Jan. 11, 1612, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 216–19; Winwood to Trumbull, Feb. 26, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 248–49.

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raising the question, and not to deliver James's protestation at all unless the Dutch proved recalcitrant.[25]

It was hardly a propitious time to become involved with the Dutch on such a matter: too many other pressing questions needed settlement. An installment of the Dutch debt was due, and the leading Dutch politician, Jan van Olden Barneveldt, whom the English regarded with suspicion and dislike as being pro-French, was being evasive about it. England was about to enter into a formal league with the princes of the Protestant Union and was anxious that the Dutch join too. There was friction in the East Indies, which would eventually lead to the abortive conferences of 1613 and 1615. Above all, there was the immensely delicate matter of the Cleves-Jülich succession, which, if it could not be settled by agreement among the three principal claimants, all still Protestant, might well lead to an explosion in the Empire that both England and the United Provinces wished to prevent. United action on their part was certainly necessary if an acceptable compromise were to emerge. James's attitude toward Vorstius, which smacked suspiciously of interference in Dutch internal affairs, was hardly calculated to make Barneveldt cooperative in these other questions. Winwood nevertheless delivered his protest, couching it in the most diplomatic language he could: it was James's zeal for the Reformed religion, "the wellspring from whence flows the good affection he bears your state," which had led him to make this representation, just as in the past he had complained of the schismatic opinions of Arminius.[26] Barneveldt remarked that Vorstius could not be condemned without a hearing; Winwood replied that Vorstius' own writings condemned him and that to allow him to be heard was to cast doubt on James's judgment.[27] This was a dangerous reply, because it made an issue of the King's position as the leading theologian of the Protestant world.

Winwood's handling of the Vorstius question was not very skillful. Partially this was because he came to allow his dislike of Vorstius' views to affect his judgment. At the beginning he made light of the matter. In October he wrote to Trumbull in Brussels that Vorstius was a learned man whose book expressed some "capricious and fantastical opinions."[28] But by December Vorstius was "the most remarkable atheist which our age hath borne."[29] The stalling tactics of the Dutch further exasperated Winwood;

[25] Cecil to Winwood, Sept. 5, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 122–24.

[26] Winwood's address to the States-General, Sept. 11–21, 1611, *ibid.*, 103/36, fols. 188–90; the French version is in Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 293–95. Winwood to Cecil, Sept. 22, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 132–37.

[27] Winwood to Cecil, Oct. 12, 1611, *ibid.*, fols. 155–57.

[28] Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 296.

[29] Winwood to Trumbull, Dec. 12, 1611, *ibid.*, 310–11. Winwood was not the only

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structed Sir Thomas Lake, the Latin Secretary, to correspond with ambassadors and keep them informed.[20] The complaints continued, however. Pindar wrote from Turkey in April 1613, many months after Cecil's death, that since that moment he had received no instructions.[21] Another difficulty James caused by doing the Secretary of State's work was that he was inconsistent. In 1613 England was deep in negotiation with France for a marriage between Prince Charles and Louis XIII's sister Christine. Edmondes, the ambassador in France, complained to James that the King had betrayed him; James sent him one set of instructions and then, cozened by the "artificial gloss" the French ambassador in London put on the negotiation, agreed to conditions more favorable to France than Edmondes' instructions permitted.[22]

The King was responsible for the determination of the main lines of foreign policy and necessarily spent much time in negotiations with foreign ambassadors. The theological bent of James's mind caused him to raise issues that occasionally created considerable difficulties for his diplomatic agents. His habit of sending copies of his polemical tracts to Catholic governments is well known. This greatly embarrassed them: they either had to refuse to receive the book, thereby insulting James, or accept it and run the risk of papal wrath. Small wonder that Henry IV of France remarked in exasperation of one of James's books that he wished it had not been written.[23] An even better example of the kind of difficulty James could cause is the minor but entertaining affair of Conrad Vorstius.

Vorstius, a German theologian of radical persuasion, had been designated by the authorities of the province of Holland as the successor of the famous Jacobus Arminius in the chair of divinity at the University of Leiden. James had read some of Vorstius' works, notably a book called *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo sive de natura et attributis Dei,* and he was horrified. On August 31, 1611, he wrote to Winwood at The Hague, instructing him to protest against the appointment of a man who had published such "monstrous blasphemy and horrible atheism." To give substance to the protest, James supplied Winwood with a "catalogue of his damnable positions."[24] Cecil was not happy at James's sudden zeal, and he instructed Winwood to use more moderate language than the King's in

[20] Wake to Carleton, Dec. 17–27, 1612, PRO, SP, 99/11, fols. 178–79.

[21] *Ibid.,* 97/7, fol. 35; see also Edmondes to Trumbull, Feb. 25, 1614, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 319.

[22] Edmondes to James, June 25, 1613, PRO, SP, 78/61, fols. 185–86.

[23] Carew to Cecil, June 15, 1609, *ibid.,* 78/55, fols. 105–108.

[24] *Ibid.,* 84/68, fol. 119. James's theological opinions of Vorstius are spelled out in his pamphlet, *His Majesty's Declaration against Vorstius,* published in London early in 1612 at the height of the controversy.

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At one point he apologized to Cecil for sending gossip in his dispatches. Cecil replied:

> For that excuse which you insinuate of writing trivial things, I have good testimony that his Majesty doth take them, as they are advertised, to be written for his satisfaction, and would, I assure you, like your serious part sometimes the worse if your dispatches had not sometimes such mixtures.[15]

James liked funny stories, but not criticism of himself. Winwood, after he became Secretary of State, had occasion to warn William Trumbull, the resident in Brussels, about this. In letters designed for James, Trumbull was not to mention "any disgraceful or contemptible speeches they use against him," since this upset the King. Trumbull was nevertheless to tell Winwood about them.[16] King-watching, in James's court, was a fine art.

So tight was Cecil's grip on his diplomatic subordinates that even the King's wishes had to be made officially known through him. Early in 1612 Winwood was supposed to journey from The Hague to Wesel to negotiate the proposed league with the princes of the Protestant Union. His London man of business wrote him:

> Mr. [George] Calvert told me, he had expressly demanded of the King his pleasure, whether he would retard . . . your journey any longer, or alter any thing of your commission? Whereunto his Majesty made answer, that he was content you should go when you were called, and with the instructions that you already have: but withall Mr. Calvert said, he must not send you this advertisement as an instruction, for that only belongs to my Lord.[17]

After the death of "our great Apollo," as Cecil was sometimes maliciously called,[18] the system became notably less efficient. A fear of leaks developed immediately, especially on the part of foreign princelings like the Duc de Bouillon, whose subterranean maneuverings could hardly stand much exposure.[19] James's decision to be his own Secretary of State did not work well; ambassadors soon began to complain that they were not being kept informed. Digby was particularly vociferous; the Spanish ambassador, he said, had reported what had passed in the Privy Council, with the result that the Spanish government was better informed on English policy than he was. And so, finally, in December 1612, the King in-

[15] Cecil to Carleton, Jan. 3, 1611, PRO, SP, 99/7, fols. 1–2; Cecil to Carleton, Oct. 17, 1611, *ibid.*, 99/8, fol. 187.

[16] HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. E. K. Purnell and A. B. Hinds (4 vols., London, 1924–40), IV, 475–76.

[17] John More to Winwood, Feb. 17, 1612, in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I,* ed. Edmund Sawyer (3 vols., London, 1725), III, 338.

[18] E.g., Jean Beaulieu to Trumbull, Oct. 26, 1609, in *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 172.

[19] Edmondes to Rochester, June 20, 1612, BM, Stowe MS. 172, fol. 304.

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ever, to create potential rivals for himself in the uncertain and unbusiness-like atmosphere of James's court, and so he kept the threads of negotiation firmly in his hands. "Experience teacheth us," he wrote to Carleton after the latter had been in Venice about a year, "that all states rather trust their own ministers, than those that speak for others," and so, presumably, a foreign government would be more apt to believe its ambassador's report of a conversation with Cecil than a suggestion from an English ambassador. He went on to assure Carleton, however, that there would be no discrepancy between the instructions he sent to Venice and what he told the Venetian ambassador in London.[10]

Cecil preferred that his ambassadors not be on too friendly terms with the governments to which they were accredited: "Inimicus rather than Amicus to the state where he liveth," wrote his henchman Levinus Munck.[11] The ambassador's chief function, in Cecil's view, was to keep him supplied with information—"to advertise and not to advise," as Sir George Carew put it[12]—which meant a long dispatch at least once a week. They were also supposed to write to each other in order to relieve London of the burden of keeping each ambassador informed of what was going on in other foreign courts.[13] The prospect of all this correspondence rather horrified Carleton, who in the summer of 1610, in the expectation of taking over from Edmondes at Brussels, had asked Edmondes for a look at his files. "I must tell you that my contentment in reading your dispatches hath been mixed with some grief, when I observe your course of weekly writing, and think that the same diligence may be expected of a new negotiator. But I hope the quietness of the times will serve for excuse of some idleness."[14] Shortly after Carleton's arrival in his first post, however, Cecil explicitly instructed him to write every week; the King expected it. Carleton need not have worried, for he never found it difficult to fill up his pages.

[10] Cecil to Carleton, Aug. 20, 1611, PRO, SP, 99/8, fol. 16.

[11] BM, Cottonian Manuscripts, Vespasian [hereafter cited as Cott. MSS. Vesp.] C ix, fol. 674. For this reason ambassadors sometimes were used who were positively distasteful to the governments to which they were sent. (See, e.g., Marc Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, Nov. 30–Dec. 10, 1609, in *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1607–1610*, ed. H. F. Brown [London, 1904], 398; Lake to Lesieur, Mar. 30, 1613, PRO, SP, 80/2, fols. 272–75.)

[12] Carew to Cecil, Oct. 8, 1608, *ibid.*, 78/54, fol. 179. Carew was then ambassador in France. Ambassadors occasionally had to act without instructions, as Carew himself did in 1607 in asking the French government to seize the fugitive Earl of Tyrone. Cecil praised him for his initiative. (*Ibid.*, 78/53, fol. 351.)

[13] Edmondes to Cecil, May 25, 1605, *ibid.*, 77/7, fol. 170. On August 26–September 5, 1608, Wotton complained to Edmondes that the latter's fortnightly letters were useless, since the Italians in Flanders and those Flemings with Italian connections wrote more often. He asked Edmondes to write every week. (BM, Stowe MS. 170, fol. 155.)

[14] Carleton to Edmondes, July 13, 1610, in Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James I* (2 vols., London, 1849), I, 120–21. This last remark, two months after the assassination of Henry IV, does little credit to Carleton's perspicacity. As it turned out, Carleton was sent to Venice rather than Brussels.

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did not carry the prestige it does today; nor was it an end in itself. It was hoped that it would be a steppingstone to a more desirable, and more lucrative, post at home. In February 1606 Winwood from The Hague confided to Edmondes, his colleague at Brussels, that he would like to retire but that he could not afford to do so just then; thus he would have to hang on and angle for something better. "For who would live exiled from his country in a place of continual care and toil without . . . present profit or hope of future preferment?"[5] Winwood, however, was an unusually conscientious man, at least by his own account. In 1604 he asked Cecil for expense money so that he might follow the States-General to Flanders. His predecessor, he remarked, did not do this sort of thing, "whereby he provided well for his profit and ease, but his example was no warrant for my contentment in the execution of my duty."[6]

Ambassadors often felt it necessary to travel with the court to which they were accredited, although they did not like it: it was tiring, expensive, and not very productive. When James was planning his journey to Scotland late in 1616, the diplomatic corps in London was unhappy about the prospect of going to that remote and barbarous area; its members deluged their governments with requests as to how to reply if the King invited them to accompany him.[7] English ambassadors enjoyed traveling no better. Digby, when Philip III was proposing to visit Portugal, wrote that as a result

> we poor ambassadors that reside in this Court are like to become very miserable; for if we go along with the king we shall be ruined with the charge and incommodities of the journey; if we stay behind we shall *predicare hic in desertis* and I should almost do the king as good service if I lay in Nottingham as I shall do him here in Madrid.[8]

As long as Robert Cecil lived he kept a tight grip on his diplomatic agents, in spite of the immense administrative load he carried. From time to time there were rumors that he might appoint some subordinate secretaries to relieve him of some of these burdens.[9] Cecil was not willing, how-

[5] BM Stowe MS. 168, fols. 345–46.

[6] PRO, SP, 84/64, fol. 186. For the sake of convenience, Robert Cecil will be referred to as Cecil throughout this essay, rather than as, first Cranborne, then Salisbury.

[7] Giovanni Lionello to the Doge and Senate of Venice, Nov. 28–Dec. 8, 1616, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1615–1617*, ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1908), 373.

[8] Digby to Sir John Holles, Nov. 12, 1612, in Historical Manuscripts Commission [hereafter cited as HMC], *Calendar of the Manuscripts of . . . the Duke of Portland*, ed. F. H. Blackburn Daniell *et al.* (10 vols., London, 1892–1931), IX, 102.

[9] E.g., Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sept. 30, 1606, in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I* (2d ed., 3 vols., London, 1838), III, 313–14. Edmondes, who was anxious for such a post himself, thought the idea a very good one, in the interest of administrative efficiency.

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Wottons, Sir Charles Cornwallis, and Sir Thomas Parry came from "official" families and were virtually hereditary government servants. Sir Thomas Roe and Sir Paul Pindar, who came from mercantile backgrounds, became diplomatists because of their connections with the great trading companies. Pindar was consul at Aleppo and then ambassador to Turkey, thanks to the Levant Company, which paid the salaries of the diplomatic staff in the Ottoman Empire. Roe began his distinguished career as the agent of the East India Company at the court of the Great Mogul and succeeded Pindar as ambassador to Turkey. Dudley Carleton's career was more typical in its origin; he came from a minor Oxfordshire landed family and served his diplomatic apprenticeship as secretary to Parry while the latter was ambassador to France. For a time Carleton was suspected of a connection with some of the people involved in the Gunpowder Plot, and this delayed his rise, but eventually, thanks in part to the support of Sir Ralph Winwood, he succeeded Sir Henry Wotton at Venice in 1610. Thence he went to The Hague and in the next reign became a peer and Secretary of State. Winwood was less typical in that his origins were more humble—his father was evidently a tenant on an estate owned by Magdalen College, Oxford, and was described on the university register as "plebius"—and in that he began as secretary to an Essex man, Sir Henry Neville, during the latter's brief embassy in France. He was not sufficiently important to be involved in the ruin of the Essex faction, however, and was able successfully to transfer his allegiance to Robert Cecil, whom, indeed, he was eventually to succeed as Secretary of State.

Not all Jacobean diplomats served this sort of secretarial apprenticeship in an English embassy before receiving a major appointment. Sir Stephen Lesieur, for instance, a Frenchman, was secretary to the French ambassador in England in the 1580's. He became a naturalized citizen; from about 1598 on Cecil employed him chiefly in Germany, usually on special missions, rather than as a resident. And John Digby, who had perhaps the best diplomatic brain of the lot, served no apprenticeship at all. After the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, Lord Harington, who was in charge of the household of Princess Elizabeth and had prevented her abduction by the plotters, sent Digby, a man of twenty-five, to the King to assure him that his daughter was safe. James took a fancy to Digby, and his future was assured. He began his diplomatic career in the important post of ambassador to Spain. In the roll of James's ambassadors, however, Digby was the exception. Most of them had had some training, and some much training, before they received a major post. It was the Cecilian system.

An ambassadorship was an important and dignified position, but it

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The Jacobean Diplomatic Service

MAURICE LEE, JR.*

"Legatus,"[1] wrote Sir Henry Wotton in what is quite possibly the only pun in English that was first written in Latin, "est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa." This rather cynical epigram did not amuse King James I, not because he had no sense of humor, but because it was quoted in the book of a religious controversialist in order to show that Protestants were as equivocating as Jesuits, and Wotton's career suffered accordingly.[2] Wotton's difficulties, however, were not all owing to his wit; he was not a particularly effective ambassador. In this he did not resemble most of James's professional diplomatists, a group of overworked and underpaid men who lived comfortless, penurious, tedious, occasionally dangerous lives in their country's service and who often received meager enough rewards at the end.

It is frequently overlooked that as a group the Jacobean ambassadors were thoroughly professional, more so than those of some subsequent periods.[3] Most of them received their training either from one of the Secretaries of State or, more usually, by serving in a subordinate capacity to some senior ambassador, and they made a career of government service. When Lord Edward Wotton, Henry's older half brother, went on a special mission to France in 1610 he expressed his pleasure to the resident ambassador in France, Sir Thomas Edmondes, that they would be working together, since Edmondes was "bred as it were in the same school with me under Sir Fra. Walsingham."[4] A sampling of some fifteen or so professional diplomatists of the first decade and a half of James's reign who are noted in *The Dictionary of National Biography* shows that most of them came from landed families of no great importance. There were exceptions: the

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[1] This essay has grown out of the research for a projected study of English foreign policy in the years 1603–1618; the examples are taken almost entirely from those years. For a general treatment of many of the matters touched on here, see Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston, 1955), esp. Chaps. XXII–XXV.

[2] Isaac Wake to Dudley Carleton, Nov. 25–Dec. 5, 1612, Public Record Office, State Papers [hereafter cited as PRO, SP], 99/11, fol. 125.

[3] See, e.g., the comments on the ambassadors of the Restoration period in P. S. Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1965), 50, 52.

[4] British Museum [hereafter cited as BM], Stowe MS. 171, fol. 316.

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cultural and political world. Clio at their behest has donned a uniform and does battle for social virtue. It is true that a number of the middle generation have themselves been influenced by a conservative political bias; more common among them, as we have seen, is a political neutrality which, however inadequate for citizenship, is surely useful for scholarship.

It would be a pity if their social consciousness uncritically committed the emerging generation of American scholars to any prescribed reading of the American past. It would mean the loss of much youthful talent for history. It would also be a loss for the American political Left. If history has any programmatic value, surely it must be history that is allowed to speak for itself. Let the New Left ask its own questions of the past, but let the past then say its piece. America may well be "exceptional." Knowing it may be ultimately more useful for the Left than denying it. And in the end there is no need to confuse the truths of the past with the needs of the present and future. The complexities and perplexities of the next few decades may well justify the cooperative commonwealth without the need to play tricks on the dead.

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we ought to extend to them the same courtesy of judging them against their peers that we extend to the more conventional younger scholars.

Ultimately, of course, their reception must depend not on their craft but on their content. Do they have anything to say that is worth listening to for its own sake? At their best I believe they do. As a historian personally convinced that Americans encountered a narrower range of cultural and political experience than did Europeans, I do not take seriously the reassertion of class war of some of the more militant radical scholars. But the work of Thernstrom, LaFeber, and even Williams is a useful antidote to the self-congratulatory note that may be found among some of the post-World War II historians. America may not exhibit as grim a record of exploitation and brutality as Romanov Russia or Bourbon Spain or Regency England, but it had its agonies and its injustices. More important, it had its evasions and its "unfinished revolutions." American "exceptionalism" did not include total exemption from the ills that societies are heir to; it most emphatically did not exclude failure.

But there is also a debit side of the ledger. The New Left has frequently confused intellectual disagreement with the battle of generations and has often failed to play the scholarly game by the most elementary rules of fair play. The young radicals are often bad tempered. In their civic concerns they are angry dissenters from the nation's current foreign and domestic policies, and they sometimes allow the tone and rhetoric of the picket line and the handbill to invade their professional work. The historical "establishment" is not the political establishment in Washington, and the young men of the Left must not treat scholarship as an opportunity for a political harangue.

But beyond these matters of taste there are weaknesses in the emerging class conflict history that threaten to stultify the whole New Left historical enterprise. The young radicals' rejection of the historical currents since 1945 has all too often implied a denial not only of "consensus" conclusions but also of the social sciences and the new statistical methodology. Admittedly both of these new methods can be abused, but by rejecting these analytical tools the young radical historians are, in effect, disarming themselves and perhaps, ultimately, are consigning their efforts to sterility. Their response is all the more surprising when we recall the old Left's respect for science and for "scientific" history.

But most disturbing of all is the New Left's exaggerated present-mindedness. It suggests a contempt for pure history, history that has not enlisted in the good fight. The young radicals' efforts are generally governed not by the natural dialogue of the discipline but by the concerns of the outside

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iceberg. Beneath the surface still lies the main mass of young radical scholars just now completing their training at the major cosmopolitan graduate schools. In the next few years these young men will be joining in the attempt to reconstruct a coherent Leftist view of the American past,[79] and in a period when the American intelligentsia has become fascinated by the radical student movement, these young historians will receive, I predict, an unusual amount of attention and display.[80] If for no other reason, then, than their impact on the literate public, they will have to be reckoned with by their professional elders. But they must also be listened to for the health of the historical profession. No discipline should be without a dialogue, least of all one that represents a difficult and problematical marriage of the humanities and the social sciences. Unanimity is fine in science; unanimity over the nature of man's past suggests either an official line or a disturbing poverty of imagination. Neither circumstance can be applauded by an honest scholar no matter what his ideological allegiance.

But prudential motives aside, does the New Left history deserve the attention of the senior men? I think it does. True, there has yet been no young radical scholar of arresting style or impressive technique. But, of course, great historians, unlike great mathematicians, are made, not born. For a group composed almost entirely of men and women in their thirties, the young radicals have done work that deserves respect. They cannot compete in craftsmanship with the men they have chosen to oppose, but surely

contrary. In arguing, as he does, that slavery was an economic blight on the South, he introduces, quite properly, I believe, considerations of social values, the South's self-image, and other factors not usually encountered in a strict Marxist interpretation. For an extended treatment of his view on slavery, see his book, *The Political Economy of Slavery* (New York, 1965). Another example of a relatively "hard line" class conflict analysis of the Civil War is the chapter, "The American Civil War: The Last Capitalist Revolution," in Barrington Moore, Jr.'s, recent book, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966), 111–55. Moore's estimate of the war, "reached after much uncertainty," is that the struggle "was the last revolutionary offensive on the part of what one may legitimately call urban or bourgeois capitalism." (See page 112.) Moore is not, of course, of the same generation as the New Leftists, but as noted above (note 13) the young radicals turn to him for inspiration.

[79] By now it is clear that this is becoming a conscious and organized goal of the Students for a Democratic Society, the largest of the New Left groups. The SDS has established within the last year the Radical Education Project, which has assumed as one of its tasks the writing of "radical history," for the purpose, as one REP letter puts it, of equipping "outrage with precision." The REP has already published its first Occasional Paper on American History, "Towards a Democratic History," by Professor Jesse Lemisch of the University of Chicago. This is both a brief review of what has been done and a call to further effort. For additional details, see "American Radical History: A Progress Report," *New Left Notes*, Jan. 13, 1967, 2. Mr. John Roberts of NYU called the REP and its plans to my attention.

[80] This fascination has already been exhibited in the extraordinary attention given Christopher Lasch's book, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York, 1965). This work, a series of lively and perceptive vignettes of various cultural radicals, is held together by an opaque and confusing thesis that actually defies all categories of Left or Right. Despite the ambiguities, Lasch has been lionized by the intellectual community, less I believe for his very real merits than for the fact that he writes in a literate way about two subjects irresistible to the intellectuals: the Left and themselves.

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progressive industrial capitalist class. The war that freed the slaves also established the social preconditions for the eventual revolution. Both events, in a word, were historically necessary and historically progressive.[75]

Neither of these solutions would seem possible for the New Left. One way to solve the difficulty is by acknowledging a sort of ambiguity in human affairs, which, in the last analysis, is fundamentally uncongenial to the New Left style. Irving Howe, who represents a bridge between the old and the New Left, notes that the war contained "a double truth." The conflict, he writes in a review of Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore,* "did mark the victory of modern capitalism and did let loose those tendencies toward a centralized state which Wilson deplores, but also the Civil War brought to an end the system by which one man could own another and therefore . . . it represents a major turning in the moral development of the United States."[76] Similarly Howard Zinn, attempting to absolve the abolitionists from the grave charge of starting a bloody conflict, believes that, while the war was fought over slavery, it was not the result of the antislavery agitation. Paralleling the antipathy between abolitionist and slaveholder was a more potent conflict between "antitariff, antibank, anticapitalist [and] antinationalist" southern agrarians on the one side and the "natural political leaders and controllers of the national economy" on the other. It was the second group of antagonists who caused the war, for only they possessed sufficient power. But once the war had started, these powerless abolitionists transformed it into an irresistible attack on slavery![77]

The other escape from the dilemma is to ignore, like Beard, the whole moral side of the great conflict. This is the course of Eugene Genovese of Sir George Williams University, one of the few confirmed Marxists among the young radical historians. Genovese redraws the economic lines between North and South and restores the struggle of material interests to the center of the stage. Slavery, at least by implication, caused the war, not because it aroused the moral indignation of the Western world, but because it isolated the South from the progressive economic currents of the day. Wedded to its slave system the South became increasingly feudal and backward. Ultimately "the South's slave civilization could not . . . coexist with an increasingly hostile, powerful and aggressive Northern Capitalism."[78]

The New Left counterattack on the historiographic trends of the last twenty years is still in its early stages. We see at present only the tip of the

[75] Allen, *Reconstruction,* 17–28.
[76] Irving Howe, "Edmund Wilson and the Sea Slugs," *Dissent,* X (Winter 1963), 70 ff.
[77] Howard Zinn, "The Tactics of Agitation," in *Antislavery Vanguard,* ed. Duberman, 445.
[78] Eugene Genovese, "The Slave South: An Interpretation," *Science and Society,* XXV (Dec. 1961), 320 ff. I do not mean to say that Genovese is a crude economic determinist: quite the

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these groups, the one fearful of the leveling spirit that had arisen during the war among the yeomanry and their leaders, the other anxious to protect its livelihood, succeeded in getting adopted a document that "established the most democratic government in any major nation of the world at that day."[72] This may be Beardian, but it is Beard in a highly sophisticated version and without the intrusive polemical tone.

Lynd's work on the Confederation period like Thernstrom's in social history reveals some of the possibilities of the New Left history. When used with imagination and flexibility it can tell us important things about complex historical events. In any case the questions the Left asks are still apt to be the interesting ones. Unfortunately that second great national crisis, the Civil War, has not received an equally perceptive treatment, although the work of Beard, Howard K. Beale, William B. Hesseltine, Du Bois, and others suggests the plausibility of a class conflict analysis.

The relative poverty of results arises, I think, from an intellectual and emotional dilemma that confronts the New Left historians when they contemplate the Civil War. On the one hand the war was a heroic battle for freedom, as the successful abolition of slavery attests. Was it also, as Beard and the Marxists would insist, a sectionalized struggle of classes with the North representing middle-class industrialism and the South aristocratic feudalism? If the latter, the New Left, with their jaundiced view of middle-class capitalist America, can at best be ambivalent about Union victory. If the former, where is class struggle? If both, how does one account for the selfish ruling class performing an act of such colossal generosity as emancipating the slaves? The old Left handled the problem in either of two ways. For Beard it scarcely existed; *The Rise of American Civilization* reveals him as relatively insensitive to the evils of slavery and harshly critical of the abolitionists.[73] There is, then, no crusade for freedom to embarrass him in his belief that the war was at heart an act of aggression by capitalists against agrarians.[74] A Marxist like James Allen, a man obviously alive to the moral issue of slavery, solves the problem by supposing the Radical Republicans, the agents of emancipation, to be also the political wing of a

[72] *Id.*, "Capitalism, Democracy and the United States Constitution: The Case of New York," *Science and Society*, XXVII (Fall 1963), 385–413.

[73] At least for the period before the rise of the Cotton Kingdom, Beard treats slavery as a benevolent institution, while he attacks the abolitionists for the "depths of their abuse and scurrility." As for the Radical Republicans, the particular postwar friends of the Negro, they are largely driven by a simple craving for power. (See Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* [2 vols., New York, 1933], I, 655, 698; II, 116.)

[74] Socialists like Irving Howe misread Beard, I think, when they claim him for the North in the Civil War. Unlike the Marxists, Beard never approved of the victory for industrial America, remaining sympathetic to the end to the agrarian society that the war presumably overthrew.

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again in the 1860's, Americans killed one another on American soil for reasons that appeared to them fundamental. Until recently most American historians—both Marxists and liberal progressives—were prepared to agree that on these two occasions something like a class conflict did occur in the United States. Then came the challenge. To the post-World War II historians the American Revolution was not a social cataclysm; it was a nationalist struggle for independence. Its sequel, the Constitution, was not a Thermidorian reaction but a popular document supported by all classes. The Civil War was not a struggle between industrial capitalism and agrarianism. It was generated by the failure of the political system, or the growth of rival sectional ideologies and mythologies, or the weakness of institutional bonds in America, or the mistakes and misdeeds of leaders and followers. There is indeed conflict in all this, but it is the conflict of the post-Beardian history: it is pluralistic rather than dualistic, psychic rather than material.

Now the challengers have themselves been challenged. Staughton Lynd of Yale University, chief New Left historian of the Revolution and the Confederation period, accepts a modified version of the class conflict motif. In an interesting brief study of Federalism in Dutchess County, New York, in the 1780's, Lynd concludes that the Beardian political dichotomy between Federalist magnates and Antifederalist yeomen is generally valid. The struggle over the Constitution, in the Hudson Valley at least, does have many of the elements of a dualistic class struggle. On the other hand he acknowledges serious flaws in the Beard-Becker interpretation. The adoption struggle was not one between former Tory Federalists and former patriot Antifederalists but between large magnates and landlords on one side and the yeomanry led by the lesser gentry on the other.[71] In an article in the Marxist journal *Science and Society,* Lynd gives us a still more muted Beardianism. If the New York experience is any guide, he tells us, the Constitution in its genesis was neither an antidemocratic weapon of an elite, nor a timeless, neutral distillation of political wisdom. Admittedly the Federalist leaders in New York were social conservatives. Yet they were also "deeply public-spirited men, critical of any tendency in each other to put private concerns before devotion to country and firmly committed to republican government." As for the party rank and file, they were often the city artisans who feared the foreign manufactures that the weak government under the Articles of Confederation could not exclude. Together

[71] Staughton Lynd, *Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York* (Chicago, 1962), *passim*. A more emphatic assertion of the theme of class struggle may be found in Lynd's article, "Who Should Rule at Home? Dutchess County, New York, in the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly,* XVIII (July 1961), esp. 330–32.

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In a word, mobility did exist in America, or at least in Newburyport, but it was limited and did not preclude class antagonisms and much human misery.

Thernstrom's book clearly opens up impressive possibilities for writing working-class history. Yet he has few followers or imitators among the New Left. The fact demands an explanation, for in the 1930's and 1940's, radical historians wrote passionate, engaged studies of the labor movement.[67] The answer, of course, is that the radical intellectuals no longer regard the laboring man in the same approving way. To the old Left the workingman was an object of both solicitude and hope. Time has made a mockery of both these sentiments. Industrial unionism has triumphed, but it is clear to the Left that it has only succeeded in creating another self-centered privileged class. As a social being the American wage earner has succumbed to the mindless distractions of consumerism; as a political being he and his leaders are among the chief supporters of the "Warfare State." The disillusion is profound, and, among some of the New Leftists, the working class has been replaced by the radical students and intellectuals themselves as the anticipated agents of progressive change.

If the New Left refuses to worship the wage earner, it more unexpectedly refuses to curse the businessman. Kolko, at least obliquely, attacks the "revisionist" business historians for their uncritical appraisal of the robber barons,[68] and, in his studies of the progressive era and of railroad regulation, he pictures businessmen as operating covertly off stage in a way scarcely designed to win our approval.[69] Allen Solganick explicitly calls his recent article in *Science and Society* a "rebuttal" of the entrepreneurial school of business history.[70] But these two essays do not amount to much of an indictment, and we must place alongside such mild strictures of businessmen and their academic champions the rather favorable press provided by scholars like Williams, LaFeber, and Lynd.

While the New Left may not exalt workers at the expense of businessmen, surely, one assumes, they must reject a major premise of the new post-war history: the relative classlessness of America and the absence here of serious class conflict. No one really insists that revolution was endemic in the United States, but in at least two instances, surely, in the 1770's and

[67] E.g., Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1947–65); Leo Huberman, *The Labor Spy Racket* (New York, 1937).

[68] Gabriel Kolko, "The Premises of Business Revisionism," *Business History Review*, XXXIII (Autumn 1959), 335 ff.

[69] See esp. Kolko's *Railroads and Regulation, passim.*

[70] Allen Solganick, "The Robber Baron Concept and Its Revisionists," *Science and Society*, XXIX (Summer 1965), 257–69.

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Populists are another. Strangely, the wage earners of America do not seem to constitute a third. As a group, the "common people" receive little attention from the young radicals. Kolko and Michael Harrington, both young men of the Left, have "rediscovered" poverty in the United States after the liberals declared it extinct.[64] But although the continued presence of the poor in an ostensibly rich nation suggests still larger contrasts of wealth and condition in the past, neither work is, properly speaking, historical.

More satisfactory is Stephan Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress,* a work that suggests how truly useful it can be to examine American mythology with the skeptical eye of the Left. Basically Thernstrom seeks to discover whether nineteenth-century America was really a land of opportunity for the laboring man. Unlike many of the new radicals, who, with Mills, confuse computers with conservatism, he is not afraid to use statistics or the insights of social psychology, and the resulting marriage of radical skepticism and post-Beardian technique produces a lively offspring.

In his study of Newburyport in the mid-nineteenth century, Thernstrom puts the notion of America as a working-class paradise to the test. Whatever may have been true of the contemporary West, wages for common labor in the Massachusetts town between 1850 and 1880 were not high, he says, and the ubiquity of child and female labor demonstrates the inability of workingmen to support their families unaided. The community was not classless. Industrialism heightened social antagonism and aroused serious fears among the middle class, which sought to smother social unrest under the rhetoric of "the self-made man." The function, or at least the result, of this mythologizing was to turn class frustration into class guilt and reduce the danger of social upheaval by directing working-class discontent inward against the discontented themselves.[65]

Thus far it is easy to recognize the New Left tone. But the rest of the study is a first-rate piece of social analysis that transcends any special ideology. Was the myth of the self-made man valid, Thernstrom asks. In part. Ingeniously squeezing convincing conclusions out of the manuscript census returns, Thernstrom demonstrates that while few unskilled wage earners, native or immigrant, left the blue-collar class, their sons often did move up to semiskilled status, and, more interesting, it was possible for a working-class family, by exploiting every able-bodied member, and by "ruthless under consumption" to acquire some property, usually the family home.[66]

[64] Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America: An Analysis of Social Class and Income Distribution* (New York, 1962); Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1964).

[65] Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), Chaps. I–III.

[66] *Ibid.,* 80–137.

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to the evils of slavery." His biography of Sumner is "the subversion of the character of a founding father of American civil equality. . . ."[59] Fawn Brodie accuses Donald of performing a deft "surgical operation" on Sumner, not for the purpose of analyzing the man but to malign and discredit the cause he fought for.[60] Aileen Kraditor detects in Donald's essay, "Toward a Reconsideration of Abolitionists," as well as in Hofstadter's portrait of Wendell Phillips in *The American Political Tradition,* a "contempt for reform movements in general."[61]

It is not enough, I submit, for the New Left to make sentimental gestures. It is too bad that in their defense of the abolitionists they have not tackled the hard question Donald raises: why did so few out of so many Americans respond to the evil of slavery in such a way as to risk wealth, reputation, and even personal safety? A truly radical answer might be that America was so thoroughly and universally corrupt in its racial attitudes that only men who were virtually at war with their environment could really appreciate the evil of slavery and take an active and risky part in its destruction. Indeed, at least in part, this seems to be the implication of one New Left author, Leon Litwack, who notes that racist bigotry in ante bellum America pervaded every sector of society, including abolitionism itself.[62] Instead of such a bold assault on American values, however, the New Left seldom does more than reiterate the evil of slavery—a fact no one seriously disputes—as sufficient explanation for the abolitionist impulse. In their anxiety to protect the civil rights movement, they have failed to face the obvious historical problem.

The abolitionists are a New Left "hero class."[63] To Pollack, at least, the

[59] Louis Ruchames, "The Pulitzer Prize Treatment of Charles Sumner," *Massachusetts Review,* II (Summer 1961), 761, 749.

[60] Fawn Brodie, "Who Defends the Abolitionist?" in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists,* ed. Martin Duberman (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 52–67. This essay has been reprinted in *Dissent,* XII (Summer 1965), 348–59. The Duberman volume is a mine of New Left opinion on the antislavery movement. See particularly the essays by Lynd, Howard Zinn, and Duberman himself, in addition to Brodie's article. The essay by Silvan Tomkins, "The Psychology of Commitment: The Constructive Role of Violence and Suffering for the Individual and for His Society," suggests that the New Left has not been entirely willing to abandon social psychology to the older generation. The attempt to utilize psychology to reveal new things about the abolitionists, while at the same time avoiding the pitfall of behavioralism, is not successful, however. Tomkins merely clothes in psychological jargon the position of the Left that the evil of slavery was enough by itself to explain the abolitionist reaction to it.

[61] See Aileen Kraditor's review article, "The Abolitionist Rehabilitated," *Studies on the Left,* V (Spring 1965), 101. Actually the most "conservative" of Donald's writings is his essay, "An Excess of Democracy," reprinted in the paperback version of *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era* (2d ed., New York, 1956), 208–35. This piece has not yet been noticed by the New Left, however.

[62] Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago, 1961).

[63] The term is Rogow's in "Revolt against Social Equality," 370.

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In some sense, of course, the New Left history of abolitionism writes itself. There is no question about when to cheer and when to hiss; the problem is in identifying the historiographic, not the historical, heroes and villains. Up to this point, as we have seen, the New Left historians have been able to write history as rebuttal—rebuttal of some position of their professional elders. With the history of the American Negro, and the struggle over his lot and future, difficulties arise. The trouble is that the academic establishment already occupies the high ground. Even in the bad old days of the 1940's and 1950's the historiography of the race question in America was becoming radicalized. Paradoxically, at the very moment American historians were allegedly turning to the Right, they had adopted an egalitarian view of the Negro, and to a lesser extent were becoming more sympathetic to his friends. It was not Williams or Lynd who rehabilitated the abolitionists; it was Dwight Dumond and Gilbert Hobbs Barnes. It was not W. E. B. Du Bois or James Allen alone who were re-evaluating the accomplishments of black Reconstruction; Francis B. Simkins, Robert Woody, and Vernon Wharton were doing it equally well.[57] As far back as 1949 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who epitomizes for the New Left the academic as well as the political establishment, was insisting that the Civil War, however deplorable and destructive, did justify itself by destroying slavery.[58]

The New Left has compensated for this lack of a historiographic enemy, I believe, by singling out one of the few prominent middle generation historians who appears to be critical of the abolitionists. There may be legitimate grounds on which to quarrel with David Donald's work, but the Left, I believe, chiefly dislikes his reluctance to accept the abolitionists at their own estimate. When, in 1956, in a composite social portrait of the abolitionists, and later in his *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War,* Donald suggested that antislavery men were not exempt from the ego drives, the neurotic compulsions, the personal failings, and the capacity for self-deception that afflict other men, he called down on his head the wrath of the neoabolitionists. Louis Ruchames charges Donald with "insensitivity

[57] The works referred to are: Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1939); Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830–1844* (New York, 1933); W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (New York, 1935); James Allen, *Reconstruction, Battle for Democracy, 1865–1876* (New York, 1937); Francis B. Simkins and Robert Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1932); Vernon Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865–1890* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947). It would of course be a mistake to equate these older "liberals" with the New Left radicals. Their sympathies for the Negro and his friends did not run as deep, nor were they as unequivocal, as those of the young Leftists of today. Still, the advent of the Whartons and the Dumonds in the 1930's and 1940's represents a distinctly liberal shift in the historical treatment of race in America.

[58] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Causes of the Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism," *Partisan Review,* XVI (Oct. 1949), 969–81.

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society. Progressivism also gets bad marks, one suspects, because it was so eminently respectable. Kolko characteristically attacks the muckrakers as men "with commonplace talents and middle class values."[54] The assault on the New Deal, on the other hand, is a more complex matter. For some of the New Leftists it is an adolescent blow for independence. The New Deal was the political faith of their parents in a quite literal way. In rejecting it they are rejecting their fathers and their fathers' faith.[55] For others, as Schleifer's polemic suggests, the New Deal is the immediate source of the liberal welfare state, and they despise it as much as they do the flaccid, self-satisfied society that they hold is its direct descendant.

Each of these reform movements poses a problem of identification for the New Left. Whether they pass muster is not self-evident. To each must first be put a series of questions: Was it truly radical? Was it proletarian? What were its relations to the existing establishment? Each of the young men is asking himself: would I have supported it? For past reform movements there is, then, as yet no prescribed New Left canon of historical virtue, and the young Leftists are at this point groping for appropriate attitudes and responses. There is one exception to this uncertainty. There is no doubt how the young radicals would have responded to the movement for racial equality in America, and there is no ambiguity in their attitudes toward the historical champions of the Negro.

Without a doubt the struggle for Negro equality during the last century and a half has received more attention from the New Left than any other single "progressive" movement of our past. There is no need to belabor the present-mindedness of this concern. It flows from the intense immersion of the Left today in the problems of civil rights. What could be more obvious to even the most superficial student of history than that the battles of Little Rock, Selma, and Birmingham are the lineal descendants of those fought by the abolitionists and later by the Radical Republicans? To the New Left the label "New Abolitionists" for modern civil rights militants is more than a metaphor.[56]

[54] Kolko, *Triumph of Conservatism*, 161.

[55] What else can we make of the following: "The more I came to think of it the more I came to hate my brainwashed childhood's beloved memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Everybody's liberal Jewish middle-class parents will cry like mine if they ever read this. ('After all, didn't he save the Jews and take us out of the depression?') Because I am a Socialist, and not a liberal, I know the answer." (Schleifer, "Socialist Plea," 225–26.)

[56] Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston, 1964); see also Lynd's assertion that "the search for an American radical tradition should begin with the Abolitionists," since only they "punctured with the contempt it deserves, the white liberal hypocrisy that America is and has always been a democratic country without a feudal past. . . ." (Letter in *Commentary*, XXXV [Jan. 1963], 74.)

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struction.[50] Martin J. Sklar tells us that Progressivism was a movement

> led by and consisting of large corporate interests and political and intellectual leaders affirming the large corporate industrial capital system, and convinced of the necessity of institutionalizing reforms, legal and otherwise, to accommodate the nation's law and habits and the people's thinking, to the new corporate business structure and its requirements, domestic and foreign.[51]

While Sklar, unlike Kolko, concedes that what emerged was reform and not mere sham, it is as difficult to recognize in his Progressivism as in Kolko's anything of the humanitarianism, the self-criticism, and the social imagination that historians have generally found in the liberal political movements of the early twentieth century.

The New Left treatment of the New Deal so far has been skimpy. But it is fairly clear, from some interesting fragments, what it will look like when it fully emerges. In a sharply critical review of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s, *The Age of Roosevelt,* Jacob Cohen declares the "New Deal marks the last act . . . by which American politics accommodated itself to the problems of economic justice raised by the system of countervailing powers." He denies to Roosevelt and his associates the honorable label of "pragmatists." Pragmatism possesses a vision of society out of which true social experimentalism can emerge. The New Deal was goalless and aimless, without either moral or practical purposes.[52] "In the long run what *did* the New Deal do?" asks Marc Schleifer.

> Are there other, more flourishing offspring of the corporate and progressive income tax than Madison Avenue expense-account culture, and the Pentagon? With the exception of Jimmy Hoffa and a few remnant leftist unions, what significance and militant honor is there now in a "strong" trade union movement? Who can better remember Pearl Harbor than the hundreds of thousands of dead Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Laotians, Filipinos, etc., we have killed since the end of the Second World War?[53]

The New Left's harsh judgment of twentieth-century reform is not, I suggest, the inevitable conclusion imposed by the facts. It is dictated, in the first place, by ideological predispositions. Young Left historians like Kolko cannot endorse any political movement that did not aim at a cooperative

[50] Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900–1916* (New York, 1963), *passim,* esp. 285. The same theme in a narrower compass may be found in Kolko's volume on railroad legislation during the progressive period. (See *id., Railroads and Regulation, 1877–1916* [Princeton, N.J., 1965].)

[51] Martin J. Sklar, "Woodrow Wilson and the Political Economy of Modern United States Liberalism," *Studies on the Left,* I (No. 3, 1960), 17 ff., esp. 40.

[52] Jacob Cohen, "Schlesinger and the New Deal," *Dissent,* VIII (Autumn 1961), 461 ff. It is interesting to compare this long review of *The Age of Roosevelt* with another by an orthodox Marxist. The latter, written under the pseudonym "George Brand," is far more sympathetic. (See George Brand, "Toward a History of the New Deal," *Monthly Reveiw,* XII [May 1960], 28 ff.)

[53] Marc Schleifer, "A Socialist Plea for Black Nationalism," *ibid.,* XV (Sept. 1963), 225 ff.

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tion.[45] Socialism is America's "hidden heritage," which has been maligned and abused as much by the historians as by the Attorney General. The historians "have provided little that is usable to the newly emerging American left." "But not all generations," he concludes, in a manifesto, "have an equal stake in obscuring the past. Hopefully the new historians of American radicalism will be more disposed to learn from it, and less inclined to bend it, however subconsciously, to their more narrow and immediate purpose."[46]

Weinstein's concern is with the mainstream Socialism of Eugene Debs. But part of the New Left prefers anarchism to Socialism and has sought to recover an antiauthoritarian radical past for the United States. Richard Drinnon, a self-declared radical, has written a sympathetic biography of anarchist Emma Goldman that turns that eccentric but truly interesting woman not only into a "courageous, compassionate, intelligent human being" but into a prophetess of dangerous totalitarian tendencies within the Left.[47] Henry David Thoreau is another radical who appeals to the anarchist Left. When Lynd recently questioned Thoreau's pacifist and anarchist credentials, the resulting furor amply confirmed his claim that the author of *Civil Disobedience* had "become the patron saint of the new radicals and of all unadjusted Americans."[48]

The young men of the Left find it possible to identify with the political failures and outcasts. Urban middle-class reform, on the other hand, earns their contempt. Gabriel Kolko considers the progressive movement a fraud. The mass of early twentieth-century legislation ostensibly designed to regulate business in the interest of the common good was really engineered by businessmen themselves, anxious to prevent destructive competition.[49] The combination of glittering promise and empty performance in progressivism in the end headed off "the radical potential of mass grievances and aspirations of genuine progressivism," or, in other words, of true social recon-

[45] See James Weinstein, "Anti-War Sentiment and the Socialist Party, 1917–1918," *Political Science Quarterly,* LXXIV (June 1959), *passim,* and "Socialism's Hidden Heritage: Scholarship Reinforces Political Mythology," *Studies on the Left,* III (Fall 1963), *passim;* see also Weinstein's exchange with Gerald Friedberg, *ibid.,* IV (Summer 1964), 79–97.

[46] Weinstein, "Socialism's Hidden Heritage," 108. Weinstein is not an unbalanced doctrinaire. In defending American Socialism against Friedberg's charge of inner failure he concedes that "a tradition of political democracy, relative social mobility, and a generally increasing standard of living made possible by the expansion of American capitalism from the end of the Civil War to the middle 1920's" kept Socialism in America from becoming "a majority political movement." (See the exchange with Friedberg [p. 90], cited in note 45, above.)

[47] Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise,* vii *et passim.*

[48] Staughton Lynd, "Henry Thoreau: The Admirable Radical," *Liberation,* VII (Feb. 1963), 21 ff.; for the response to Lynd's article, see *ibid.,* VIII (Apr. 1963), 22 ff.

[49] In this insistence on the competitive nature of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century business enterprise, Kolko is at serious odds with the old Left and the traditional Marxist thesis of the growing monopolization of the American economy. He also disagrees, of course, with the Populist-progressive view of economic trends during the period.

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ists opposed the Populists, but only because the Marxists were excessively sectarian and poorly attuned to the needs of the American environment.[41]

Pollack's defense of the Populists from some of their more intemperate critics, largely sociologists and political scientists, has been useful. He has, I think, at least made us realize that Populism had a humane and progressive side as well as a retrograde, nativist one. He has not, however, made many converts to his major thesis—the viability of the Populist tradition—even among the New Left. Despite his impassioned pleading, Populism appears too *petit bourgeois* and too intellectually ambiguous to serve as part of our radical past.[42] His chief allies appear to be men identified with the old liberal Left who have retained their sympathy for insurgent rural America.[43] More congenial as ancestors for the New Leftists than the provincial dissenters of the 1890's are the certified urban radicals, the Socialists and anarchists. Williams, after—in *The Contours*—dismissing the Socialists of this era as impotent, later converts them into seers "who made between 1890 and 1917 the most relevant and mature adaptation to the end of the frontier."[44] James Weinstein, editor of *Studies on the Left,* has made that journal virtually into an instrument for pulling Socialism into the mainstream of American history.

In this endeavor Weinstein is battling the prevailing view that Socialism failed in the United States because of its own inner inadequacies. On the contrary, he asserts, American Socialism did not fall; it was knocked down. After riding a great popular wave during World War I, Socialism was smashed by the patriotic suppressions perpetrated by the Wilson administra-

[41] Pollack's major statement of his position will be found in *The Populist Response to Industrial America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), but see also the following articles: "Hofstadter on Populism: A Critique of 'The Age of Reform,'" *Journal of Southern History,* XXVI (Nov. 1960), 478–500, "The Myth of Populist Anti-Semitism," *American Historical Review,* LXVIII (Oct. 1962), 76–80, "Handlin on Anti-Semitism: A Critique of 'American Views of the Jew,'" *Journal of American History,* LI (Dec. 1964), 391–403, and "Fear of Man." The words quoted are from *Populist Response,* 82–83.

[42] Pollack has not been totally rejected by the New Left, but it seems to me that, if only by their silence, they suggest that they find his work unconvincing. For an outright attack on Pollack by a member of the Left, see Ann Lane's review of *Populist Response* in *Science and Society,* XXVIII (Summer 1964), 326 ff. It is interesting that the plausible forerunners of the Populists, the Jeffersonians and Jacksonians, have been virtually ignored by the New Left, Williams again excepted. The only suggestion of a new radical position on either of these movements that I have found is contained in two reviews of Benson's *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy.* In both cases the reviewers disapproved of Benson's attempt to place Jacksonian Democracy within the broad consensus framework. (See Lynd's review in *Commentary,* XXXIII [Apr. 1962], 366–68; Michael Lebowitz, "The Significance of Claptrap in American History," *Studies on the Left,* III [Winter 1963], 79 ff.)

[43] Writers like Walter T. K. Nugent, Robert F. Durden, Paul Holbo, and C. Vann Woodward, who have recently championed the agrarian insurgency of the 1890's, are in the last analysis to be seen rather as men of rural background defending a rural Neo-Populist tradition against an urban attack than as members of the New Left seeking to legitimate radicalism in America. (See Irwin Unger, "Critique of Norman Pollack," *Agricultural History,* XXXIX [Apr. 1965], 17–22.)

[44] In a symposium on Socialism published in *New Politics,* I (Spring 1962), 40.

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The message in all this is clear. America's recent aggressive and provocative foreign policy is not the response of the moment; our reaction to world problems after 1945 was merely the latest term of an American tradition of aggrandizement that commenced with John Smith. From first to last, cupidity has been the governing principle of our relations with strangers, and we must not expect more of our acquisitive, capitalist society.

In its strictures on America's earlier foreign affairs the New Left is obviously projecting onto history its present cold war fears and frustrations. The pattern of present-mindedness persists in its view of America's domestic past. Just as they would transform the country's relations to the non-Western world, the young radicals are committed to reorienting American society itself, and nothing fascinates them more than their radical predecessors and the movements they inspired and led.[40]

As we have seen, the radical attempt to recover America's "progressive" past seems to serve a number of purposes simultaneously. It satisfies a natural curiosity about radical antecedents and represents an understandable quest for direction. But more important, and less disinterested, the New Left's concern with the nation's reformist past is an attempt to establish its own legitimacy.

This search for a historical sanction is the main concern of Pollack, although at times it might appear that his real purpose is to dethrone the leading representatives of the "establishment." Leaving aside this strong acerbic aspect of Pollack's work, we find that his main point is that there has indeed been a viable radical tradition native to America, a tradition associated with agrarian insurgency, which reached its apogee during the Populist revolt. Far from fleeing the industrial realities of the day, as has been suggested by Oscar Handlin, Hofstadter, and others, the Populists realistically diagnosed the problems of emerging industrialism and realistically prescribed for them. Neither rural xenophobes nor ignorant paranoids but perceptive radical humanitarians, they produced a critique of capitalist society still valid today. Indeed their analysis of American industrial capitalism closely paralleled Marx's dissection of early European industrial society, which suggests to Pollack the "extremely exciting prospect" that the "Populist experience might well challenge a basic proposition in historical writing—the uniqueness of America." True, contemporary American Marx-

[40] Only this intense preoccupation will explain the recent publication of Sidney Lens's *Radicalism in America* (New York, 1966). This book is an unimaginative narration of liberal-radical activities in America by an editor of the New Left journal *Liberation*. It might have been written by Vernon Parrington in the 1920's, though it is endorsed by Lynd and is clearly intended to teach the young Left something of their predecessors.

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and a better world."[34] Several other members of the Wisconsin school of diplomatic history are both less temperate and less convincing than LaFeber. John W. Rollins, in an essay on the anti-imperialists and American foreign policy in the twentieth century, reaches the tortured conclusion that even most of those who balked at overt American colonialism in the years since the Spanish-American War have been expansionists and imperialists. They may not have endorsed American occupation and control, but they have endorsed American economic penetration, and this is the same thing. Free trade, foreign investment, Point Four aid—all, presumably, have been tools of American hegemony.[35] Lloyd Gardner examines the foreign policy of the New Deal and concludes that following the disastrous economic setback of 1937-1938, "the New Deal forsook viable domestic remedies and readied itself for the pursuit of . . . world frontiers . . . as its solution to the crisis of the 1930's." In the end Gardner comes very close to attributing America's entrance into World War II, once cheered by the Left as the defense of democracy and freedom, to the reluctance of the Axis Powers to accept American demands for "liberal trade and the Open Door."[36] New Left revisionism could not be better designed to antagonize the generation that waged the crusade against fascism!

There is, in the New Left diplomatic history, an interesting rehabilitation, explicit or implied, of isolationism. Williams himself seems to be its source. By denying the serious practice of isolation by the United States he makes the few sincere advocates of minding our own business into rare, heroic souls.[37] Beard's obscure 1934 attack on American intervention in European affairs, *The Open Door at Home,* has become an object of veneration among the Wisconsin school.[38] They give isolationist Progressives like William Borah credit for rare prescience in foretelling the dangers of the "garrison state, the weight of military costs, the penetration of American economic power into almost every sphere upon the globe, and the loss of liberty at home and abroad."[39]

[34] LaFeber, *New Empire,* ix.

[35] John W. Rollins, "The Anti-Imperialists and Twentieth Century American Foreign Policy," *Studies on the Left,* III (No. 1, 1962), 9 ff. This paper was the subject of a symposium and is followed by comments by Harold Baron and Thomas J. McCormick, who seem to function as a cheering section rather than as critics.

[36] It is obvious that part of the New Left attack on Roosevelt's foreign policy derives from Charles Beard's influential work, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (New York, 1948). Gardner refuses, however, to accept the most extreme of Beard's charges, that Roosevelt engineered United States entrance into World War II for party purposes. (See Lloyd Gardner, "From New Deal to New Frontier, 1937–1941," *Studies on the Left,* I [Fall 1959], 29 ff.). In Gardner's recent book, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison, Wis., 1964), the polemical tone is still more muted.

[37] Williams, *Tragedy of American Diplomacy,* esp. Chap. IV.

[38] See, e.g., Gardner, "From New Deal to New Frontier," 30.

[39] Orde S. Pinckney, "William E. Borah: Critic of American Foreign Policy," *Studies on the Left,* I (No. 3, 1960), 48 ff., esp. 61.

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who, despite his announced faith in a cooperative society, is beholden to no man for his historical vision, or, one is sometimes tempted to say, for his historical facts. But still the radical scholars listen to Williams. He may supply little they can use for understanding America's domestic affairs, but he most emphatically speaks to them on the history of American foreign policy. *The Contours* and Williams' specific works in diplomatic history[30] have had a powerful impact on a group of young diplomatic historians, many of whom have worked with him or under him at the University of Wisconsin.

The most successful of these younger scholars is Walter LaFeber,[31] whose book, *The New Empire,* won the Albert J. Beveridge Award in 1962.[32] LaFeber is a sophisticated and urbane historian. Yet he is willing to make his radical philosophical stand quite explicit. In a 1962 book review he praises the tradition of Beard and Arthur B. Darling in American diplomatic history and assails those historians who "since 1945 . . . have been preoccupied with knifing Beard with one hand and using the other hand to pen caricatures of a unique unblemished Republic which became a world empire with little conscious human intervention."[33] The thesis of *The New Empire* is that America's venture into imperialism in the 1890's was neither a historical accident nor a new departure. It was the culmination of a process dating at least to the 1850's or 1860's, the roots of which were primarily economic. Post-Civil War American imperialism sprang from the need of manufacturers for raw materials and markets. It was not absent-mindedness that led to the war with Spain and the annexation of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico; it was the demands of businessmen.

LaFeber does not approve of American expansionism, but he is not a crude polemicist. His imperialist businessmen and policy makers are "responsible, conscientious men who accepted the economic and social realities of their day . . . and . . . were unafraid to strike out on new and uncharted paths in order to create what they sincerely hoped would be a better nation

[30] E.g., William Appleman Williams, *American-Russian Relations, 1781–1947* (New York, 1952), *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Cleveland, 1959), *The United States, Cuba and Castro* (New York, 1962).

[31] LaFeber was actually a student of Professor Fred Harvey Harrington at Wisconsin, although he acknowledges that he is deeply indebted to Williams for instruction. (See Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* [Ithaca, N. Y., 1963], 428.)

[32] That it should win this prestigious award casts some doubt either on the hostility of the establishment toward the New Left or on their academic influence.

[33] Walter LaFeber, "The Conscious Creation of a 'World Wide Empire,'" a review of Richard Warner Van Alstyne's *The Rising American Empire,* in *Studies on the Left,* II (No. 3, 1962), 103 ff.

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were often difficult and unreasonable men who failed to understand the complexities of race adjustment.[24] He acknowledges the dark side of Populism, although he is critical of what he considers the supercilious tone of its recent detractors.[25] To Williams, Franklin Roosevelt is a man who cherished power for its own sake; Hoover, a true progressive in the mercantilist tradition.[26] The book, moreover, is saturated with old-fashioned philosophical idealism. Ideas, not interests, are what count in history, for mercantilism, at least, is no mere rationalization of individual or class advantage. Derived from Biblical moralism, it is tough and autonomous with the power to blunt and tame the acquisitive instincts.[27] This is scarcely the stuff out of which to construct a new radical history, and with regret several of the young Leftist historians have conceded as much.[28]

If we stopped at this point, it would be difficult to see in what way it is possible to consider Williams a radical historian at all. His credentials derive, I think, from two major themes of *The Contours*. The first is his radical indictment of individualism and his extravagant praise of the protocollectivism of the "gentry." In the absence of a viable socialist tradition the "mercantilism" of the gentry must satisfy Williams' yearning to discover virtue in the American past. The second is Williams' treatment of American foreign policy. Here the young Leftists find strong support for their conviction of America's total depravity. From the very outset, according to Williams, the United States has been an expansionist nation, preying on its weaker neighbors, whether the precivilized Indian tribes or the weaker national states and decrepit empires on its borders. This expansionism is a strangely persuasive mirror image of Turner's frontier thesis. Rather than a succession of new opportunities, each American frontier was a new evasion. It was not democracy that renewed itself in each new "West"; it was capitalism, and American foreign policy was merely the instrument of this evasive westward thrust.[29]

But neither mercantilism nor expansionism provides a historical framework for the New Left equal to class struggle for the old. In the end *The Contours* is too personal and idiosyncratic. Williams is an angry dissenter

[24] *Ibid.*, 250–55. He even defends the Old South from abolitionist attack! (*Ibid.*, 281–82).
[25] *Ibid.*, 333–38.
[26] *Ibid.*, 440, 445.
[27] *Ibid.*, 32 ff.
[28] See, e.g., Staughton Lynd's review of Williams' *Contours* in *Science and Society*, XXVII (Spring 1963), 227 ff.
[29] This point, implied in *Contours*, is made explicitly in Williams' latest book, *The Great Evasion: An Essay on the Contemporary Relevance of Karl Marx and on the Wisdom of Admitting the Heretic into the Dialogue about America's Future* (Chicago, 1964), esp. the introduction.

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emerging radical history. The major theme of *The Contours* is the persistent tension in America between the two world views of commonwealth and individualism. The first, identified with "mercantilism," is the very womb out of which the American nation emerged. As used by Williams, "mercantilism" must not be confused with the selfish, retrograde economic doctrine of the standard textbook discussions. It means a benevolent paternalism displayed by an enlightened class of gentlemen—the "gentry"—who placed the interest of the whole community above that of any single group including themselves. While not without its serious limitations, most notably its recourse to foreign expansion to solve domestic problems, mercantilism represents the benign side of the American tradition. Opposing it, and virtually without redeeming qualities, is "laissez-nous faire," and, what is its essential synonym, "individualism." To Williams this world view is socially corrosive, fostering competition rather than cooperation, anomy rather than community, profits rather than justice.

This may seem to be a predictable Leftist dualism and may suggest at first glance the basis for a reconstructed radical history. Actually it gives aid and comfort to the enemy. Williams offers little to the New Left. It is quite clear from *The Contours* that few Americans ever questioned the sacrosanct nature of private property or ever could see much beyond more property or more geographic expansion as the solution for internal problems. Elements of American society did indeed differ in the depth of their social insight and the degree of their humane sympathies, but except for the small and impotent groups of socialists at the end of the nineteenth century, they all suffered from the same fatal weakness of social imagination. In a word, though Williams can scarcely intend it, we are back at consensus![21]

In fact *The Contours* proves a constant embarrassment to the younger radical scholars. Williams not only accepts the broad theme of an American consensus; he also accepts a surprising number of the specific judgments of the post-Beardian history. He agrees with Brown and MacDonald that support for the Revolution and the Constitution transcended class lines.[22] He accepts the thesis of Hammond and Hofstadter that the Jacksonians were aggressive capitalist enterprisers.[23] He agrees that the abolitionists

[21] This implicit acceptance of consensus in *Contours* has been noticed by Higham, among others. See Higham's review of the book in *Studies on the Left,* II (No. 2, 1961), 73–76. Michael Wreszin, another young radical historian, observes the same phenomenon in Richard Drinnon's biography of Emma Goldman (*Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman* [Chicago, 1961]). Drinnon's saving grace, Wreszin notes, is that unlike the conservative historians, while noting the consensus, he deplores it. (See Wreszin, "Heresy in Paradise: A Partisan for Emma," *Studies on the Left,* IV [Winter 1964], 80.)

[22] Williams, *Contours,* 105 ff., 138 ff.

[23] *Ibid.,* 222 ff. Indeed, Jackson's victory in 1828 is viewed as something of a national disaster.

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radicalism is un-American, a foreign import embraced only by those who have no roots in the native culture or who have lost contact with those roots. But until quite recently the conservative claim has not been academically respectable, for from about 1910 until the late 1940's the giants of the profession devoted their scholarly energies to exhibiting the long and honorable record of insurgency and dissent on the frontier, on the farms, in the mining camps and factory towns. Now, some of the leading scholars of the nation have apparently given the old charge intellectual sanction of an impressive order. There is no native American radicalism, they say—not one that any balanced man would wish to acknowledge. Radicalism has always been an exotic import, ill-suited to American circumstances, and hence deserving of the isolation and failure it has always suffered. The challenge is clearly fundamental. If there has been no true dissent in America; if a general consensus over capitalism, race relations, and expansionism has prevailed in the United States; if such dissent as has existed has been crankish and sour, the product not of a maladjusted society but of maladjusted men—then American history may well be monumentally irrelevant for contemporary radicalism. As scholars and social critics, simultaneously, the young New Left historians of course find this conclusion impossible to accept.

Having dismissed the new postwar history, what do the young men of the Left hope to put in its place? It is not possible to say in a simple, categorical way. The young radicals know what they reject, and in fact their dislikes are often what most satisfactorily defines them.[19] They are not, however, as clear about what they accept. Dissensions within the New Left history are as general and intense as disagreements among the socialists, anarchists, pacifists, existentialists, and Neo-Populists who compose the New Left movement. It is a panorama as complex as the pluralistic history the young radicals would refute.

There is indeed an ambitious attempt at a general synthesis of America's past by a New Left historian of good credentials,[20] *The Contours of American History* by Professor William A. Williams of the University of Wisconsin, but unfortunately this interesting book fails as a chart to the

[19] This negative quality of almost all the New Left intellectuals has been noted by Michael Walzer, a young Leftist historian of English Puritanism. (See Walzer, "The Young Radicals: A Symposium," *Dissent,* IX [Spring 1962], 129 ff.)

[20] What constitutes "good credentials" for the New Left is exceedingly hard to say. Members of the New Left do not carry party cards; nor do they always acknowledge their affiliations. In selecting my New Left historians I have used a combination of personal knowledge, self-identification, internal evidence, and a sort of historical dead reckoning. The system, I am certain, is fallible. Some of those I have included among the Left will, perhaps, object to being so labeled. On the other hand others, surely, will be chagrined at being left out. Nevertheless I do not believe my imperfect definitions vitiate my conclusions.

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new history represents the "treason of the intellectuals." Frightened by Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunts, they cravenly retreated from the exposed Left to a safe Right.[16]

Equally irritating to the New Left, though less widely advertised, are the supposed institutional power and influence of the post-Beardians. Intellectually complacent, often supercilious, they are, we are told, firmly implanted in the prestigious eastern private universities, where they form an academic establishment capable of using its professional power to proscribe dissent and encourage conformity.[17] Indeed, there is among the young radical academicians a sense of persecution that, since it is largely anticipatory, seems excessive. Convinced that they are struggling against a pernicious power elite, they see in their professional lives what they are convinced obtains in the flow of American history itself. The conspiracies against the people by the interests find a parallel in the efforts of the historical establishment to suppress the radical voice.

But perhaps the worst offense of the postwar history is its failure to provide the New Left with a "usable past." The charge like the term is ambiguous. "Usable past" implies in the first place a concern for historical guidelines, an interest that the New Left surely shares with much of mankind. At this point it would be well to recall that the New Left is programmatic and activist; it is the product not of a great book or a great prophet but of the social maladjustments of our day. Many of the young scholars who have joined the recent attack against the historiographic trends of the past decade have been men living and working very much in a radical and dissenting present. As historians and radicals it is natural that they should seek wisdom in the past. Staughton Lynd, a talented New Left historian, has been quite explicit about the need for a usable radical past to provide direction for the new radical community, which otherwise appears doomed, he declares, to rehash problems its predecessors have already settled.[18]

But the concept of a usable past also suggests that history may serve as a political weapon. To the young Leftists the most obvious partisan use of history is to domesticate radicalism in America. In all fairness, it must be said that this is largely a counterattack. The Right has always insisted that

[16] Norman Pollack, "Fear of Man: Populism, Authoritarianism and the Historian," *Agricultural History,* XXXIX (Apr. 1965), 59–67.

[17] See the remarks of Richard Drinnon in an interview by Peter Loewenberg in *Studies on the Left,* II (No. 1, 1961), 79 ff. For an attack on the academic "establishment" which transcends the discipline of history, see the prospectus, "The Radicalism of Disclosure," *ibid.,* I (Fall 1959), 2–4.

[18] Staughton Lynd, "Socialism, the Forbidden Word," *ibid.,* III (Summer 1963), 14 ff. At the same time, however, Lynd was agreeing with N. Gordon Levin, Jr., that there was little if any native American radicalism. See Lynd's reply to Levin's letter in *Commentary,* XXXV (Jan. 1963), 74–75. For what Lynd does see as radical in the American past, see below, pp. 1258–59.

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We do this by accepting what we need from the "Marxist method" insofar as the method applies to American social history. . . . While we allow that historical laws are universally applicable, these laws operate according to the dictates of different social ingredients in different places. We accept the fact that the Marxian revolution *could have happened* at a certain time given the proper leadership and impetus.[10]

When, as in the case of William Appleman Williams, the New Left historians make much of Marx, it is more often the early "soft" Marx, who speaks of "alienation," than the "hard" Marx of *Das Kapital,* with its class struggle and progressive "immiserization of the proletariat."[11]

Beard is a different case. The New Left has joined an older group of historians to perpetuate the Beardian vision.[12] In direct proportion as he has become a false prophet of the new postwar history, Beard has become the Moses of the New Left.[13] Williams, a man who actually owes little to Beard —except, perhaps, on recent American foreign policy—feels compelled to announce in his bellicose style, "it . . . seems appropriate, in view of all the bigoted and career building attacks, acts of purification in the form of misrepresentation, and even smart-alec criticism by supposed aristocrats, to acknowledge formally my respect for and debt to Charles Austin Beard."[14] Yet much of the homage is ceremonial. At their best, the New Left historians feel free to diverge from both masters. When they do, the results are often interesting.

It is not, then, uncritical loyalty to a particular master that makes the New Left bridle at the postwar history. It is rather what they perceive as the tone, commitment, and power of the post-Beardian historians that annoys and angers the young radicals. The most obvious of these characteristics is, of course, the imputed political conservatism of their elders. The new history is, so it seems to the young Leftists, history at the service of an elitist and aristocratic definition of society, and the "American Celebration." Until recently, notes Arnold Rogow, the American intellectual's "view of the common man was essentially Jeffersonian." Now the common man is being "muckraked," and the older liberal tradition is being repudiated as the intellectuals adopt the New Conservatism.[15] To Norman Pollack the

[10] Harold Cruse, "Americanizing the Radical Program," *ibid.,* III (Winter 1963), 69.

[11] Cf. Eugene Genovese, "William Appleman Williams on Marx and America," *ibid.,* VI (Jan.–Feb. 1966), 76.

[12] As, e.g., C. Vann Woodward, Matthew Josephson, and Jackson T. Main.

[13] Other gurus of the New Left include Paul Goodman, the social thinker and novelist, Herbert Marcuse, and Barrington Moore, Jr. All these men have helped form the New Left's vision of recent America, but none—except perhaps Moore—seem as yet to have had much effect on the way the New Left writes history.

[14] William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* (Cleveland, 1961), 490.

[15] Arnold A. Rogow, "The Revolt against Social Equality," *Dissent,* IV (Autumn 1957), 369–70. For a complaint from an older Populistic liberal and Beardian, see C. Vann Woodward, "The Populist Heritage and the Intellectuals," *American Scholar,* XXIX (Winter 1959–60), 55–72.

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These ambiguities inevitably encourage a kind of neutrality and detachment that are congenial to the use of new statistical techniques borrowed from the sister social sciences. No longer intent on proving a case for "the people," historians can subject all the old conclusions to the dispassionate test of social statistics. There is no inherent reason why radicals cannot employ the same tools, but so far, with an occasional exception, the fascination with numbers has been the province of the postwar, "middle generation." Perhaps the young men of the Left fear that the figures will not bear them out. Certainly in American economic history the work of the new "cliometricians" has given comfort to "conservative" interpretations of such diverse issues as the origins of the American Revolution, the plight of the late nineteenth-century farmer, and the culpability of the robber barons.[8]

It would be a serious mistake to insist that there is absolute unanimity in either approach or conclusions among the postwar generation of historians. To some degree they are all "post-Beardians" since they are all trying to escape the Beardian matrix which imprisoned American history in the first four decades of this century. But they go beyond Beard in a number of distinct ways, and the label is at best only moderately useful as a descriptive term. Nevertheless, despite the difficulties of definition, Higham in 1959 clearly detected the beginnings of an important and substantial change in the writing of American history, and it is this change that is now beginning to generate a reaction among the young men of the Left.

It may now seem clearer what there is about the postwar history that antagonizes the new radicals. They are not primarily offended by the rejection of "historical materialism," the keystone of traditional Marxist historiography. A few Marxian "Old Leftists" like Herbert Aptheker, Philip Foner, and Harvey O'Connor are still writing history. But the New Left historians are not the captives of an official ideology.[9] We must "*Americanize the radical program* by bringing historically native radicalism up to date," writes Harold Cruse in *Studies on the Left,* a major forum of the New Left history.

[8] On the Revolution, see Robert P. Thomas, "A Quantitative Approach to the Study of the Effects of British Imperial Policy upon Colonial Welfare: Some Preliminary Findings," *Journal of Economic History,* XXV (Dec. 1965), 615–38; on the post-Civil War farmer, see Allan Bogue, *Money at Interest: The Farm Mortgage on the Middle Border* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955); Leslie E. Decker, *Railroad Lands and Politics: The Taxation of Railroad Land Grants, 1865–1897* (Providence, R. I., 1964); on at least one group of robber barons, see Robert W. Fogel, *The Union Pacific Railroad: A Case Study in Premature Enterprise* (Baltimore, Md., 1960); for an overview of the whole "cliometric" literature, see Douglass North, *Growth and Welfare in the American Past: A New Economic History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1966).

[9] Indeed, they are sometimes embarrassed by the excesses of doctrinaire party-liners like Aptheker. See, e.g., Joseph A. Ernst, "Historians and the Colonial Era," *Studies on the Left,* I (Winter 1960), 79–84.

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Such an assemblage of authors immediately suggests the inadequacy of Higham's description. With a larger sample before us, we can now see that while the new postwar historians include consensusites pure and simple, they also include those, who in rejecting the dualisms of their predecessors, prefer to replace them with a pluralistic view of the American past. Instead of a simple dialogue the historical stage presents a complex and tumultuous crowd scene. It is also clearer now that social psychology and the other social sciences have profoundly influenced this complex view of the past. Higham believed in 1959 that the behavioral approach enabled the new generation of historians to obscure conflict in America by "psychologizing" it. Men thought they were exploited and victimized when they really were just emotionally disturbed. While it is true, as Higham noted, that the postwar historians are impressed by the stability of American society and by our broad agreement over fundamentals, we now know that many of them take social conflict quite seriously. But they define conflict more broadly than did the "progressive" historians of the previous generation. Besides the traditional haves versus have-nots in their many separate guises, we now have Catholic versus Protestant, dry versus wet, rural versus urban, white versus black, old versus young, ins versus outs. These are real conflicts, but they are psychologically or socially defined and open to the imputation that they are merely sick phantoms in the mind. We take seriously the man who finds himself in an economic vise; we tend to despise or pity the man who suffers from status anxieties. Somehow *Angst* seems less real than hunger.

It is easy to see why this shift in the analysis of conflict reduces the emotional charge of past historical movements. Not only does it suggest that all the discontented are mere malingerers, but it is also difficult to identify heroes and villains. If nothing else, both the guilty and the injured in a pluralistic society often turn out to be but a small part of some larger group. Businessmen can no longer be condemned as a whole. They disagree among themselves and can scarcely be held responsible for anything collectively. Farmers are no longer just farmers. They are northeastern truck gardeners, or Wisconsin dairy farmers, or Kansas wheat-growers, or southern cotton planters, and they do not all suffer the same fate at the same time.

Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago, 1959); Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Re-examination," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (June 1959); Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); and David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869–1901* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). Needless to say, this list is not complete.

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As described by Higham, the new history of Louis Hartz, Richard Hofstadter, Samuel Hays, David Potter, and Daniel Boorstin seemed to assert either that there had been no struggle in our past or that the struggle had been generated not by some real but by some imagined injustice. Rather than cataclysmic change, abrupt, angry, cacophonous, American history had been almost sedate. Americans had disagreed with one another, of course, but not irreconcilably or over the basic issues of property and political democracy. The experience of transplanted Europeans with a "new country" of abundant, unexploited resources had been fused with Lockean liberalism, engendering a mood of pragmatic moderation in all but a few American souls. The postwar generation of American historians had concluded, Higham wrote, that continuity, contentment, and "consensus" characterized the history of the nation; all else was either the illusion of the historian or that of his protagonists.[6]

Since 1959 the list of "consensus" historians has lengthened considerably. For the colonial era one might cite Clarence Ver Steeg's *The Formative Years*. For the period of the Confederation we not only have Robert E. Brown's *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts* and *Charles Beard and the Constitution* but also Forrest MacDonald's *We the People* and *E Pluribus Unum*. For the early national period there are the books of Paul Goodman and Noble Cunningham. For the Jackson era we have had, since 1959, the work of Lee Benson, Bray Hammond, Walter E. Hugins. For the Civil War period there are David Donald, Eric McKitrick, Stanley Elkins, and Stanley Coben. For the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we have Robert Wiebe's *Businessmen and Reform,* and, most recently, David J. Rothman's *Politics and Power.*[7]

[6] Higham, "Cult of the 'American Consensus,'" *passim*. See also Robin Brooks, "Class Distinction, Then and Now," a review of Staughton Lynd's *Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York,* in *Studies on the Left,* IV (Winter 1964), 74–75. Higham does not mention Oscar Handlin who, it is now clear, has been immensely influential, both through his own work and his students', in developing the post-Beardian canon. For a mature expression of Handlin's views, see his volume *The Americans: A New History of the People of the United States* (Boston, 1963).

[7] The full citations for these works are as follows: Clarence Ver Steeg, *The Formative Years, 1607–1763* (New York, 1964); Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691–1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955), and *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution"* (Princeton, N. J., 1956); Forrest MacDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958), and *E Pluribus Unum: The Formation of the American Republic, 1776–1790* (Boston, 1965); Paul Goodman, *The Democratic-Republicans of Massachusetts: Politics in a Young Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Noble Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789–1801* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1957); Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, N. J., 1961); Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1957); Walter E. Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829–1837* (Stanford, Calif., 1960); David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1960); Eric McKitrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960); Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A*

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beginning to create a new, radical history, particularly a new, radical American history.

To understand this development, one must recall what has happened in American historical writing in the last two decades. As described by John Higham in his important article, "The Cult of the 'American Consensus,'" which appeared in 1959,[3] certain trends were already clear. Since the 1940's something striking and significant had happened to the intellectual climate that surrounded the historians of America. They had abandoned the notion of struggle as the central theme of our past. Until the postwar years historians had acknowledged and indeed had emphasized the existence of social ills and social strife in the United States. The American past, like the past of other nations, seemed a series of confrontations between antagonistic and competing economic and class interest groups. American colonial history disclosed a sharp battle of yeoman and provincial nabob. The Revolution was both a struggle over "home rule" and over "who should rule at home." The Constitution was a class document. Battles between Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians, Whigs and Jacksonians, were struggles between the privileged orders and the commonalty. The Civil War was a collision of an industrial North and an agrarian South. And so it went: through the age of the robber barons, the war with Spain, Progressivism, the Great Depression, the New Deal. The binding theme of our history was class conflict, or at least an American version of it.[4] The United States, then, was not "exceptional." The fine details of our history were different, perhaps, but at heart the American past was similar to the European past. The one plausible alternative to the class conflict view of American history —Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis—by the 1930's had been thoroughly demolished, it seemed, by the combined attack of Marxists and "progressives."[5]

Soviet Cultural Offensive in *Studies on the Left,* II (1961), 90 ff.; and the article by James Peters, "Ideology and United States Political Scientists," *Science and Society,* XXIX (Spring 1965), 192–216.

[3] John Higham, "The Cult of the 'American Consensus,'" *Commentary,* XXVII (Feb. 1959), 93–100.

[4] For the best brief description of the "progressive" school of American historical writing that flourished from about 1910 to shortly after World War II, see John Higham *et al., History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), pt. III, Chap. 111.

[5] For the attack of the Marxists, who preferred a class struggle interpretation of the American past, see Louis Hacker, "Sections or Classes," *Nation,* CXXXVII (July 26, 1933). For a parallel assault by old-line progressives who, like the Marxists, found a class conflict view of our history congenial, see Fred A. Shannon, "The Homestead Act and the Labor Surplus," *American Historical Review,* XLI (July 1936), 637–51; Charles A. Beard, "The Frontier in American History," *New Republic,* XCVII (Feb. 1939), 359–62; Carter Goodrich and Sol Davidson, "The Wage-Earner and the Westward Movement," *Political Science Quarterly,* L (June 1935), 161–85, LI (Mar. 1936), 61–116. For a good brief review of the changing fortunes of the Turner thesis, see Gene M. Gressley, "The Turner Thesis: A Problem in Historiography," *Agricultural History,* XXXII (Oct. 1958), 227–49. For the attack of the 1930's, see esp. 232 ff.

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The "New Left" and American History: Some Recent Trends in United States Historiography

IRWIN UNGER*

IT is impossible not to notice that there is a new political Left in America. The struggle for civil rights, while endorsed by liberals and "moderates," is largely led by young people of radical commitment. The student protests on university campuses derive their fire from young men and women who reject much of American life in the 1960's. Rent strikers, peace marchers, and Vietnam protestors—all are deeply skeptical of the affluent society. Almost everywhere throughout the country, but especially where masses of young people are thrown together—most notably, of course, at the universities—new organizations, new journals, new movements are emerging, dedicated to restoring a radical voice to the contention of ideas in the United States.[1]

The average newspaper reader knows the New Left for its activism. But it is not surprising that a movement that enlists so many college students, and particularly graduate students in the humanities and social sciences, should also have a reflective side. While consistently pragmatic in their day-to-day activities, the various New Left groups have begun to feel the need for theory and analysis. Their experience has already given birth to a New Left sociology, economics, and political science.[2] They are now

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[1] By now descriptions of the New Left have become so numerous that it would be a formidable task to supply a reasonably complete list. The following, however, are among the best: Richard Armstrong, "The Explosive Revival of the Far Left," *Saturday Evening Post,* May 8, 1965, 27–39; various authors, *Partisan Review,* XXXII (Spring, Summer, Fall 1965), 183–205, 341–72, 526–42; *Dissent,* IX (Spring 1962), 129 ff.; Irving Howe, "New Styles in 'Leftism,'" *ibid.,* XII (Summer 1965), 295–323; Staughton Lynd, "The New Radicals and 'Participatory Democracy,'" *ibid.,* 324–33. The recent book by Philip A. Luce, as the author admits, is not a discussion of the broad spectrum New Left but rather of its Trotskyite and Communist extreme as represented by such groups as the Progressive Labor party and the DuBois Clubs. (See Luce, *The New Left* [New York, 1966].) A recent anthology of New Left writings, Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, *The New Radicals: A Report with Documents* (New York, 1966), begins with a long and useful introduction by the editors. Finally, see Jack Newfield, *A Prophetic Minority* (New York, 1966).

[2] The outstanding New Left sociologist is, of course, C. Wright Mills. Robert Theobald and Ben Seligman may be said to represent a New Left mood in economics. For a sign of a New Left political science highly critical of the predominant "abstracted empiricists" or "behavioralists" of the discipline, see the review by Walter Batya of Frederick Barghoorn's *The*

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pertinent point. It can be argued that ancient Mesopotamia knew democracy of a sort: the "true democracy" of the Roman Empire (and, as is all too evident, of large parts of our contemporary world) which, its apologists maintained, was achieved only after *libertas* (that is, individual rights) had been guaranteed by the *auctoritas* of the emperors.[108] All this was anticipated in the "establishing of liberty" by the ancient Mesopotamian "true steward of the assembly."

[108] See Chester G. Starr, Jr., "The Perfect Democracy of the Roman Empire," *American Historical Review,* LVIII (Oct. 1952), 1–16. In praising the originality of this Greco-Roman concept, Starr underscores the validity of Josephus' complaint, quoted at the beginning of this essay.

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that justice might be dealt the orphan and the widow."[105] And it is the more remarkable that, in addition to this mandate from heaven, at least one of these despots invoked a mandate from his people in presenting himself as the "true steward of the assembly."[106]

The conclusion seems warranted that ancient Mesopotamia experienced all but one of what have been called the five basic stages of Greek constitutional development: only democracy failed to appear at the most likely point, between the early tyranny of the Old Sumerian and Akkadian *lugal*'s and the later tyranny, or dictatorship, to use the Roman term now commonly employed for postdemocracy despotism, of the Third Dynasty and Old Babylonian "beneficent shepherds." But Aristotle's famous dictum (*Politics,* 3. 14. 6) that what kept these "barbarians" from achieving democracy was a defect of character—"the people are by nature slaves"—is surely at best a half-truth. A far more accurate ancient Greek appraisal of the reasons behind the continued existence of despotism in Mesopotamia has long lain unappreciated in the work of Herodotus, whose travels and "inquiries" (*historia*) among the peoples of the ancient Orient made him the least parochial of Hellenic writers. In a passage that purports to record the arguments of three Persian nobles over the best form of government—monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy—to replace the anarchy that followed the sudden death of the unpopular Cambyses, Herodotus ably presents the case for "Oriental despotism" in words that he attributed to Darius:

> One ruler: it is impossible to improve upon that—provided he is the best man for the job. His judgment will be in keeping with his character; he will act blamelessly as the steward of the people. . . . [He] comes forward as the people's champion and breaks up the cliques which are out for their own interests. This wins him the admiration of the people, and as a result he soon finds himself entrusted with absolute power. . . . To sum up: where did we get our freedom from, and who gave it to us? Is it the result of democracy, or of oligarchy, or of monarchy? We were set free by one man, and therefore I propose that we should preserve that form of government, and, further, that we should refrain from changing ancient laws, which have served us well in the past. To do so would only lead to disaster.[107]

Herodotus' reference to "freedom" under a monarch touches on a final

[105] CH (epilogue) xxivb, 41 ff., *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 178; cf., *inter alia,* Lipit-Ishtar of Isin "whose kingship like that of Shamash brings splendor to the land, . . . savior of orphans whose misery he relieves, . . . the vigilant shepherd who conducts the people unto cooling shade." ("Hymnes sumériens en l'honneur des rois d'Isin Idin-Dagan et Lipit-Ištar," tr. H. de Genouillac, *Revue d'Assyriologie,* XXV [No. 3, 1928], 149.)

[106] From a hymn honoring Shulgi of the Third Dynasty, tr. William W. Hallo, in "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXXXIII (No. 2, 1963), 170.

[107] 3. 82, *Herodotus, The Histories,* tr. Aubrey de Selincourt (Baltimore, 1954), 211, slightly revised. Andrew Robert Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West, c. 546–478* B.C. (New York, 1962), 94–95, rebuts those who here accuse Herodotus of naïveté and even "amazing mendacity."

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powerful of the known Old Babylonian entrepreneurs (no doubt the prototypes of the "nouveau riche" described in the wisdom literature as "persecuting" the "penurious"[99]) abruptly disappear at the moment when the evidence indicates that these energetic rulers were able to turn their attention from the foreign to the domestic scene. At the same time the numerous private business documents, which had been virtually the only economic records in evidence during the half century preceding, are largely replaced by the administrative documents of a "neomercantilistic" state. In the light of such concrete evidence, together with the wealth of social legislation surveyed above, Hammurabi can be regarded as speaking for every Old Babylonian benevolent despot in claiming that he was "like a real father to the people, [who] bestirred himself . . . and led the land aright."[100]

The success, however sporadic and ephemeral, of the paternalistic Third Dynasty of Ur and Old Babylonian rulers in establishing a social and economic "equilibrium" (another sense of the term *mišarum*) provides a not unlikely explanation of why democracy did not succeed tyranny in ancient Mesopotamia, or, put in terms of historical process, why the Mesopotamians did not anticipate the Greeks and other later peoples in reviving their heroic age popular assembly to become the seat of political power. It is generally held that tyranny in Greece ended only after it had lost the support of the people; in Mesopotamia, however, no lengthy abatement of the compelling circumstances behind such support ever was forthcoming. In this land where proverbs noted that "the poor man has no power,"[101] where lamentations first emerged and continuously flourished as a prominent literary genre, and where the oppressed commonly sought the intercession of the god of justice Shamash ("In his hollow voice the feeble man calls out to thee; the miserable, the weak, the mistreated, the poor. . . ."),[102] the only effective spokesman for "the poor [who] are the silent ones of the land"[103] was the powerful enlightened despot who sought "by intelligence and wisdom to protect the people."[104] He was "the beneficent shepherd" who "by the order of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth," spread his "benign shadow . . . in order that the strong might not oppress the weak,

[99] See note 74, above.

[100] CH (epilogue) xxvb, 21 ff., *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 178.

[101] *Proverbs,* tr. Gordon, 189 (No. 2.18). Twenty-two proverbs in this collection speak of poverty and the poor with much sympathy and compassion (see list, 298).

[102] "Hymn to Shamash," tr. Ferris J. Stephens, in *Near Eastern Texts,* ed. Pritchard, 389.

[103] *Proverbs,* tr. Gordon, 196 (No. 2.32). But two proverbs present an intriguingly different view: "All the households of the poor are not equally submissive!" (No. 2.26), and "The irreverent poor man looks contemptuously upon the rich man" (No. 2.16).

[104] Inscription of an unknown ruler of the Third Dynasty (see note 59, above).

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quency of this practice, and other distraints for debt were closely regulated with abuses severely punished.[91] Interest on silver and grain loans was set "(at a rate) in accordance with the ordinances of the king," and violators were penalized by the loss of their principal.[92] To curb inflation—the price of grain had risen to sixty times its normal level immediately following the collapse of the Third Dynasty—maximum prices were established for basic commodities, including beer.[93] Wages were fixed by law, as were fees charged by housebuilders, physicians, veterinarians, boat caulkers, and leasers of work animals, wagons, and boats.[94] The *tamkaru* who engaged in foreign trade became state agents, as did those merchants who dealt in mass-produced goods of general consumption such as fish, oil, and wool, all of which became state monopolies.[95] Much private trade continued, but it was circumscribed by regulations covering weights and measures, partnership and agency, the sale of liquor, and the carriage and safe deposit of money and goods.[96] The execution of these controls was largely the responsibility of the *tamkaru* themselves, their "board of trade" (*karum*) in each city being headed by a state-appointed "overseer of the merchants" (*wakil tamkari*) whose administrative and judicial authority included the collecting of taxes on business activities and the issuing of the "royal permits" (*tuppi šarim*) required of intercity traders.[97]

A graphic illustration of the effect of such legislation comes from the reigns of Hammurabi of Babylon and his older contemporary, Rim-Sin of Larsa (about 1822–1763 B.C.).[98] The many names of the more affluent and

Edikt des Königs Ammi-ṣaduqa von Babylon (Leiden, 1958), Pt. III; on the freeing of debt slaves, see *ibid.*, 41 (No. 18); CL, prologue and laws, Nos. 20–21.

[91] CH, Nos. 113–19, 151–52, 241 (tr. T. J. Meek, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 163 ff.); Laws of Eshnunna [hereafter cited as LE], Nos. 22–24 (tr. Albrecht Goetze, *ibid.*, 161 ff.).

[92] CH, Nos. 88–90; LE, Nos. 18, 20–21. Cf. "the interest (rate) of Shamash," usually considerably lower than that charged by private lenders, which, together with the standardization of measures and the condemnation of fraudulent business practices, indicated that the god of justice sought to limit antisocial business practices. (See Harris, "Old Babylonian Temple Loans," 131–32; "Hymn to Shamash," lines 107 ff. [*Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 388].)

[93] LE, Nos. 1–2 (see commentary by Albrecht Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna* [New Haven, Conn., 1956], 28–33); CH, No. 111 (on liquor only, but see D. J. Wiseman, "The Laws of Hammurabi Again," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, VII [No. 2, 1962], 166, on an unpublished tariff of prices by Hammurabi). For other evidence of price control, see Gadd, "Hammurabi," 17–18, to whose references can be added Curtis and Hallo, "Money and Merchants in Ur III," 109–12. On inflated grain prices after the Third Dynasty, see Jacobsen, "Ibbi-Suen," 41–42.

[94] LE, Nos. 3–4, 7–8, 10–11; CH, Nos. 215–17, 221–25, 228, 234, 239, 241–43, 257–58, 261, 268–77.

[95] Leemans, *Merchant*, 75 ff., 79 ff., 120 *passim*; Gadd, "Hammurabi," 20.

[96] The pertinent laws are discussed in Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, I, 180–208, 233–45; Goetze, *Laws of Eshnunna*, 54–58, 96–117; Leemans, *Merchant*, 17–19, 22–35.

[97] *Ibid.*, 67–77, 79–95, 120–25, and *Foreign Trade*, 76–77, 81, 108–109; Julius Lewy, "On Some Institutions of the Old Assyrian Empire," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 35–72; Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 74 ff.; Kraus, *Ammi-ṣaduqa*, 33 ff. (Nos. 8–9), 75–88.

[98] See Leemans, *Merchant*, 107, 113–17, 119, 121–22.

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Peripheral matters of quite a different sort sometimes occupied the energies of James's diplomatists. The exchange of gifts between royal personages could often be a matter of some significance in making for greater cordiality. When Trumbull showed the Archduchess Isabella a picture of a cormorant, she became curious about the bird. Trumbull urged Sir Walter Cope, the chamberlain of the Exchequer, to have the King send one to the Archduke.[41] Ambassadors were not only bearers of gifts; they were also purchasing agents for their betters at home, and some, like Carleton, sometimes bought art objects as a speculative venture. Early in 1606 Cecil was completing the purchase of some tapestries that were to be shipped from Antwerp. He did not want to pay for them until he had received them, but on being told that the merchants would not part with them without prepayment in Flanders, he issued instructions to his diplomatic underlings there to arrange it.[42]

An ambassador, of course, did not function alone. He had an embassy staff, some of whom he brought with him from England or, perhaps, inherited from his predecessor; others were natives of the country, hired for specific purposes. Both sorts occasionally caused difficulty or embarrassment. The chaplain of Cornwallis, the ambassador in Spain, for instance, became a convert to Catholicism. In Venice Carleton hired one Giacomo Castelvetro to teach Italian to his household; the Church authorities had him arrested. Carleton got the man released, on the ground that he was a member of the embassy staff, but Carleton's Italian lessons were interrupted nonetheless, since Castelvetro was released only on condition that he go into exile.[43] There was also the matter of consuls, who were particularly important in Spain, where merchants were apt to run afoul of the local authorities. After Digby's arrival in Spain, Francis Cottington (chargé d'affaires in the period following Cornwallis' departure) became consul at Seville and obtained a sort of supervisory authority over the other consuls, normally resident merchants. This arrangement rather worried Digby; he feared that it would weaken his authority over the consuls.[44] The merchants who made use of the consul's services were supposed to pay his salary; often they were reluctant to do so, and it was necessary to impose a levy on English goods traded in the port in question to make up the salary.[45] Hugh Lee at Lisbon, for instance, was to receive one ducat per

[41] *Ibid.*, II, 312–13.
[42] Francis Middleton to Trumbull, Feb. 27, 1606, *ibid.*, 434–35.
[43] *State Papers, Venetian, 1610–1613*, ed. Brown, 205–206, 208–11.
[44] Digby to Cecil, Jan. 19, 1612, PRO, SP, 94/19, fols. 11–14. Cottington's appointment was also apt to cut into Digby's income. (See John Chamberlain to Carleton, Dec. 31, 1611, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure [2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939], I, 326.)
[45] See, e.g., PRO, SP, 89/3, fol. 78. The Scots made use of these consuls' services, too, and

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ship plus 4 per cent of all goods English merchants brought there.[46]

Ambassadors had to worry not only about their subordinates but also about their fellow ambassadors. In the seventeenth century there were constant and interminable quarrels over precedence. The attitude of James's government was far less punctilious and more sensible on this question than that of some others, possibly because it witnessed at firsthand one of the longest and most vehement of these contests, that between the representatives of Venice and the archdukes. James created the office of master of ceremonies in 1603, in imitation of "France and other places,"[47] in order to deal in a more systematic fashion with such problems. Sir John Finett, who held the office under Charles I, wrote a book whose title sufficiently indicates the dimensions of the job: *Finetti Philoxenis: som choice Observations of Sir John Finett . . . touching the Reception and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England.*

As for English representatives abroad, they followed the line Cecil laid down in a letter to Edmondes in July 1610:

> wheresoever you find the occasion such, as you cannot forbear to demand to be present, without mark of dishonor or weakness, you do press your right therein, which if they shall not so compose, by forbearing your competitor as well as yourself, or by giving you your due, (wherein you must content yourself with no less than with no inequality), in those cases you may not be wanting to yourself, nor to the cause, by setting still. Otherwise I find his Majesty will as well content himself to receive no wrong with quietness as to gain an advantage in that particular by your affected contestation. And where you may seem to intimate your hope to carry it by strong hand, his Majesty doth not desire to gain his precedence by his ambassador's sword.[48]

As a result of this relatively pacific attitude toward precedence, English ambassadors often stayed away from ceremonial occasions, especially at Catholic courts where the papal nuncio was to be present. James's representative could not admit the precedence claimed by and accorded to the nuncio as the representative of the Vicar of Christ.[49]

Since the ambassador's job was "to advertise and not to advise," he had to pay much attention to the problems of providing intelligence and of see-

in October 1611 Cecil wrote to the Scottish Privy Council to get them to pay their share. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611–1618,* ed. M. A. E. Green (London, 1858), 83.

[46] HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry (Montagu House),* ed. R. E. G. Kirk *et al.* (3 vols., London, 1909–26), I, 102; see *ibid.,* 180–81, for the rules laid down for the conduct of the Lisbon consulate in 1617.

[47] John Stow, *Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England* (London, 1631), 824.

[48] BM, Stowe MS. 171, fols. 272–73.

[49] Edmondes, for instance, did not attend the celebration of the Franco-Spanish marriage alliances on this account. (Edmondes to Winwood, Mar. 26, 1612, Winwood, *Memorials,* ed. Sawyer, III, 350.)

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ing to it that the letters he exchanged with the government in London reached their destination safely—problems that English ambassadors shared with those of every other government. Intelligence cost money, of course; by the end of Elizabeth's reign ambassadors were supposed to get fixed allowances for this purpose.[50] They were not large, and the ambassadors grumbled that their opposite numbers in England, particularly the Spanish ambassadors, had vast sums at their disposal. It was not easy to persuade the English government to pay potential informants in advance, which occasionally brought protests from men who were shocked by the notion that they should provide some service before they saw any money.[51] Perhaps the most successful piece of English espionage in this period was Digby's obtaining the list of those Englishmen receiving Spanish pensions, a coup so important that Digby thought it worth while to carry the list back to England personally. Before Digby went to Spain he knew that Spanish underlings were bribable and Spanish business methods slipshod, but he was at first pessimistic about the possibility of building up an intelligence network, since there was no pro-English faction in Spain, nor any religious sympathizers there.[52] Within two years, however, Digby had found it possible to develop his network. In April 1613 he reported in some detail to the King. It was impossible to corrupt a councilor, but he had bought an official of the Council of State whose function was similar to that of a clerk of the English Privy Council. He would be expensive—perhaps a thousand crowns a year—but he was worth it, in Digby's view, because he might be Secretary of State someday. Digby also bought some subordinate officers of the Councils of War and of the Indies, who were paid by the job. A yearly fee would be necessary for agents in the seaports, of whom there would have to be several; five hundred pounds a year should take care of the lot. Like everyone else after Cecil's death, Digby worried about leaks. Spanish officials were watchful and were well served in England; a leak would be fatal to the intelligence structure Digby was building.[53]

The interception of letters was one of the most obvious types of intelligence leakage, and this was a constant worry. The ordinary posts were

[50] Lawrence Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, Eng., 1956), 233.

[51] E.g., Barnes to Cecil, June 16–26, 1606, PRO, SP, 77/8, fol. 121.

[52] Digby to James, June 18, 1611, *ibid.*, 94/18, fols. 111–12. In 1610 Francis Cottington, in charge of the English embassy between the departure of Cornwallis and Digby's arrival, bribed a clerk to provide him with information about the fate of one Nevill Davis, an English merchant in Seville who had been ordered banished as a spy. To cover his source of information, he told Secretary Andrés de Prada that he had seen the document on Davis lying around Prada's office and had read it while everyone was busy. Prada protested that this was an ungentlemanly thing to do; Cottington replied that it was much less honest to conceal the decision on Davis. (Cottington to Cecil, Feb. 16, 1610, *ibid.*, 94/17, fol. 41.)

[53] Digby to James, Apr. 25, 1613, *ibid.*, 94/19, fols. 327–38.

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unreliable; post-office officials held up and tampered with letters. This produced occasional outbursts of moral indignation. On February 15, 1607, Edmondes wrote Cornwallis that he gathered, from Cornwallis' last letter, that he had received nothing from him since the end of September. Edmondes sent a list of the dates on which he had subsequently written to Cornwallis, so that the latter could tax the Spanish postmaster with it. He disingenuously remarked:

> I make no doubt but our fugitives are of all others the most busy practicing with the said officer for the intercepting of our letters, which if it be not redressed, it will become us to complain thereof in England where contrariwise there is so much respect carried to their Ambassadors' packets, as albeit it is known that they go continually freighted with the Jesuits' letters, yet they do pass untouched and with all free liberty.[54]

Spain seems to have been the most difficult area to deal with; Cornwallis continually complained about the irregularity of delivery.[55] From the beginning Cecil worried about the Spanish post. When diplomatic relations were restored, he asked Parry, then ambassador in Paris, for his advice. The sea route was slow and uncertain. Sending letters via Paris was all right, but might attract unwelcome attention if done too often. Cecil wanted to know if there was a reliable merchant who could carry letters. How did the Spanish ambassador send his? Parry replied that foreign messengers were corruptible and advised the use of ciphers, bogus addresses, and frequent changes of courier as forms of protection. The Spanish ambassador did not use the French posts, said Parry; he used Spain's courier service to the Low Countries. Since the Spanish ambassador occasionally sent Parry packets to be delivered to England, Parry thought that, for routine matters, he might be asked to reciprocate. Parry mentioned a couple of merchants who might be trusted, but he was diffident about it.[56] Merchants were indeed used, but they were not always satisfactory. Carleton in Venice complained that his letters "are ever sent me torn and in many pieces" because merchants carried them.[57]

Ambassadors found it hard enough to get money for intelligence out of the English Exchequer; collecting their pay and their ordinary expense money, both of which were usually far in arrears, was far more difficult. Letters to their superiors at home, to their friends, and to each other are

[54] *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 452–53.

[55] E.g., Cornwallis to Cecil, Jan. 13, 1608, BM, Cott. MSS. Vesp. Cx, fols. 280–81.

[56] Cecil to Parry, June 20, 1605, PRO, SP, 78/52, fol. 150; Parry to Cecil, July 5, 1605, *ibid.*, fols. 162–63.

[57] Carleton to Pindar, Sept. 6, 1613, PRO, SP, 99/13, fol. 219. On the questions of intelligence and correspondence, see Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 240–50. There are also some interesting observations and information scattered through the pages of C. H. Carter, *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs, 1598–1625* (New York, 1964).

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full of complaints on this score. They almost always received the same answer: there was no money in the Treasury to pay them. The situation was chronic. Commenting on Carew's failure to arrive in France to assume his post in 1605, Carleton commented ironically to Chamberlain, "The excuse is stranger than all the rest, that there is no money in the Exchequer to set him forward."[58] As early as October 1603 Lord Treasurer Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, noted that "there is no money in the Exchequer, no, not to defray the king's household charges,"[59] which is one more piece of evidence that James inherited a difficult financial situation from his parsimonious predecessor. In November 1604 Winwood, who was aggrieved at Cecil's slashing of his requests for expense money, wrote to Edmondes: "I am ready to starve here for want of means, that having a man now three months soliciting for my provision can yet receive no answer of hope."[60] Edmondes was duly sympathetic; he wondered "that you have the patience to endure such an exile to so small purpose."[61]

Edmondes himself felt the pinch rapidly enough when he became an ambassador. He accepted the appointment with some trepidation as to its financial implications,[62] and his fears were more than justified. In December 1612 he finally took the heroic measure of writing directly to the King, asking for an increase in his per diem allowance. The cost of living in Paris was high, he wrote, and extraordinary expenses had piled up lately—the cost of mourning for Prince Henry, for example. Digby in Spain received a higher daily allowance, he complained, and the Spanish government paid the rent on Digby's house; Edmondes' house cost him two hundred pounds a year. He needed an immediate payment of five or six hundred pounds. Edmondes went further: he persuaded the Duc de Bouillon to write to the King on his behalf.[63] In 1618 the Danish government offered Carleton, then at The Hague, a pension if he would supply it with information. Carleton reported this offer and his refusal of it to Secretary Lake. James was so liberal, he told the Danish agent, that he had no need for a pension. "I will beseech your honour to endeavour to make this word of mine good," he went on, "and . . . so to order . . . that in this place of quick

[58] PRO, SP, 78/2, fol. 342.

[59] Munck to Winwood, Oct. 4, 1603, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, ed. Kirk, I, 44.

[60] *Ibid.*, 42, 49–50; BM, Stowe MS. 167, fol. 364.

[61] More to Winwood, Dec. 20, 1604, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, ed. Kirk, I, 50.

[62] Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Dec. 28, 1604, Lodge, *Illustrations*, III, 255.

[63] PRO, SP, 78/60, fol. 234. Each ambassador was eventually allotted one hundred pounds for his mourning expenses. (Wake to Carleton, Dec. 31, 1612–Jan. 10, 1613, *ibid.*, 99/11, fols. 208–209.) BM, Stowe MS. 173, fols. 264–65. Edmondes got the five hundred pounds. (*Ibid.*, fol. 262.)

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expense for the table, I may receive *panem quotidianum,* my provision of diet being held up in the Exchequer to my infinite prejudice; a great part of that, which I should eat at my board for his majesty's honour, being eaten out in interest to the merchants."[64] Carleton even resorted to asking his friends to bribe an Exchequer official to get his allowance paid regularly. A year later he was seeking the right to nominate to a barony, a very lucrative perquisite indeed; it was the only feasible way to collect his arrears.[65]

Though its shortage of cash was genuine enough, the government did what it could for its servants, but not always sympathetically. In December 1610 Cecil refused to approve one of Winwood's bills. There was no money available, but even if there were, he would not approve this account. Winwood, he said, "is no poor man, he can stay well enough."[66] Cecil was not normally so irritable as this; the failure of the Great Contract doubtless had something to do with his state of mind. Financial stringency sometimes had unfortunate effects on the conduct of English policy. Embassies were occasionally left vacant—at one time it looked as if the only ambassador actually at his post would be the man in Constantinople, whose salary the government did not pay.[67] Digby, in Spain, had to borrow one thousand pounds from the future Count Gondomar before the latter left to take up his post in England; the bills of exchange he gave Gondomar were cashed only with some difficulty.[68] This was embarrassing, but what was rather worse was the humiliation of Cornwallis, who was constrained to accept a present of three thousand crowns from the Spanish government in order to make ends meet, which effectively took the sting out of the numerous complaints he had to make on behalf of the English merchant community.[69] English ambassadors were always sighing for the allegedly fabulous salaries and allowances of King Philip's envoys. The Spanish ambassador to England was to receive twenty thousand crowns to pay his debts and ten thousand more to furnish himself with equipment, wrote

[64] *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt., during his Embassy in Holland,* ed. Philip Yorke (3d ed., London, 1780), 246–47; see also Carleton to Thomas Locke, Sept. 29, 1618, *State Papers, Domestic, 1611–1618,* ed. Green, 578.

[65] Edward Sherburn to Carleton, Jan. 4, 1618, *ibid.,* 511; Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, Eng., 1965), 107.

[66] Winwood, *Memorials,* ed. Sawyer, III, 235.

[67] Piero Contarini to the Doge and Senate, Apr. 16–26, 1618, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1617–1619,* ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1909), 204; see also Correr to the Doge and Senate, Jan. 25–Feb. 4, 1611, *State Papers, Venetian, 1610–1613,* ed. Brown, 112.

[68] More to Winwood, Aug. 7, 1613, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry,* ed. Kirk, I, 141–42; Chamberlain to Carleton, Sept. 9, 1613, *Letters of John Chamberlain,* ed. McClure, I, 474.

[69] Francesco Priuli to the Doge and Senate, May 3–13, 1606, *State Papers, Venetian, 1603–1607,* ed. H. F. Brown (London, 1900), 347.

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Cornwallis to Edmondes in 1605; "God send us some taste of the like."[70]

The constant complaints of the ambassadors did some good; the per diem did rise slightly. In 1604 Parry, in France, got 70*s.*8*d.*; Edmondes received £4 during his stay there.[71] Wotton and Carleton in Venice only got five marks (£3 6*s.*8*d.*).[72] The Spanish embassy was worth more: in 1605 Cecil raised the rate there to £6. He informed Cornwallis that this was not to be taken as a precedent or to apply elsewhere, but Digby received the same amount.[73] The rate of £6 was usually reserved for special ceremonial embassies, like that of Edward Wotton to France in 1610,[74] most of which were exceedingly expensive. Less exalted officials were given much less. Trumbull, left behind as resident in Brussels after the departure of Edmondes, received only £1, and Edmondes had to work hard to get him that much.[75] Ambassadors always wanted the per diem to start as far in advance as possible. Lesieur, for instance, while he was in Florence in 1608, had complained of losing thirteen in the hundred by having to borrow locally. He asked that his daily allowance begin six months before his departure and be paid four months in advance when he was posted to the imperial court in 1612.[76]

The government also customarily paid traveling expenses. It cost Carleton £550 to transport himself and his family to Venice in 1610. In the following year Digby put in a bill for £970 for his travel to Madrid. He attempted to justify this request by pointing out that it was only one-third of what Alonso di Velasco, the Spanish ambassador to England, had asked of his government.[77] The Spanish example was useful. The amount Digby asked was very large, nonetheless. It was, in fact, large enough to cause other ambassadors to stress the modesty of their own costs—the £686 Lesieur requested, for instance, to travel to Vienna.[78] When Digby returned to England in 1614 he asked for £900 more.[79] Special ceremonial embassies

[70] BM, Stowe MS. 168, fol. 50.

[71] PRO, SP, 78/51, fols. 65–67; *ibid.*, Domestic, LXXXII, No. 125.

[72] PRO, SP, 99/2, fol. 216, 99/5, fol. 152; *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton,* ed. Yorke, 299.

[73] PRO, SP, 94/12, fols. 97–98.

[74] *Ibid.*, 78/56, fol. 349.

[75] Edmondes to Trumbull, Sept. 14, 1609, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 127–29, 138. Some years later his allowance was doubled. (Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 21, 1618, *Letters of John Chamberlain,* ed. McClure, II, 142–43.)

[76] PRO, SP, 98/2, fol. 178, 80/2, fol. 215.

[77] *Ibid.*, 99/6, fol. 152, 94/18, fols. 99, 105.

[78] Lesieur to James, Jan. 6, 1613, *ibid.*, 80/2, fol. 236. Lesieur produced an itemized account: £30 for coaches from his house in Hampstead to wait on James at various places such as Woodstock and Hampton Court; £230 for transportation for himself and a company of twenty-four from London to Frankfurt; £176 from Frankfurt to Ulm; £180 from Ulm to Vienna by water; £5 from the Vienna docks to his lodging; £65 in fees to the imperial officials.

[79] Chamberlain to Carleton, July 21, 1614, *Letters of John Chamberlain,* ed. McClure, I, 550–52. Chamberlain commented that he would be well paid if he got £600.

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cost considerably more. Some, like that of Lord Hay to France in 1616, were so expensive that there was much opposition to sending him at all. Hay's embassy, and some others, had to be financed by the sale of peerages.[80] While Hay lived luxuriously and behaved extravagantly, the ordinary ambassador had to struggle penuriously. It is not surprising that the latter was frequently resentful of those who, in his opinion, were better off than himself. Edmondes wrote waspishly to Trumbull in 1609:

> Sir Ralph Winwood in his last letter bemoaned himself that after so many years' service abroad he should be forced to begin his service anew in England. Other men who have served double his time abroad and at home have not attained to the least degree of his happiness. By [John] Dickenson's confession his [Winwood's] journeys to Embden were worth £600, and I reckon that since his coming to Holland he hath made above £6,000, and yet doth not think his high merit sufficiently acknowledged. Yet I who have laboured in the vineyard as faithfully dare not represent my necessities. Though his happiness hath been greater than mine, yet my honest merit shall ever deserve to be as well justified as his shall be.[81]

The expenses of its agents abroad were not the only drain on the meager resources of the English government. In February 1613 James learned that the French were about to send a special envoy to condole with him on the death of Prince Henry and to offer congratulations on the marriage of Princess Elizabeth. The King wrote to Edmondes to prevent any such thing: it was unnecessary since the French had a resident ambassador there, and the envoy would be expensive to entertain.[82] Costs were high in England, too. "The Court of England is excessively expensive," wrote the Venetian ambassador in 1617, "and the cost of everything is so great that it is certainly unexampled elsewhere in Europe."[83]

Men angled for ambassadorships and then stayed in their financially unrewarding posts, in some measure out of a sense of duty, but also in the hope of being richly recompensed when their tour of duty was over, possibly by the government to which they had been accredited, certainly by their master.[84] As Sir John Bennet rather sententiously wrote to Carleton in 1616, the King might pay his ambassadors slackly, but he made it up to

[80] Gregorio Barbarigo to the Doge and Senate, May 3–13, 1616, *State Papers, Venetian, 1615–1617*, ed. Hinds, 197; Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 107.

[81] *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 100–101. Dickenson was one of Winwood's embassy staff.

[82] BM, Stowe MS. 173, fol. 275.

[83] *State Papers, Venetian, 1615–1617*, ed. Hinds, 470.

[84] Sometimes ambassadors expected much. Wotton after his first departure from Venice was aggrieved because the Venetian government had not rewarded his nephew as generously as it did the son of the French ambassador. (Correr and Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, May 2–12, 1611, *State Papers, Venetian, 1610–1613*, ed. Brown, 145–46.)

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them when they returned home.[85] As long as Cecil lived, the road to the top lay through diligent service which earned a promotion, and all of his stable of diplomatists knew it. When Edmondes, who had been at Brussels, accepted the Paris embassy in 1609, Carleton told him he was wise to do so. His ready consent "to this offer of our great lord (who will not, as you know, have his favors rejected)" was the surest way to a rich reward.[86] Edmondes was not so sure; he had been hoping for a post at home, possibly a secretaryship of state, in the reshuffle that he believed would follow the death of Lord Treasurer Dorset in 1608.[87] The secretaryship was the principal goal of the truly ambitious; Winwood, who was eventually to be Cecil's successor, after King James and his favorite Rochester had had their fling at the day-to-day drudgery of the office, tried to console himself when he thought his competitor Edmondes had the inside track. All he wanted was "without trouble, toil, or vexation of spirit to procure honestly and quietly without noise or bruit a competent state of livelihood for my wife and children."[88] Winwood was practicing stoic resignation here: his ambition was not so modest as this. After Cecil's death the reward a man received depended much less on his service than on his connections. Someone with little influence, like Trumbull, if he asked for a reward, would lay himself open to the sort of snub he received from Rochester, who wrote that those who lacked extraordinary merit could not expect to receive great favors.[89] This, from Rochester, must have caused much sardonic laughter. Poor Trumbull never did receive much reward: he ultimately became a clerk of the council and mustermaster general.

Others did rather better. Of the diplomatists already mentioned, Digby became an earl, Carleton a viscount, Cottington a baron, and all three had important domestic political careers. Winwood and Carleton became Secretaries of State, Parry Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Carew Master of the Court of Wards (in the year of his death), an office Cottington was also to hold. Edmondes and Cornwallis received household offices, Pindar, as befitted his commercial connections, the alum farm. Sir Thomas Roe, one of the ablest of the lot, after many years of waiting, became Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. Lesieur got nothing but a small pension. Perhaps

[85] *State Papers, Domestic, 1611–1618,* ed. Green, 417. Two years earlier Chamberlain reported to Carleton the rumor that Sir Robert Drury had offered two thousand pounds for Carleton's post. Chamberlain was surprised: there was nothing to be made out of it, he said, when the government was twelve thousand pounds in debt to its ambassadors. (*Letters of John Chamberlain,* ed. McClure, I, 548.)

[86] Carleton to Edmondes, June 8, 1609, BM, Stowe MS. 171, fols. 83–84.

[87] Edmondes to Trumbull, May 11, 1608, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 56–57.

[88] Winwood to Carleton, Nov. 24, 1613, PRO, SP, 84/69, fols. 112–13.

[89] Rochester to Trumbull, Sept. 10, 1613, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire,* ed. Purnell and Hinds, IV, 195.

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the oddest reward of all, and yet a singularly fitting one, fell to the epigrammatic Wotton: he became provost of Eton.

In the first year of James's reign a translation of Jean Hotman's *The Ambassador* appeared in London. "Ambassadors," wrote Hotman,

> should have knowledge of many things, especially of philosophy, moral and politic, and before all other, Roman Civil Law; and, moreover, a knowledge of histories will greatly help him, which besides the pleasure of it will increase in him wisdom and judgment in the affairs of his charges, and will make him not to be astonished at anything.[90]

If not all of James's good men lying abroad lived up to this counsel of perfection, they were nevertheless a competent group of professionals, an intelligent and acerbic set of men who complained about everything from arrears of pay to bad health, from the cost of living to the wretched climate, but who for the most part did their job efficiently and well. It was an age of talented diplomatists; if no Englishman displayed the kind of ability that has made the peerless Gondomar the ideal seventeenth-century ambassador in the eyes of posterity, many of them compare favorably enough with most of their continental counterparts. A number of the successes of Jacobean foreign policy were owing to them, and some of the failures too. Most historians have weighed that policy in the balance and found it wanting. If this be a just judgment, then the responsibility lies much more with the government in London than with its professional agents in the field.

[90] Quoted in G. B. Harrison, *A Jacobean Journal, Being a Record of those Things Most Talked of during the Years 1603–1606* (London, 1941), 37.

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The Transformation of the Garden: Ideal and Society in Austrian Literature

Carl E. Schorske*

"It is hard to grapple with an existing social order, but harder still to have to posit one that does not exist."[1] These words of Hugo von Hofmannsthal carry the ring of the twentieth century, when the European mind lost its capacity to project satisfying utopias. Earlier, in the wake of the French Revolution, most writers would have inverted Hofmannsthal's judgment. They found it harder to grapple with the existing social order than to draft the lineaments of an ideal one.

As long as the artist knew what his values were, and knew these to have sanction and support from his society, if not pervasive power in it, social reality could serve as the anvil against which he created his literary artifacts. When historical expectations were belied by events, however, or when the artists' values, bereft of social support, became abstract, Hofmannsthal's difficulty in "positing a social order that does not exist" acquired primacy over the more traditional problem of wrestling with the existing society. Inevitably, the role of the artist became redefined: he had not merely to articulate the relationship of traditionally accepted values to social reality, but to express truths for a mankind despairing of social order as such. The stages in the emergence of this function of literature in relation to the social order provide my theme; the culture of liberal Austria, its setting.

Wherever European artists made the difficult attempt to grapple with an existing order, as they so often did in the nineteenth century, social realism emerged as a dominant literary mode. A secure image of society's nature and movement, of its strengths and vulnerabilities, was the necessary prerequisite to wrestling with it in the pursuit of happiness and dignity. Depending on the critical stance of the author, his hero might be locked in deadly struggle with his society, like Stendhal's Julien Sorel, or shaped and imprisoned by it, like Émile Zola's Nana; in either case social realism implied an integration of character and milieu. Concern for the human condition illumi-

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[1] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Buch der Freunde," *Aufzeichnungen, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben,* ed. Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt am Main, 1959), 59. Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine.

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nated the state of society; careful delineation of the social milieu explicated the state of humanity. The interpenetration of character and scene, of individual and contemporary environment, is, as Erich Auerbach so concretely demonstrated, the hallmark of realism. The more specific and far-reaching the author's emphasis upon social structure, the more appropriate the term "social realism" becomes. In the nineteenth century, this tendency in the novel, as in Zola, finally approximated the character of pure sociological inquest.

Compared to other countries of high literary productivity, Austria in the nineteenth century remained singularly unaffected by the social realist movement. Most of the authors who can be classified in this school remain virtually unknown outside Austria itself. Both the power of the baroque tradition of fantasy and the failure of the Austrian middle class to develop independence of the aristocracy weakened the development of social realism. Yet Austrian literature found other media to refract the problem of relating cultural values to a social structure in transition. The image of the garden was one such medium. Since ancient days the garden has served Western man as a mirror of paradise to measure his temporal state. As it appears at crucial points in Austrian literature, it helps us to mark stages in the developing relationship of culture and social structure, utopia and reality. Within its narrow confines, the garden captures and reflects the changing outlook of Austria's cultivated middle class as the ancient Empire approached disintegration.

In 1857 Adalbert Stifter published his novel *Der Nachsommer* (Indian Summer). Generally regarded as the masterpiece of Austrian realism, it was conceived as an answer to the sociopolitical problems of his age. Yet these problems are never openly stated in the book; nor is the historical movement of society described except in the most allusive and remote fashion. Stifter offered no symptomatology of society's ills; he went directly to the cure. The cure is *Bildung,* the training of the character in a holistic sense. *Der Nachsommer* is a utopian *Bildungsroman* built of realistic elements.

Born in 1806, Stifter acquired his values and outlook in the quiet years before the storm of 1848. For him, a relatively unpolitical Biedermeier liberal, *ein Mann des Masses und der Freiheit,*[2] the Revolution proved a decisive experience, a crisis of confidence in the nature of man. Like so many of his contemporaries, Stifter at first greeted the Revolution, then recoiled in horror at the collapse of order. Conceiving of politics as a branch of ethics, he understood the destruction of order not as the result of historical or social

[2] *Stifters Werke,* ed. I. E. Walter (2 vols., Salzburg, n.d.), II, 905.

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"forces" but as the consequence of human passions unleashed. In classical Kantian fashion, Stifter regarded order, control of passion, as indispensable and integral to freedom in both the individual and the state:

> . . . [G]enuine freedom demands the most self-control, the constraint of one's desires. . . . The foremost and only enemies of freedom therefore are all those people who are possessed by powerful desires and urges [*Begierden und Neigungen*], which they wish to gratify by any means. . . .[3]

Stifter's political analyses are indistinguishable in form and content from moral homilies. As he disdained romantic poets who unleashed strong human emotions, so he feared political radicals:

> Distrust your hotspurs, who promise to overwhelm you with immeasurable freedom and eternal gifts of gold; they are mostly men corrupted by the power of their emotions, who are driven by their emotions to win a wide field of action and great gratification [for themselves]; and when they have won them, they will fall still lower and drag down all who trusted them.[4]

Political chaos was the product of personal passion; its remedy must be personal self-discipline. Only moral individuals could sustain free institutions, Stifter maintained. Because men had not acquired the moral maturity to be capable of freedom, the Revolution destroyed the very freedom it aimed to realize. Stifter thus drew the lessons from the revolutionary experience in the traditional language of German humanism, of Friedrich Schiller and of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Although "the ideal of freedom [was] destroyed for a long time to come" by the Revolution, Stifter did not despair: "Whoever is morally free can be politically free and always is so; not all the powers of the earth can make the others free. There is but one power which can do so: *Bildung*."[5]

Bildung was no empty phrase with Stifter. As citizen and as artist, he devoted himself after 1848 to spreading it among his fellow men in order to prepare them intellectually and morally for freedom. Where before the Revolution Stifter had served as private tutor to wealthy families (including Metternich's), after it he turned to public education. He participated actively in the great reform of the school system, in 1848 and 1849 as a contributor to public discussion and policy planning, thereafter as a school inspector. His commitment to education, though liberal, also bore the stamp of the Benedictine tradition in which he had been schooled: Stifter strove for a unity of mind and heart, of knowledge and practice, of reason and grace. His old-fashioned, politically conservative humanism produced paradoxically demo-

[3] Stifter, "Über das Freiheitsproblem," *ibid.*, 921, 923.

[4] *Adalbert Stifters Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Gustav Wilhelm *et al.* (24 vols., Prague and Reichenberg, 1904–39), XVI, 58–59; cited in Eric Albert Blackall, *Adalbert Stifter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 254.

[5] Letter to Gustav Heckenast, Mar. 6, 1849, *Stifters Sämtliche Werke*, XVII, 321.

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cratic consequences in his educational theory. For him the major pedagogic task of the state—indeed its most vital function in any sphere—was the education of the masses. Stifter perceived and criticized the growing tendency of modern society, fostered by the intellectuals themselves, to divide men into *die Wissenden* and *die Nichtwissenden*. Education should weld together, not separate, mankind. His very fears of the masses led him to the democratic conclusion that the elementary school had more immediate importance than either secondary school or university. In elementary education the folk could and should be trained morally as well as intellectually. The personally fulfilled life and the socially useful life grew out of the same stalk. "What we need is character," Stifter wrote a friend in June 1848. "I believe that rock-solid truthfulness . . . and rock-solid thoroughness . . . would have stronger and longer effectiveness today than learnedness and knowledge."[6] Education must accordingly foster not merely the life of the mind but a comprehensive development of character.

Surely the virtue of learning was not as important as the learning of virtue. *Bildung,* a term increasingly denoting that acquired high culture which accorded a mark of social substance if not of social grace to its possessor, still meant to Stifter a richer complex of attributes composing the well-formed and integrated personality.

To illustrate and propagate his concept of *Bildung,* compounded of Benedictine world piety, German humanism, and Biedermeier conventionality, Stifter gave to the world his novel *Der Nachsommer*. As his dedication to a career in public education had grown out of his political concern, so his commitment as an artist represented an extension of his educational concern. Stifter left no doubt of his didactic intention in *Der Nachsommer:*

> I have probably made the work on account of the rottenness [*Schlechtigkeit*] which in general and with a few exceptions prevails in the political conditions of the world, in its moral life and in the literary arts. I wanted to contrapose a great, simple, ethical force [*sittliche Kraft*] against the wretched degeneration [of the times].[7]

In his negative intention—to fight "the wretched degeneration" of his times—Stifter was at one with his great French contemporary, Gustave Flaubert. The latter published his bitter *Bildungsroman, L'éducation sentimentale,* in 1869, only twelve years after *Der Nachsommer*. To the modern reader, however, a century of social history would seem to lie between the two works. Flaubert's strategy in his warfare against social reality is to reveal not only the chaotic, unstable movement of society, but also to show how it corrodes all idealistic resistance. The "education" of Frédéric Moreau is an

[6] *Ibid.,* 292; cited in Blackall, *Stifter,* 249.
[7] *Stifters Sämtliche Werke,* XIX, 93.

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education in disenchantment: the intelligent perception destroys what the heart owns, and the experienced understanding ratifies the futility of all ideals. Flaubert's "realism" indicts society by depicting it directly and concealing from the reader his own normative ideals. Stifter's strategy is the opposite: he indicts the chaos of contemporary reality not by describing it but by ignoring it. Out of recognizably real social materials he constructs a well-ordered milieu in which an immanent ideality is slowly made plain to the hero. By a careful, generous training of habit, head, and heart, Stifter's hero grows into a life of fulfillment. In Stifter's fictional society, as in his *gebildeter Mensch,* intelligence and sentiment, truth and goodness are synthesized, not mutually exclusive as in Flaubert's.

The realistic novel revolves around the integration of character and milieu. The opening of Flaubert's *L'éducation sentimentale* adumbrates that integration for the hapless child of illusion, Moreau. A Seine River steamer about to depart belches "great whirlwinds of smoke" as people rush aboard, jostling each other "in breathless haste." Traffic is obstructed by cargo and cables strewn in every direction. "The sailors answered nobody." As the steamer casts off, the chaotic, mobile, commercial society it represents will sweep Moreau up too: "A Promising Pupil," the first chapter title calls him. His moorings cut, he will attach himself to the world of illusory love, specious art, and corrupt politics that will drag him down. On the clanging, hissing steamer he confronts all these aspects of the world for the first time, appropriately enough in motion, in transit. In only a few brisk opening pages Flaubert shows the malleable, romantic Frédéric already being embraced and molded by the strong and slippery tentacles of the modern French milieu.[8]

To posit a "great, simple, ethical force" against the times, Stifter integrated hero and milieu no less than Flaubert. The opening chapter of *Der Nachsommer* could have borne the same title as Flaubert's, "A Promising Pupil," for in it the hero, Heinrich Drendorf, describes his positive responses to his early education. Stifter allowed the title to reflect instead the primacy of the milieu, and called the chapter, "The Household." As in Flaubert's novel, the economic environment serves as basic clue to the social and spiritual conditions that will form the hero. The clangorous, vaporous river steamer of Flaubert, symbol of mobile, speculative, capitalist society, has a contrasting analogue in Stifter's novel: the ménage of the elder Drendorf. In this household, old-style commercial enterprise and an upright family life are felicitously united under the sober justice of the father-master. The atmosphere is the very opposite of Flaubert's riverboat: solidity, stability, se-

[8] Gustave Flaubert, *Sentimental Education,* tr. Brentano (New York, 1957), 1–14.

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renity, and orderliness. The social and physical milieu serves Stifter's hero as vestibule to the good life, and his reader as a kind of concrete *preparatio evangelii.*

Heinrich Drendorf begins his story with the lapidary sentence, "my father was a merchant." Domicile and shop were under the same roof. The employees ate at the master's table as members of an enlarged family. The ethic of fatherhood governed the elder Drendorf's behavior as entrepreneur. The obverse was equally true: Drendorf's early capitalist ethic informed his exercise of paternal authority. He managed his family and his household, one might say, like a business, in an era when probity, thrift, simplicity, and strict personal accountability were the principal economic virtues. Every person had his appointed duties in the household. Time and space were precisely subdivided and organized in such a fashion that every segment fulfilled a specified function. Heinrich's mother, a warm and good-natured soul who would have allowed her children a more spontaneous life, enforced "out of fear of father" the appointed tasks laid down by the master of the household. The well-ordered environment was the key to the well-ordered soul, and together they composed the well-ordered world.

Heinrich's father summarized his view of life in the principle: "Everything and every person can be but one thing; this, however, he [or it] must be to the full." On the basis of this principle of specialization, there was inculcated into the children the spirit of "strict exactitude" which became the basis of a character formation leading to a life of personal fulfillment. Greatness in this view lay not in the exceptional or outstanding but in the regular and perfected.

Self-discipline and self-reliance were the principal virtues the father inculcated in his son. Classical bourgeois virtues, transmitted in a Biedermeier setting, they constituted for Stifter the characterological core of *Bildung.* They were the very virtues that Robinson Crusoe, by ignoring the sound advice of his father, had had to acquire, as he said, through "a life of misery."[9]

Drendorf, through filial devotion and willingness to make his father's values his own, did not merely enter his father's station; rather, he prepared himself for a more comprehensive self-fulfillment and a wider culture. Indeed Stifter wished to show that there was a better life than that of the upright bourgeois of the old school: a life of science, art, and higher culture. Heinrich was trained and encouraged to transcend his father, but to do so by building on his paternal inheritance rather than rejecting it.

Der Nachsommer stands at a crossroads in the relationship between gen-

[9] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (Everyman ed., London, 1906), 2.

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erations within the Austrian bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century. Are the sons to enter the patrimony of the fathers or to create a new world of their own? The very existence of such a question implies a social crisis. Not until the 1880's did it become a burning issue, and, when it did, the nature and function of higher culture were also thrown into question. Stifter was the first to pose the problem, albeit gently. He could delineate a convincing solution in a perspective wherein utopian and realistic elements could still be satisfactorily unified.

In the life of the Drendorfs social mobility was still identified with intellectual growth, and *Bildung* was an extension of bourgeois virtue. Drendorf the elder, though clearly without formal education, manifested strong intellectual interests. He acquired culture in the same spirit and manner as he acquired property, and the author respects him for it. Thus Drendorf kept his books in a case the glass doors of which were hung with green cloth, lest the exposure of the gilt-decorated bindings suggest vain display. When his fortunes allowed him to purchase a more cheerful home in the suburbs, Heinrich's father became less reticent in manifesting his commitment to higher culture. Not only did he install a large library (the green curtains seem to have been forgotten when the family left "the old, gloomy city house"), but he set aside a separate room to house his paintings. Indulging his nineteenth-century taste for the private museum, he set up an easel in a well-lit position, upon which each painting could be placed in order to be studied, read. One is reminded of St. Augustine's maxim: "To use, not to enjoy": Heinrich's father valued art not as a source of pleasure but as an instructional medium, closely bound to science, teaching one of light and shadow, rest and motion. At the same time he prized his paintings as a sound investment. "He said that he bought only old ones which had a certain value, which one could always realize if one were ever compelled to sell. . . ."[10]

In his self-assured integration of moral, cultural, and economic values, Heinrich's father might have served his creator as the very model of the cultural Philistine. Stifter did not see him thus. Unlike his immediate successors, Stifter maintained an unbroken faith in the preindustrial bourgeois value complex, and he wished to make clear how modest were the social foundations of the good life. Where intellectuals of the next generation would see puritanical repressiveness, Stifter saw *Sittlichkeit und Ernst,* like a moralist of the eighteenth century. Where they would see *petit bourgeois* narrowness, he found civic uprightness; where they complacency, he solidity; where they pallor and weakness, he clarity and purity.

[10] *Stifters Sämtliche Werke,* VI, 9.

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Only once did Stifter allow a rift to appear between the Drendorf household and the bourgeois society in which it was anchored. The issue concerned, significantly, the relationship of culture and society, *Bildung* and *Besitz*. Heinrich, who had flourished under the excellent tutors provided by his father, asked permission to become a scientist. In assenting, Heinrich's father evoked sharp criticism from "many people." They argued that he should have dedicated his son to "an estate . . . useful to civil society," so that he might "one day end his days with the consciousness of having fulfilled his obligations." Heinrich's father withstood this pressure not by justifying the utility of science but by asserting the principle that human beings existed for their own sake, and not for society's. He buttressed this radical individualism with his confidence that each man would serve society best if he followed the inner urge that God placed in him as a guide to his true vocation. This incident made it clear that, in the pursuit of pure science, Heinrich had to leave the society of his birth and transcend the culture of his father. In supporting his request, the elder Drendorf exemplified paternal generosity to the point where his bourgeois independence became independence of the prevailing bourgeois code.[11]

Stifter invests the episode with little tension in the telling (his limpid prose always flows as smoothly as the lives he holds to view), but its significance is nonetheless great. Maturity would bring Heinrich no necessary break from his father, but neither did his initiation into manhood imply entry into the father's vocation. The father trained Heinrich for financial independence, and a fortuitous inheritance solidified the economic foundation of his vocational independence. Only filial piety remained to tie son to father. As a *rentier* and a scientific intellectual, Heinrich was ready to pass out of the older commercial milieu and enter the utopia of the mid-century Austrian middle class.

"Even as a boy," Heinrich tells us, "I was a great friend of the reality of things." His growth as a scientist ran from the exact observation of the details of "things" to the comprehensive description of nature. Scientific research as Stifter described it was essentially classificatory. The spirit of fastidious orderliness dominating the Drendorf household reappeared, without explicit notice by the author, in Heinrich's approach to nature. He collected botanical or mineral specimens, described each "with strict exactitude" according to its nature, and "progressed to ever more composite [*zusammengesetzteren*] and ordered descriptions."[12] The *petit bourgeois* zeal for ac-

[11] *Ibid.*, 10–14. For an actual instance of a similar relationship between father and son in the choice of a scientific vocation, see the geologist Eduard Suess, *Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1916), 115, 139.

[12] *Stifters Sämtliche Werke*, VI, 23–24.

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quisition and precise ordering was thus elevated to the intellectual sphere and applied to the understanding of nature. "Through the collection of many small facts in the most varied places," Heinrich could broaden himself out "into the great and sublime whole."[13] God's house of nature appears almost as an ideal magnification of the modest, well-ordered Drendorf household.

Science took Heinrich out of his limited urban environment into a wider realm. The second phase of his *Bildungsweg,* begun as wandering physiographer, brought him into the countryside where he first came to sense the beauties of God's vast creation. While he studied nature's inner structure as scientist, he awoke to art through watching nature's outer form.

His independent existence as a naturalist prepared Heinrich for the third and most important phase of his education: the unification of "nature" and "culture" in the perfected life of a country gentleman. To a description of this life and its setting in a model rural estate most of *Der Nachsommer* is devoted. Indeed, the estate, the *Rosenhaus,* is the central symbol of Stifter's social ideal, a Paradise Regained.

Heinrich discovered the *Rosenhaus* when he was seeking refuge from a threatening storm. (In accordance with Stifter's method of expurgating the chaotic from life, the storm never broke.) He saw the house gleaming high on a hill under the black clouds and made his way to it like a romantic wanderer approaching an enchanted castle. The house was covered with roses. They "seem to have spoken the word to each other to burst into bloom at the selfsame time, in order to swathe the house in a cloak of the most charming hues and in a cloud of the sweetest scents."[14] Neither Stifter nor his meticulously intellectual hero allows us to linger long in the spell of this beauty. Romantic illusion is not punctured, but explained. Swiftly and coolly, Heinrich penetrates the magical effect, revealing it to be a triumph of human industry, of artful horticulture. The floral web was carefully plaited of rose trees, trained to varying heights, and trimmed so that no gap might appear in the solid bank of blooms. By scientific husbandry the innocent forces of nature are organized to create a setting of beauty for the flowering of the human spirit.

The *Rosenhaus* and its ideal life reveal much concerning the sociological properties and intellectual content of *Bildung* in mid-nineteenth-century Austria. Sociologically, the *Rosenhaus* represented the life of a higher social stratum than that to which Heinrich was born. Its owner, Freiherr von

[13] *Ibid.,* 40.
[14] *Ibid.,* 44.

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Risach, who became Heinrich's mentor and surrogate father, was a cultivated nobleman, yet no aristocrat of the blood. Born of a poor peasant family, Risach had risen by the most usual route for the Austrian commoner to acquire eminence, one that continued to accord high social status until the end of the monarchy: the civil service.[15] Despite a career that had brought him not only a patent of nobility but the friendship of his sovereign, Risach had turned his back on politics and power. Purchasing an estate in the country, he retreated to contemplation and practical activity on his own circumscribed domain, enriching his understanding and imparting to those who would learn his formula for a perfected and harmonious existence. The ideal of Risach and the *Rosenhaus* was that of a nobleman of the spirit, a seigneur beyond any *libido dominandi,* who could enhance the traditional rural aristocrat's life with the scientific, ethical, and aesthetic culture of the bourgeoisie.

Risach conducted his utopian estate on principles combining the practical prudence of Daniel Defoe with the classic sublimity of Johann Winckelmann. He integrated nature and culture into a single continuum. The *Rosenhaus* garden, central symbol of this integration, was designed not merely for aesthetic effect. Unlike the gardens of the country houses of city people, "where one cultivates unfruitful shrubs or at best bushes bearing only ornamental fruit," Risach's garden mingled flowers with vegetables to produce "feelings of domesticity and usefulness."[16] Nature was perfected by science into art: purged of weeds and insects, the *Rosenhaus* garden bloomed "clean and clear." Risach's estate was thus no parturient paradise for a pleasure-seeking *homo ludens. Nature naturante* was curbed and perfected in accordance with God's intention that Adam fulfill a task in the Garden of Eden: "to dress and to keep it." Utility and beauty result from man's self-conscious effort to activate nature's bounty.

As he cultivated his garden to elicit the more edifying beauties of nature, so the master of the *Rosenhaus* designed his house as a setting for the flowering of the human spirit. The *Rosenhaus* made possible an ordered, expurgated life and a harmonious disposition of the feelings. Where its garden exemplified nature transfigured by culture, its interior revealed a culture vitalized by nature. Into the building's design and *décor,* nature's sustaining presence was physically incorporated. Indeed Risach achieved an almost Japanese interpenetration of indoors and outdoors. Great sliding windows

[15] Hugo von Hofmannsthal cited Sonnenfels under Maria Theresa and Baron Kübeck under Francis I as statesmen of the social type that Stifter had in mind. (See "Stifters 'Nachsommer,'" in Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Selected Essays,* ed. Mary Gilbert [Oxford, Eng., 1955], 58–59.)

[16] *Stifters Sämtliche Werke,* VI, 58–59.

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brought in the cheerful view of birds and flowers. Silk screens allowed pure air to circulate in the sitting room "as in a quiet forest." Huge skylights in the ceiling above the stair well introduced the variety of nature's lights to glorify a Grecian statue. Risach employed native woods and marbles (only the richest, of course) to achieve an atmosphere of what Winckelmann would have called "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur."

A second noteworthy characteristic of the culture of the *Rosenhaus* was the commitment of its master to the past. To furnish the *Rosenhaus,* Risach maintained a workshop for reclaiming old furniture and art objects from the ravages of time. Risach's devotion to restoration and recovery transcended by far his love of creation or discovery. The ideal life could not risk spontaneity; it had to feed the feelings on the works of the dead. For Risach time was rather a foe that might sweep one away than a force that would carry one forward, as the progressives believed. Hence Risach devoted himself to keeping the past alive in both its practical and ideal aspect. The line between arts and crafts, artistry and artisanship scarcely existed. In old use objects Risach recognized "the charm of the past and of the vanished bloom." He sought to recapture it: we "snatch [old utensils and furnishings] from decay, put them back together, clean them, polish them, and try to restore them to domestic use."[17] Risach accorded the same treatment to works of fine art (as did Stifter himself), restoring Greek sculpture or Gothic ecclesiastical art, removing the overlay of later ages—especially of the frivolous *Zopfzeit,* the eighteenth century—to purify the works that could edify the spirit. In the garden Risach pruned away the sickly plant to make way for the healthy. In the house and in culture he showed the same passion for maintenance, but, significantly, none for new growth.

Thanks to its master's piety toward the moral-aesthetic achievement of a vanished past, the *Rosenhaus* partook of the character of a museum. In this character, the nature and function of *Bildung* for the educated middle classes in the mid-century come to focus. Partly consciously, partly unwittingly, Stifter here disclosed the social content and the problematical character of his utopian ideal. As private museum the *Rosenhaus* reveals three features: the transposition of *petit bourgeois* parsimoniousness into aesthetic fastidiousness; the substitution of art for religion as the source of the highest meaning in life; and the tendency of social mobility and cultural acquirement to destroy the democratic ideal of a single, universal, ethical culture.

The first of these features shows itself in Risach's passion for maintaining the *Rosenhaus* and its internal contents. Though he was a wealthy *rentier,* his custodial zeal was of the same stuff as the insistent orderliness of the

[17] *Ibid.,* 99.

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elder Drendorf. Risach personally supervised the restoration of furniture in the shop. Lest one scratch his parquet floors, one had to don felt slippers. Never might a book be left out of its case. The classical purity of the *Rosenhaus* thus shows itself to be but an elevated form of *petit bourgeois* cleanliness. Differences in *Bildung* aside, the aesthete's *Reinheit* betrays its affiliation to the *Hausfrau*'s compulsive *Reinlichkeit*. What waste and functionlessness were to the merchant Drendorf, the abuse of beautiful things and the loss of the treasures of the past were to the new aristocrat Risach. Property and *objets d'art,* both painstakingly acquired, deserved to be protected against the inroads of human carelessness and the erosions of time. The man of property who acquired aesthetic culture became not a creator but a curator.

The *Rosenhaus* was a work of art, an ideal setting to dramatize the art of life. Heinrich could appreciate its nature because his educational journey had equipped him with a moral foundation and an intellectual-scientific outlook that seasoned him for entry into the complete life of the spirit that found its ultimate expression in art. Only gradually did he come to appreciate that in the *Rosenhaus* every element, though discrete and self-justified, contributed to a single harmonious whole. Heinrich reached the end of his learning process only when he finally felt and understood the impact of Risach's prize possession: a life-size Greek statue. The statue symbolizes the unifying, sublimating, and disciplining function of art that the *Rosenhaus* represents. Even its dangerous subject, the naked female form, expresses repose, *Ruhe:* "that many-sided composure of all parts into one whole, . . . that ordering vision . . . [which prevails] no matter how strongly feelings or actions may rage within."[18] Man's aesthetic power unites him to the creativity of God; it lets him perceive even in movement and passion that measure and order which so enchant us. Art expresses the highest stage of *Bildung,* for it presents the world not only to the mind, but to the soul, as religion had done. The man of science could understand the rational structure of the world of things, yes; but only the man of art could apprehend it as formed feeling. When Heinrich finally achieved the state in which he could appreciate God's universe aesthetically, he was ready to enter the world of adult love. His father had disciplined his feelings with correct ethical norms of behavior; Risach had cultivated and sublimated them in art. Here, too, art took on a burden once performed by religion: the canalizing of the passions and the refinement of feelings. Coming to love—and marriage—by the route of art, Heinrich never had to endure the pains and disorders of passion.

Risach had turned to the horticultural and aesthetic pursuits of the *Rosenhaus* in order to build a life of order. Only at the close of the novel do

[18] *Ibid.,* VII, 94.

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we learn that behind Risach's ideal life in the *Rosenhaus* lay an earlier one of disorder and sorrow. Storms of amorous passion had brought him close to disaster, and his attempt to order the political world through civil service had yielded only frustration. The ordered ideality of Risach's *Rosenhaus* was a deliberate work of art, its ideal culture reminding one of the dictum of Stifter's more sophisticated contemporary, Charles Baudelaire, that "art is the best thing of all for veiling the terrors of the pit."[19]

The content of Risach's culture, as well as the relation its pursuit had to his earlier direct experience of life, could truly be called *Nachsommer.* For it consisted of elements from the past, all of which were losing their vitality even as Stifter built his utopian culture of them: the simple bourgeois Biedermeier ethic, the self-contained, rural-aristocratic economic entity, the purified Hellenic and medieval ideals of art, and the concept of the family as the primary social unit. Stifter presented Risach's Indian summer as though it were Heinrich Drendorf's spring. History did not honor the claim. Stifter's *Bildungsideal,* based on social withdrawal and a cultural orientation toward the past, would rapidly reveal its incapacity to serve even as a utopian vision for late nineteenth-century society.

The ultimate viability of Stifter's utopian ideal, however, is no fair standard by which to judge his success. Let us rather ask whether Stifter had achieved his own aim: to "contrapose a great, simple, ethical force against the wretched degeneration" of the times. If we concentrate on the hero's progress in *Bildung*—successively in morals, science, and art—then surely Stifter provided a model for personal fulfillment in a cultivated and refined life of ethical perfection. But if we turn to the relation of this *Bildungsweg* to the social structure, the power of the "simple, ethical force" becomes enfeebled, nay, deeply problematical. Heinrich's road to ideality implied, on the one hand, social mobility; on the other, social withdrawal. Heinrich does not so much become a model for modern urban society as rise beyond it, socially and culturally. He climbs, however innocently, from a Viennese bourgeois background into an aristocratic way of life. If he succeeded in maintaining his ties with his father, it was because he carried his bourgeois morality into the higher social stratum that he entered. Risach, his substitute father, incarnated the principle of social withdrawal, which a truly pure, higher culture seemed to imply for Stifter despite his own intention. For Risach left behind a society where politics and passion ruled. If he achieved, in the ordered realm of his ideal country seat, the unity of ethics, science, and art, he devoted all three to the cultivation of his own garden.

[19] Charles Baudelaire, "Short Poems in Prose," in *The Essence of Laughter,* ed. Peter Quennel (New York, 1956), 147.

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Moreover, the social prerequisites that the realist Stifter showed to be necessary to his utopia drastically limited its accessibility as model. The Arcadia of the *Rosenhaus* was open, as Stifter made clear in innumerable passages, only to the man of independent wealth. *Bildung* is grounded in *Besitz*. Thanks to fortunate inheritances and prudential habits, Heinrich could mount the social ladder from his father's workaday world into Risach's pseudoaristocratic heaven, where leisure was the necessary prerequisite of the good life, and work was but an instrument of self-perfection. The good life itself, consisting of learned culture, suited only an elite, the elite of *die Wissenden,* whose separation from *die Nichtwissenden* Stifter had so feared and deplored.

Stifter did not merely posit a utopia that unwittingly implied a widening gap between educated and uneducated. His social realism broke through his utopian intent to reveal the crack in his golden bowl. By his own account, the cost of progress in higher culture was deeper cleavage in the social structure. As we proceed from the simple and upright Drendorf household to the refined atmosphere of the *Rosenhaus,* the relationship between master and men deteriorates. In the elder Drendorf's old bourgeois household, the ethic of labor and duty governed both employer and worker; both served each other in an integrated familial and economic unit. In the more exalted milieu of the *Rosenhaus,* the master, through no fault of his own, learned to distrust most of his men, held them in intellectual contempt, and regarded any effort at social integration as hopeless. At the Drendorfs', the employees had taken their meals with the family; in the *Rosenhaus,* the master dined alone or with his social equals. Risach had once had his staff at meals, for he believed that it would benefit them morally and make them love their service more. But he had given up the custom, as "the gulf between the so-called cultivated and the uncultivated [had grown] ever wider." Once the "natural" relation between master and servant had gone, Risach concluded that the attempt to restore it would only make the workers lose their freedom.[20] Whatever his regrets, Risach held most of the people who worked for him in low esteem. He regarded his gardeners as incapable of learning how to water the plants in relation to the weather and controlled their work by direct orders and the threat of discharge if they should disobey. His stern patriarchal rule over his furniture restorers and his high craft standards occasioned a high turnover in Risach's labor force.[21] The handicraft methods of the past seemed uncongenial to the worker of the present, and Stifter portrayed the worker as generally impervious to the moral and technical culture

[20] *Stifters Sämtliche Werke,* VI, 143–44.
[21] *Ibid.,* 129–31, 103–104.

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Risach required for his restorative work. Thus Stifter showed that the social structure grew more radically stratified and less integrated as *die Wissenden* progressed in the realization of their cultural ideal.

Heinrich's *Bildungsweg* equipped him with the character, patrimony, and culture to lead a fruitful personal life. It did not, however, provide what Stifter had set out to offer his society: a usable utopian model to set against the age. *Der Nachsommer,* reasserting the unity of art, science, and ethics, turned all three inward toward self-cultivation. It left the scene of contemporary social action for an idealized rural-aristocratic past. Stifter projected an ideal of life that implied a social withdrawal and a cultural elitism ultimately incompatible with his redemptive intent. To the degree that his highly cultivated, composed, and sublimated personality ideal became embodied in an actual social type in the next generation, its adherents proved unable to engage in social action. The man of high culture lost the psychological stability, the ethical responsibility, and the sense for the interdependence of all things that Stifter sought to rescue from a vanishing past to restore order in an uncongenial present. The powerful social reality, which Stifter had found so hard to grapple with, would one day penetrate the fastnesses of the *Rosenhaus* and undermine the culture ideal he had sketched with such admirable security of line.

The historical fortunes of the high middle class of Austria in the mid-century were strangely compounded of unearned successes and undeserved failures. After the defeats of 1848, the Austro-German burghers slowly developed their strength in the economic and intellectual spheres, but they owed their rise to political power in 1860 and 1867 less to their intrinsic strength than to the defeat of the absolutist regime at the hands of Italians and Prussians. Neither fully supplanting the aristocracy as a ruling class nor successfully fusing with it, the upper middle class found itself threatened in the 1880's by new mass movements from below before it had secured its position against those above. Liberalism had proved strong enough to dissolve an old social order, but not strong enough to integrate into a new one the forces it had released. Even by the most elastic interpretation, Liberal rule in the Habsburg monarchy lasted only a single generation, a scant thirty years.

As it entered this brief period of ascendancy, the educated middle class espoused a cultural ideal resembling that of Stifter, though with rather greater confidence in the progress of mankind. The reconstruction of the city of Vienna after 1860 reflected the dominant values. The Liberal city fathers cinctured the old inner city, whose churches and *palais* expressed the aristocratic-religious order, with a band of architectural symbols of their

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secular counterculture. Parliament building and *Rathaus* proclaimed the victory of law over arbitrary power. A series of edifices expressed the *Bildungsideal* of Liberal Austria: university, museum, theater, and, grandest of all, the opera. The culture once confined to the palace had poured into the market place, accessible to all. Art ceased to serve only as an expression of aristocratic grandeur or ecclesiastical pomp; it became the ornament, the communal property, of an enlightened citizenry. The splendiferous structures (*Prachtbauten*) of the Ringstrasse bore massive witness to the fact that Austria had replaced despotism and religion with constitutional politics and secular culture.

The high value placed on *Bildung* in the public ethos of Liberal Austria penetrated deeply into the private sphere. Scientific and historical cultivation were valued for their social utility as the key to progress. But art held a position almost equal in importance to that of rational knowledge. The reason for the high place of art in the scale of bourgeois values was obscure even to its devotees. Art was closely bound up with social status, especially in Austria, where the representational arts—music, theater, and architecture—were central to the tradition of a Catholic aristocracy. If entry into the aristocracy of the genealogical table was barred to most, the aristocracy of the spirit was open to the eager, the able, and the willing. Museums and theaters could bring to all the culture that would redeem the *novi homines* from their lowly origins. Learned culture could serve, as it had for Stifter's Heinrich, not only as an avenue to personal development, but as a bridge from a low style of life to a high life of style. The democratization of culture, viewed sociologically, meant the aristocratization of the middle classes. That art should perform so central a social function had the most far-reaching consequences for its own development.

The economic growth of Austria created the basis for an increasing number of families to pursue an aristocratic style of life. Wealthy burghers or successful bureaucrats, many of whom acquired patents of nobility like Stifter's Freiherr von Risach, established urban or suburban variants of the *Rosenhaus,* museum-like villas that became centers of a lively social life. Not only gracious manners but also intellectual substance were cultivated in the salons and soirees of the new elite. Increasingly, from the Age of Grillparzer to the Age of Hofmannsthal, poets, professors, and performing artists were valued guests, in fact, prize catches of the hosts and hostesses. The gap in values between bourgeois and artist, so marked in the Empire of Napoleon III, was but faintly adumbrated in that of Francis Joseph. Men of affairs—political and economic—not only mixed freely with intellectuals and artists, but single families were productive of both types.

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Thus the Exners were now bureaucrats, now professors; the Todescos and Gomperz' produced bankers, artists, and scholars. Intermarriage provided the new wealth with high cultural status and the intelligentsia with firm economic support. (When the philosopher Franz Brentano, a bearded man of imposing stature, courted the wealthy Jewess Ida Lieben, some cultivated wag observed that "a Byzantine Christ . . . was in search of his gold background."[22]) The integration of *Bildung und Besitz* thus became a surprisingly concrete social reality in the brief era of Liberal ascendancy. Action and contemplation, politics and economics, science and art—all were united in the value system of a social stratum secure in its own present and confident in the future of the humanity it championed. In the new plan of the city, in the life of the salon, in the ethos of the family—everywhere the hopeful integrating creed of a rationalistic Liberalism found concrete expression.

Most important for our concern, art occupied a place of increasing centrality in this culture. The ambiguity of its function in the middle-class ethos has already been alluded to. In Stifter, art had served as vehicle of metaphysical truth and refiner of personal passion. In the more common, garden variety liberal culture, art was seen as expressing ideals for the society and bringing grace to the individual. Soon these two functions of art—the social and the individual—were to separate in the face of fundamental political and social changes, but not before a deep sense of the value of art had been instilled in a whole generation of upper bourgeois children.

The fathers who created the brave new world of sober rectitude and economic success in the mid-century longed for the graces that would ornament their lives.

> When Adam delved and Eve span
> Who was then the gentleman?

The question had ironic relevance for the *arrivé* in general, but especially for the bourgeoisie of Vienna, a capital where visible grace, a personal style of sensuous charm, a theatrical and musical culture were the well-established marks of social distinction. Where performances at *Burgtheater* or opera provided the subjects of polite conversation, those topics of discourse which in Britain would be offered by the political reviews, we can hardly wonder that the fathers introduced their children to aesthetic culture early in life. Beginning roughly in the 1860's, two generations of well-to-do children were reared in the museums, theaters, and concert halls of the new Ringstrasse. They acquired aesthetic culture not, as their fathers did, as an ornament to life or as a badge of status, but as the air they breathed.

Where the fathers had been educated like Stifter's Heinrich Drendorf for

[22] Dora Stockert-Meynert, *Theodor Meynert und seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1930), 150.

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a vocation, the sons were reared to absorb high culture for its own sake. The two children of the Wertheimsteins, one of Vienna's wealthiest intellectual society families, were privately tutored to be artists, and the "artistic natures" of these melancholy neurotics was the subject of general appreciation.[23] The great psychiatrist Theodor Meynert encouraged his son to a career in painting, his daughter tells us, "as if all those talents and inclinations which, passed on for generations, germinated in [the] father . . . now broke through energetically in the son."[24] The great pathologist Carl von Rokitansky had his paternal dreams of glory fulfilled when he could boast of his four sons that they were divided in their careers between singing and medicine: "Two howl and two heal."[25]

The devotion to the arts implanted in the young Austrian in the home found re-enforcement in the peer group at the Gymnasium and the university. Literary circles and aesthetic friendships formed in the school years frequently determined the life orientations of their members.[26] Such influences only added to the development by 1890 of a high bourgeoisie unique in Europe for its aesthetic cultivation, personal refinement, and psychological sensitivity. What had been acquired in Stifter's time as "learned" culture became living spiritual substance for the next generation. Aestheticism, which elsewhere in Europe took the form of a protest against bourgeois civilization, became in Austria an expression of that civilization, an affirmation of an attitude toward life in which neither ethical nor social ideals played a significant part.

Ferdinand von Saar (1833–1906), perhaps the nearest Austrian approximation to the social realist as known in England, France, or Russia, bore witness as critic and artist to the changing relationship of art to society over half a century. Born of a bureaucratic family, he early joined the circle of the Wertheimsteins, serving their salon as one of its most treasured court poets. Sharing the views of the liberal elite of the 1860's, Saar employed art as a vehicle for the perfection of society and the realization of human dignity:

> Yea, art! Spread your powerful rosy wings;
> Brightly span the whole wide world!
> Help to banish the crude and the vulgar,
>
> Win us freedom and human dignity
> Which still lie prisoned deep in night and fear!
> Then *all* will raise a *single* song of praise! ! ![27]

[23] Felicie Ewart, *Zwei Frauenbildnisse* (Vienna, [1907]), *passim*.
[24] Stockert-Meynert, *Theodor Meynert*, 99.
[25] *Ibid.*, 50–51.
[26] See, e.g., Georg von Franckenstein, *Diplomat of Destiny* (New York, 1940), 14–17; Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (London, 1943), 39–55.
[27] "Die Kunst," unpublished early work, in *Ferdinand von Saars Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Jacob Minor (12 vols. in 4, Leipzig, [1909]), III, 49.

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In support of the Liberals' fight against the Austrian concordat, Saar composed a dramatic trilogy extolling Henry IV's historic struggle against the papacy. He celebrated in verse Count Anton Schmerling's crusade for constitutional government and sang the praises of many a leader in liberal political and intellectual life.[28]

The anticipated transformation of the world, in which art would play its part, failed to materialize. Instead Saar witnessed in shocked astonishment the spread of ruthless social climbing on the one hand, and of social misery on the other. Saar never became a socialist, but he participated in a developing consciousness of the need for social reform that marked the Austrian scene in the 1880's. In song and story Saar recorded the misery of the workers' lot, at first with the moral lesson that individual generosity could alleviate misery (*The Stone Breakers,* a short story of 1873), later with the pessimistic sense that the problem was too large to solve. In a poem entitled "The New Suburb" he recorded the appearance of jerry-built workers' quarters, complete with rickety children. The spectacle transformed Saar's growing social pessimism into total resignation:

> Consoling myself that I am old,
> I take shuddering comfort
> In the thought:
> After me, the deluge![29]

Saar drew small comfort from the spread of aesthetic education when art was losing its ideal functions. Where in his own youth, "the world consisted of Philistines, today it consists of nothing but aesthetes." In a poem, "Enkelkinder," of 1886, Saar derides the way in which all children are made into artists:

> When parents, in solicitous search,
> Detect in their child the smallest spark
> Of talent, however unpromising,
> It is nourished and nurtured with pride.
> Higher schools and academies
> Can hardly contain the hosts of disciples;
> Honors, prizes, and traveling fellowships
> Guide them to all the shrines of art

Ja! breite, Kunst, die mächtigen Rosenschwingen
Hellrauschend uber diese Erde aus!—
Und hilf Gemeinheit—Roheit zu bezwingen!—

Die Freiheit und den Menschenwert erringen,
Der jetzt noch schmachtet tief in Nacht und Graus!
Dass *alle* Stimmen dir—*ein* Loblied singen! ! !

[28] Jacob Minor, "Ferdinand von Saar als politischer Dichter," *Österreichische Rundschau,* XXXII (July–Sept. 1912), 185–203.

[29] Undated and unpublished in Saar's lifetime. *Saars Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Minor, III, 26–27; see also "Proles," *ibid.,* II, 145.

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Where the burgeoning Raphaels,
Buonarottis and Winckelmanns,
Male and female, wander in hordes:
Painting, sculpting, writing volumes.[30]

To what end is this schooling in art? Only to serve social climbing, answers Saar: for "honor and profit."[31]

Social climbing, Saar showed in three realistic novelettes, collected under the title *Schicksale,* could bring ruin to the climber or his victims. He explored with particular skill the psychological problems of shifting interclass relations. "Lieutenant Burda" deals with an officer of bourgeois origin falling in love with an aristocratic girl and developing a crippling illusion that his suit is succeeding. "Seligmann Hirsch" shows how a rich but crude Jew is rejected by his cultivated *rentier* son. "Die Troglodytin" shows how the socially induced rejection of a poor rural girl's honest love casts her back into the moral swamp of her *Lumpen*-proletarian origins. Saar deals freely with *all* social strata in pursuing the moral and psychological consequences of social mobility.[32] His realism casts into question a fundamental postulate of the liberal creed, that of the integral connection between personal advancement and social progress, a connection fundamental to Stifter's realistic, utopian model.

Under the changed social circumstances of the 1880's, where art had been compromised as an instrument of status, and the growth of wealth had only deepened the cleavage between the classes and the masses, Saar lost his hope of the 1850's that art's "powerful rosy wings" would help humanity "to banish the crude" and to win "freedom and human dignity." Society, ceasing to be a scene of moral triumph in which art would play a worthy part, became instead a field of psychological frustration and ethical despair. Art could either record gloomy truths or provide a temple of beauty as a refuge from reality. Saar stood before the alternatives, aware of both, convinced of neither. His heart remained in the world of Stifter, where art could join with science and ethics in a progressive and redemptive function. His head led him to record the trauma of the modern social scene.

In 1891 Saar expressed his dilemma, and that of the declining liberal-idealist tradition, in his poem "Kontraste."[33] The scene is central to the message: an elegant city street in midsummer, "all its houses deserted and empty, where in the winter wealth is enthroned." Under the broiling noonday sun, a street gang is at work repairing the pavement while the fortunate residents

[30] *Ibid.,* 169, 168.
[31] *Ibid.,* 167.
[32] Ferdinand von Saar, *Schicksale* (Kassel, [1889]) [republished in *Saars Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Minor, IX].
[33] *Ibid.,* II, 175–76.

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relax in the country. Only those "driven by need" labor on such a day. Like Gustave Courbet's stone breakers, the workers are faceless, heavy, crude. Dripping sweat, their senses dulled, they sit down at last to eat their coarse midday bread. Suddenly, when the weariest have fallen asleep on the hard stones, a chorus of women breaks into glorious song. High above the street an opera school is rehearsing Beethoven's setting of Schiller's "Ode to Joy." "Be embraced, ye millions": the hope-filled, revolutionary verse rings out "in fiery unison," but it cannot reach the exhausted sleepers below. *Alle Menschen werden Brüder*; the singers strive for aesthetic perfection. Today is rehearsal, tomorrow again, until the artists will win their reward: applause! Their redeeming message is not for the people of the street for whom it was written, but for the concert audience.

Saar put his lesson crudely but forcefully: the world of art, though still singing of the brotherhood of man, had lost touch with social reality. The masses were too depressed to pay heed to art, while the upper classes confined art to their own enjoyment. All communication between classes was broken. Oppressed by the increasing irrelevance of literature to the problems of the social structure, Saar lamented the death of an aesthetic ideal in an elegy to Stifter: "I revere the memory of the poet who opened an Eden for me—an Eden alas, which I've lost."[34] Like Stifter before him, Saar died by his own hand.

In the 1890's Saar's hypercultivated *Enkelkinder* came of age and brought back the garden as a central image of the good life. Theirs was a final variant of the *Rosenhaus:* once more art served as the crown of a perfected humanity; once more the aristocratic tradition served the bourgeois as inspiration for an elevated mode of existence. For the new generation, however, Stifter's unification of art and science, of culture and nature as aspects of an ordered cosmos had lost all vitality. Where Stifter devised his utopia as a model for a society to be perfected, the new artists created a garden to which the elect could withdraw in retreat from an uncongenial reality. For Stifter, art was a crown to be earned by moral purity and bourgeois probity, a reward of effort. For his spiritual grandchildren, art was a legacy to be enjoyed: noble simplicity gave place to elegant composure, *Vornehmheit.* Ethics yielded its primacy to aesthetics, law to grace, the knowledge of the world to the knowledge of one's feelings. A hedonistic self-perfection became the center of aspiration, and Stifter's "Garden of Virtue" became transformed into a "Garden of Narcissus."

By origin or, more rarely, by adoption, the artists who built this new gar-

[34] "Stifter-Elegie," *ibid.*, III, 77.

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den belonged to the well-to-do upper middle class or to the lower nobility into which so many talented bourgeois had risen. Since the 1860's the situation of that class had greatly changed. In the 1890's the economic position of this stratum was more enviable than ever: it was a prosperous class, part *rentier,* part professional or bureaucratic. But its political position had ceased to correspond to its economic eminence. The Liberals had conjured up new forces and new claimants to political participation: Slavic nationalists, Socialists, Pan-German anti-Semites, Christian Social anti-Semites. They neither integrated these new movements into the legal order nor could they satisfy their demands. The conflicting groups may have had a different heaven, but they shared the same hell: the rule of the Austro-German Liberal middle class. In the 1890's, utilizing now the ballot box, now parliamentary obstruction, now mass demonstrations and street brawls, the anti-Liberal movements paralyzed the state and extruded the Liberals from the positions of power they had acquired only three decades before.

The position of the Liberal *haute bourgeoisie* thus became paradoxical indeed. Even as its wealth increased, its political power fell away. Its preeminence in the professional and cultural life of the Empire remained basically unchallenged while it became politically impotent. Thus the Viennese upper middle class became one which, even more than the Emperor it so loyally served, reigned though it could not rule. A sense of superiority and a sense of impotence became oddly commingled. The products of the new aesthetic movement reflect the ambiguous compound formed of these elements.

The aesthetic movement was, of course, no Austrian creation, and its Austrian protagonists, both in poetry and in painting, drew inspiration from their Western European predecessors, French, English, and Belgian. The Austrians readily captured the languorous sensibility of a Charles Baudelaire or a Paul Bourget,[35] but they achieved neither the searing, self-lacerating sensuality of the French decadents nor their vision of the cruel beauty of the urban scene. The English Pre-Raphaelites inspired the *art nouveau* movement (under the name of "Secession") in *fin de siècle* Austria, but neither their pseudomedieval spirituality nor their strong social reformist impulse penetrated to their Austrian disciples.[36] In brief, the Austrian aesthetes were neither as alienated from their society as their French soul mates nor as engaged in it as their English ones. They lacked the bitter antibourgeois spirit of the first and the warm melioristic thrust of the second.

[35] Geneviève Bianqui, *La poésie autrichienne de Hofmannsthal à Rilke* (Paris, 1926), 8–17.

[36] The architect and designer Joseph Hofmann, who was a staunch admirer of William Morris in his youth, told me that he read Morris' writings on the social question with interest, but that he and his companions regarded such problems as "for the politicians to solve," not the concern of artists.

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Neither *dégagé* nor *engagé*, the Austrian aesthetes were alienated not *from* their class, but *with* it from a society that defeated its expectations and rejected its values. Accordingly, Young Austria's garden of beauty was a retreat of the *beati possidentes,* a garden strangely suspended between reality and utopia. It expressed both the self-delight of the aesthetically cultivated and the self-doubt of the socially functionless.

Two lifelong friends—Leopold von Andrian zu Werburg and Hugo von Hofmannsthal—may serve us as representatives of the new aestheticism. Not only do they embody in their writings the values and spiritual problems of the young generation of the 1890's; they are socially representative as well. By lineage and assent, they belonged to that Viennese elite which continued to reign after it had ceased to rule. Both could qualify as grandchildren of the leading characters of Stifter's novel; both were as though born and raised in the *Rosenhaus*.

From politics to science to art: such was the evolution of three generations of Andrian-Werburgs in the nineteenth century. The poet's grandfather Viktor had, like Risach, been a high state official. A political leader of the Liberal aristocracy in the 1840's, he had championed the revitalization of Austrian politics through emulation of England. His influential pamphlets, issued under the title *Österreich und dessen Zukunft,*[37] urged the nobility of Austria to join with the urban middle classes to provide the bureaucratic monarchy with a foundation in representative government. Viktor's son Ferdinand, father of the poet, turned from the practical politics of his father to the scientific study of man in society. He became one of Austria's outstanding anthropologists, an ideal type of the liberal nobleman-scholar. As president of the Vienna Anthropological Society, Ferdinand contributed substantially to sustaining general scientific and humanistic *Bildung* in an era of increasing specialization. Like so many intellectuals of the mid-century, Ferdinand reached out for the graces of art to complement the truths of science. The sturdy, gentile aristocrat married the daughter of the Jewish composer Giacomo Meyerbeer. Though ill-matched, the couple could agree to nurture the aesthetic gifts of their son Leopold, who was born in 1874. They committed him at the age of thirteen to the tutorial care of Dr. Oskar Walzel, later a renowned literary scholar. It was at Walzel's home in Vienna that Leopold met the young poet Hofmannsthal, destined to be his aesthetic soul mate and lifelong friend.[38]

Hofmannsthal's social lineage was only slightly less distinguished than

[37] Leopold von Andrian zu Werburg, *Österreich und dessen Zukunft* (2 pts., 1843–47); see also the discussion of Andrian in Karl Eder, *Der Liberalismus in Altösterreich* (Vienna, 1955), 95–98; Georg Franz, *Liberalismus* (Munich, 1955), 32–33.

[38] *Leopold Andrian und die Blätter für die Kunst,* ed. Walter H. Perl (Hamburg, 1960), 11–12.

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Andrian's. His great-grandfather Isaak Löw was, like Heinrich Drendorf's father, a successful merchant. Though a Jew, Isaak's services to the state won him the title Edler von Hofmannsthal, in 1835. Thereafter his descendants rapidly completed the *cursus honorum* leading to the most cultured stratum of Austrian society in the *fin de siècle*. Isaak's son abandoned the faith of his fathers to marry an Italian Catholic. His son in turn attended the university, acquired a law degree, and rose to the position of director in a major Austrian bank.[39] Hermann Broch has shown how the value that this banker placed upon aesthetic culture affected the nature of his son's outlook as poet.[40] Hugo's father did not, like Mozart's, focus upon his son's vocation or career. What was important was that he be a man of culture. *Bildung* itself had changed its stress since Stifter's day. It meant not so much a characterological education as an aesthetic one. Thus the poet's father did all he could, through exposure to theater, museums, and so forth, to develop his son's aesthetic learning and poetic powers. Not professional proficiency but pleasure in appreciation, not active engagement but passive enrichment: such were the aims of education in the high Viennese circles in which the Andrians and Hofmannsthals had their being. The scions of both houses, one suspects, would have identified the art of life with the life of art even if neither had had strong creative urges. Such aesthetic culture, drained of the metaphysical and social functions assigned it by Stifter and Saar, became the spiritual hallmark of the small but exalted milieu to which Hofmannsthal and Andrian belonged.

The two young poets moved in the charmed circles where higher literati and lower aristocrats converged. They met in the Café Griensteidl with the elite of the literary world of the 1890's: Arthur Schnitzler, Peter Altenberg, Hermann Bahr, and other writers of Young Vienna. Andrian introduced Hofmannsthal to another circle, the nucleus of which had apparently been formed in the *Schottengymnasium* among young members of the well-to-do, aristocratic intelligentsia. The members of this circle were destined for assured places in Francisco-Josephan society. One was a naval officer; two were budding diplomats; another a future conductor; still another a future art patron.[41] All were linked by a strong sense of caste, as much social as cultural. The ideal of the English gentleman as synthesis of grace and action strongly attracted them. They took pride in their riding,

[39] *Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, ed. Helmut A. Fiechtner (Bern, 1963), 5–6.

[40] Hermann Broch, "Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit," in *Essays*, ed. Hannah Arendt (2 vols., Zurich, 1955), I, 111–13.

[41] See Franckenstein, *Diplomat of Destiny*, 14–17, 113–16; Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890–1901, 1900–1909* (2 vols., Berlin, 1935; Vienna, 1937), I, 59–60, 208, 212–13, 291, 293; and esp. *id.* and Edgar Karg von Bebenburg, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Mary E. Gilbert (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), *passim*, in which poet and naval officer explore together the nature and pursuit of the gentlemanly ideal.

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their tennis, and the club they called, in English, the "First Vienna Athletic." But they also read English poets together, even on their holidays at Altausee, where each would pursue the aesthetic activity most congenial to his nature.[42]

"Art is art and life is life, but to live life artistically: that is the art of life." This motto, devised by Altenberg for his journal,[43] might well have served the Hofmannsthal-Andrian circle. Their mission became the pursuit of beauty and the escape from the "common" lot. Without wholly rejecting a social role, they made of life a stylized play, a search for the delicate emotion and the refined sensibility.

In his prologue to Schnitzler's *Anatol,* the young Hofmannsthal expressed one side of his generation's sense of life through the image of a rococo garden. From Stifter's hated *Zopfzeit,* Hofmannsthal invoked a utopia in which beauty was associated not with virtue but with a self-indulgent hedonism. Separated from the world by "lofty railings, formal hedges," the poet and his friends re-create the elegant, playful atmosphere of Canaletto's Vienna. Near quiet pools "smoothly edged in gleaming marble," cavaliers exchange gallantries with daintily perfumed ladies, "with them, violet monsignori." In this classic garden of delight the young aesthetes have "fleetingly erected" a stage to act out plays of their own making: "the commedia of our spirit," "early ripe and sad and tender." Their theater offers them a life substitute, in which serious concerns are not so much evaded as trivialized through beautification. "Pretty formulas" speak "evil things." Feelings, furtive and half-felt, find outlet in the refined conventions of the tolerant hedonistic community.

> Some are listening, but not all . . .
> Some are dreaming, some are laughing.
> Some are eating ices . . . others
> Utter very gallant sayings. . . .[44]

Such was the gracious garden scene that the young poet evoked to introduce Schnitzler's compulsive sensualist, Anatol. Hofmannsthal's prologue was to his friend's play as the aesthete to the playboy, the man of sensibility to the man of sensuality, the spirit to the flesh in a generation that made of beauty a screen against truth and of art a substitute for ethics. The image of the garden—this time the Belvedere, near Hofmannsthal's own house—served as the artificial preserve wherein the functionless and cultivated could live sundered from a world they neither made nor cared to know.

Was this garden truly a utopia? Yes and no. Like a utopia, it was posited

[42] Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890–1901,* 208, 291.
[43] *Kunst* (No. 1, 1903), II.
[44] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Poems and Verse Plays,* ed. Michael Hamburger (New York, 1961), 65.

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against an unsatisfactory reality. But where, in Stifter, utopian house and garden served as model for life, in Hofmannsthal it was a refuge from life. In the playlet *The Death of Titian* (1892), Hofmannsthal showed his concern that the disciples of art were cut off from reality in their master's garden retreat, and disdainful of the darkly pulsating vitality outside the pale. He saw his generation as

> altogether without energy [*Kraft*]. For the strength to live is a mystery. The stronger and more spirited [*hochmütiger*] one is in daydreams, the weaker one can be in life. . . . Incapable of ruling and of serving, incapable of giving love or receiving it . . . , he wanders like a ghost among the living.[45]

Although he found life in the insulated temenos of high culture problematical, Hofmannsthal saw some possibilities in the early 1890's for projecting his aesthetic utopia into reality. In 1895 he weighed the prospects in a letter to Richard Beer-Hofmann:

> I still believe that I shall be in a position to build my own world into the [outer] world itself. We are too critical to live in a dreamworld like the romantics. . . . The problem is admittedly always one of setting up Potemkin villages on the periphery of our own horizon, but [villages] of the sort that one can personally believe in.[46]

But even if one had the confidence and sense of sovereignty (*Herrschaftlichkeit*) to press one's illusions into reality, the resultant empire of the imagination would not endure: "an empire like Alexander's, just as great and so full of events as to fill all thought, . . . then falling apart with [our] death—for it was an empire only for this one king."[47] Desirable as it was, young Hofmannsthal's ephemeral, projective utopia was still purely personal: "for this one king." No community ideal was implied; no social reality affected. Hofmannsthal accordingly defined as the condition of his personal utopia the willingness to "let life slide."[48] The existential side of utopian dreaming was drifting. Indeed, one might well view drifting and dreaming as the objective and subjective aspects of introversion, of preoccupation with the self, its nature, and its boundaries. Aesthetic utopianism, with its stress on self-cultivation, fed a narcissism in which utopianism could survive no better than social realism.

Not Hofmannsthal but his friend Andrian produced the classic novel of the *fin de siècle* identity crisis, *The Garden of Knowledge* (1895). At the head of the work stands the motto "Ego Narcissus." We remember the classi-

[45] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Prosa, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben,* ed. Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt am Main, 1950), I, 273.
[46] Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890–1901,* 130.
[47] *Ibid.,* 131.
[48] For Hofmannsthal's connection of the imaginary empire with drifting, see *ibid.*

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cal Narcissus as the self-infatuated one, the autoerotic, drowning in the attempt to merge with his own reflected image. Let us not forget that outraged Eros, whose favors Narcissus had rejected, had imposed the curse upon him for spurning that union with "the other" that is love. For his crime against Eros and the world, the seer Tiresias had predicted a fitting fate: Narcissus would die if he should come to know himself. These mythological motives pervade *The Garden of Knowledge:* self-preoccupation, the incapacity to love another, the inability to distinguish the inner self from the outer world and to separate illusion from reality. If knowing himself spelled death to the mythical Narcissus, knowing the world only as a projection of the self was the fate of Erwin, his modern descendant. Erwin died, the last line of the novelette tells us, "without knowledge." The "Garden of Knowledge" was in fact coextensive with the psyche of the hero: too small and too arid a plot to yield the fruit even of good and evil. Erwin never reached the world; like the cultivated class to which his creator belonged, he was, half by necessity, half by choice, removed from reality.

When Stifter, four decades before, had traced the *Bildungsweg* of Heinrich Drendorf, he had etched the elements of reality that his hero encountered in sharpest outlines. Household, landscape, *Rosenhaus,* workers, art, and history: all were treated in the spirit of object realism, as elements composing an orderly world to which the individual must adapt himself. The solid outer world provided the frame for the proper disposition of the individual. The utopian dimension in Stifter consisted essentially in the purity and clarity with which the immanent order of the world was realized as milieu. This order once made plain, man could achieve fulfillment within it, as Heinrich did. Stifter's assumption was not unlike that of Rousseau and his *Émile:* the rightly ordered world provided the key to, and a model for, the well-ordered soul.

Andrian's *The Garden of Knowledge,* despite its title, barely touched upon the concrete environment of the hero. Andrian's realism was the opposite of Stifter's: it concerned not the outer world of social and physical reality but the inner scene of psychic life. The social and physical world exist merely as stimuli to or symbols of the hero's feelings. Both Erwin and Heinrich seek entry into and connection with a world larger than themselves. Both see that world as multifaceted and composite. But Heinrich masters it stepwise and comes to understand it as an essentially static harmony of elements from which man, by his labor, eliminates the dissonance. Its unity is a clarity of articulated parts. For Erwin, the world is a flow—now viscous, now torrential—whose liquid elements blend into each other and into the self. Its unity is an elusive flux. For Heinrich, truth lies in clarity; for Erwin, in

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mystery: "deep, dark, manifold."[49] Erwin cannot find the way to the world because he sees rational self, outer reality, and personal feeling as an undifferentiated continuum. Subjective and objective experience were painfully and dizzyingly confounded. Hofmannsthal expressed the fluid sense of relationship between the "I" and the world more succinctly than Andrian: "And three are one: a man, a thing, a dream."[50] Such panpsychism was a complete inversion of Stifter's individuated and defined universe: "Everything and every person can be but one thing," said Heinrich's father; "this, however, he must be to the full."

The liquidity of the boundary between self and other meant that the search for "the other" was condemned to futility. Even scientific knowledge Erwin drew into the vortex of self-infatuation. After a year of scientific study,

> it . . . became clear to him that he should not search for his place in the world, for he was himself the world, equally great and equally unique with it. But he studied on, for he hoped that if he knew the world, out of its image his own would look back.[51]

Erwin's hopes went unrealized. Separated from the world, he could not use it as a mirror. Merging with it, or ingesting it, he felt his selfhood threatened. Only in ceremonial or aesthetic experience were ego and world bound together in a rhythmic unity of feeling. But this unity lacked both strength and durability. The shudder at the poetic word, in which heaven and hell flowed together in an ambiguous, sublimated ecstasy, "full of trembling glory," brought neither clarification to the understanding nor satisfaction to the instincts. Life, which began for the sensitive Erwin as "an alien task," ended without the direct and meaningful experience of engagement. The aesthetic aristocrat remained the devitalized Narcissus, hoping as a dying man that a dream might give him what life had failed to provide: contact with "the other."

As Stifter and Andrian differed in defining the relationship between the ego and the world, they exploited the image of the garden for radically different purposes. For Stifter, the garden symbolized the marriage of nature and culture. There man, through science and art, completed the work of God. There he purged nature of disease and chaos, brought out its potentiality for an order blending usefulness and beauty. For Andrian, the actual cultivation of the garden would of course be wholly irrelevant. Life knows no such thing as labor. The garden served only to stimulate the sensibilities.

[49] Leopold Andrian, *Das Fest der Jugend: Des Garten der Erkenntnis erster Teil* (Graz, 1948), 33.

[50] "Und drei sind Eins: Ein Mensch, ein Ding, ein Traum." (Hofmannsthal, "Terzinen," *Poems and Verse Plays*, ed. Hamburger, 30.)

[51] Andrian, *Fest*, 46.

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It symbolized the strangely mixed and transient fragrances of life, the passing experience of beauty. There is no one garden, only gardens. They reinforced those sensuous thoughts and intellectualized sensations that marked the self-infatuated ones. For a generation that felt itself to be outside the mainstream of life, perceiving it only dimly through the refracting medium of art—"because a play is more to us than is our fate"[52]—gardens symbolized the evanescent beauty that one might capture as one drifted willessly through life. Erwin's mother, his only true soul mate, expressed the psychological function of the garden for the disengaged generation:

> We go through our lives as through the pleasure gardens of strange castles, guided by strange servants; we retain and love the beauties they have shown us, but which ones they lead us to and how fast they take us through depend on them.[53]

The aesthetic attitude reinforced the severance from the common lot which was its social basis, and hence nurtured a vicarious rather than a direct experience of the world. The aesthetic experience, as Suzanne Langer has reminded us, is virtual, not actual. It gives form to the feelings arising out of experience, but not to the experience itself. By the very fact of standing for life, art separates us from it. That is why, when art became detached from other values and became a value in itself, it produced in its devotees that sense of eternal spectatorship which in turn nurtured introversion. Andrian's Erwin, unable to find the secret of life by direct engagement, turned inward and "bent deeper and more anxiously over his past." His recollections of past experience became not merely moving but "exalting and priceless." As in Marcel Proust, Erwin's remembrances became his life. Again, desocialization accompanied internalization. Human beings acquired worth for Erwin only in so far as they contributed to his memories; that is, "they moved him only because he had lived of them."[54] The past recalled became more significant than the present experienced. Thus the narcissistic hero imperceptibly shifted not only from a life of engagement to imprisonment in the self, but also from a life not yet lived to a life lived out. When death came for Prince Erwin, he was ready for it, despite his young years. It came not, as to Narcissus, as moral retribution, but as psychological necessity.

Hofmannsthal deeply admired *The Garden of Knowledge*.[55] Yet he could not leave the problem of the new Narcissus unresolved as Andrian had

[52] *Ibid.*, 35.
[53] *Ibid.*, 42–43.
[54] *Ibid.*, 34.
[55] As late as 1900 Hofmannsthal gave the *Garden* to Maurice Maeterlinck and strongly urged Andrian to resume his literary activity, both for his own sake and "so that the [artistic] powers that produced it should not turn completely . . . to dust." (Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890–1901*, 306–307.)

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done. He sought to return art to ethics, aesthetic culture to society, and his cultivated class to fruitful participation in the body social. Andrian wrote for his generation alone; Hofmannsthal linked its problems more closely to tradition, more deeply to the psyche, and more widely to society.

From the first, Hofmannsthal saw Andrian's *Garden* as built on a terrain fraught with dangers of which the author had been unaware. "Your book," Hofmannsthal wrote his friend, "is just like the young goddess Persephone, who . . . picks many narcissus on a meadow and is suddenly overcome with anxiety. You know, it is the same meadow where Pluto then rises up to abduct her to [the land of] the shades."[56] And what modern force, in this antique parable, did Pluto represent? Hofmannsthal groped for an answer to his own question, seeking it now in individual instinct, now in the threatening masses.

Hofmannsthal's earliest concern, however, was for the moral consequences of the aesthetic attitude. From these he was led to psychological and social interests. In *The Fool and Death* (1893), a playlet in verse dealing with the same problem as Andrian's *Garden,* Hofmannsthal indicted the young aristocrat who, in pursuit of his own refined sensations, ruined mother, friend, and sweetheart. Where Andrian pursued the psychological development of the aesthetic attitude, Hofmannsthal examined its moral implications. Death came to the Fool as judge, as in a medieval morality play, to punish the transgression. In this respect, Hofmannsthal was a traditionalist, trying to re-establish the connection between art and ethics. But, as Richard Alewyn has shown, the figure of Death was no medieval skeleton. He appears in the play as musician, as a Dionysian ally of life. He represents the unconscious instincts that have been repressed in a hypertrophy of individual self-cultivation.[57] Thus morality, unlike in Stifter, takes the form of vitality and appears in dialectic unity with it in Death become music.

Hofmannsthal's attempt to break out of the solipsism and cultured isolation of the temple of art was thus two-pronged: on the one hand he returned to revitalize a traditional morality of personal responsibility; on the other he thrust forward toward depth psychology and the affirmation of instinct.[58]

To Hofmannsthal's moral and psychological critique of the *Gefühlskultur* of his class, we must add yet a third dimension: the sociological. Even as a young man, Hofmannsthal began to worry about the hollowing out of social responsibility in the upper classes. His poem "Manche freilich . . . ," writ-

[56] Hofmannsthal to Andrian, Easter Monday, 1895, *ibid.,* 125–26.
[57] Richard Alewyn, *Über Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (Göttingen, 1958), 75–76.
[58] For further treatment of the psychological dimension in Hofmannsthal, see my article "Politics and the Psyche in *fin de siècle* Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal," *American Historical Review,* LXVI (July 1961), 930–46, esp. 940–44.

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ten in 1892, reasserted the unity of the cultivated and the common strata, whose separation Saar had so deplored in "Contrasts." Hofmannsthal's statement of the problem, to be sure, took the form of a reminder that there was such a thing as a tie between the high and the lowly, the fortunate and the hapless—an indication of how attenuated it had become. The poet expressed it as a hidden bond of interdependency, in the image of the galley slaves below decks, from whose lives a shadow falls on the lives of those above. ". . . And my part [in this web of interdependent existence] is more than this life's slender flame or narrow lyre," Hofmannsthal concluded,[59] suggesting the urge to a stronger social commitment.

In a verse playlet called *The Little Theater of the World* (1897) Hofmannsthal set forth in veiled but unmistakable terms the whole direction of the interrelationship of art and society for his generation.[60] He chose as form for his statement the baroque masque. In a cast of characters who appear in only the loosest relations, the first of importance is the Gardener. A former king, he has put aside his worldly diadem of power to cultivate his flowers. The Gardener's poetic vision enabled him, as king, to see that the care of human subjects and the care of plants are essentially the same: only that the latter is "cooler." Hofmannsthal here recapitulates *in parvo* the withdrawal of Risach in *Der Nachsommer* from the frustrations of politics to the satisfactions of the *Rosenhaus*. Did he also wish to allegorize the more general and less voluntary withdrawal of the Austrian upper middle class from politics to culture? The evidence is too scanty to judge. But clearly Hofmannsthal asserted a principle of correspondence between kingship and horticulture, one that erected a dangerous equivalence, in "childish innocence and majesty," between the realm of politics and the garden of art, between civil and aesthetic order.

Contraposed to the Gardener-monarch, as the final and dominating figure in the masque, is the Madman. He is a scion not of royalty but of wealth: "the last of the rich, the last of the powerful—helpless." His father, a mighty entrepreneur, had been unable to tame a son who shared his arrogant spirit, but had no sense of responsibility. Like many actual parvenus' sons in Hofmannsthal's society, this one sought and won the company of noblemen, charmed the world, squandered his wealth, and wasted his person. But, like the best of the functionless, the Madman turned inward, sought solitude.

[59] Viele Geschicke weben neben dem meinen,
Durcheinander spielt sie alle das Dasein,
Und Mein Teil ist mehr als dieses Lebens
Schlanke Flamme oder schmale Leier.
(Hofmannsthal, *Poems and Verse Plays,* ed. Hamburger, 34.)

[60] *Ibid.*, 224–63.

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Again we encounter Narcissus, identified now as *rentier*-squanderer. The Madman shut himself in a tower, turning his bold, rapacious spirit upon his inner soul to become the poetic explorer of his own depths. There he found "monstrous masses of inchoate" forces. The self-centered attitude of the functionless rich, transferred from the world of action to that of contemplation, led to his discovering inside himself monstrous instinctual forces. Through this the Madman came to a recognition of inchoate energies outside himself: "dem ungeheuren Gemenge äusseren Daseins."[61] As the Gardener found a correspondence of order between the realm of politics and the garden of beauty, so the Madman found a correspondence of energy between inner instinct and external life forces. Individuation begins to transcend itself, and the Madman, apostrophizing his reflection in a mirror, *en bon Narcisse,* proclaims: "The illusion [of the self-contained individual] will not last much longer; the voices multiply which call me to the outer world."[62] He announces a mission that will be Hofmannsthal's: to create a dynamic unity between the individual and the world. The abstract, static fashion of kings and poets before him can no longer serve either the modern psyche or modern society:

> But what are palaces, and what are poems?
> The dreamlike image of reality.
> The real no mortal tracery can catch:
> To lead the *whole* dance, the *whole* round,
> The real, can you begin to grasp this task?[63]

A bold but sane man could "grasp this task"; only a madman would be determined like Dionysus "to lead the *whole* dance, the *whole* round." The Madman had to be restrained from plunging into the river beneath, the torrent of primal life energy which was also death.

By 1897 Hofmannsthal was convinced that the Gardener was but a relic, and he devoted himself, however tentatively, to taming the Madman: the problem was to find an order that was not sterile, to find an energy that was not fatal, to re-establish the ties between art and instinct on the one hand, art and society on the other. He turned toward the lower orders not only because the problem lay there but also because life seemed to be strong in them. Like Sigmund Freud, Hofmannsthal saw the lower classes as uninhibited, living directly by instinct. Half in envy, half in fear, he sought the social sources of vitality in the ill-defined "folk," while he gingerly approached its psychological sources in sex.[64] Accordingly, at the turn of the century, Hof-

[61] *Ibid.*, 256.
[62] *Ibid.*, 262.
[63] *Ibid.*, 263.
[64] Both tendencies are clear in *Der Tod Tizians,* where the Great God Pan inspires art, but where the artist is drawn by the magnetism of the city to leave the pale of art.

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mannsthal passed from poetry to drama, out of the narcissistic reservation into the street.

It was characteristic of the sheltered perceptions of his class that Hofmannsthal should first have been impressed by abject social misery not in his native Vienna, where there was much of it, but in Galicia during his military service in 1896. From his billet in the wretched Jewish village of Tlumacz, he wrote to a friend, "I am correcting my concept . . . of what life is for most people: it is more joyless, more depressed than one likes to think: much more. . . ."[65] Amid this dreadful "spectacle of so many miserable human beings, . . . their stench and their voices," Hofmannsthal became captivated by the dramatic form. Thomas Otway's Restoration drama on the Popish Plot, *Venice Preserved,* which Hofmannsthal read in his dank and stinking billet, stimulated his new turn. "A very peculiar art form," he wrote to Andrian, "and I suspect that if one produces it, one simultaneously connects oneself with life—and simultaneously frees oneself from it."[66] Here was Hofmannsthal's deepest need, both as poet and as citizen.

Eight years later Hofmannsthal published his powerful reworking of Otway's play under the title *Das Gerettete Venedig*. This somber social-psychological drama deals with political decadence and the personal passion that is unleashed as a consequence of misrule. An insurrectionary mob contributes its murky and threatening power to the action. Characteristically, the principal figure is a waverer, vacillating between the old powers and their angry challengers.[67] He is the most humane figure, yet too weak for the situation he confronts. His human understanding is of no avail when he does not know how to apply it in sociopolitical crisis where passion is unleashed.

The poet wavers and trims like his major character. Though his play was redolent with the problems of modernity, he avoided, as in most of his writings, any direct social realism or a contemporary *mise en scène*. Like so many Austrian pioneers of twentieth-century thought and art—Gustav Klimt, Gustav Mahler, Otto Wagner, Sigmund Freud—he used traditional language to convey modern messages. Not without justice did Andrian invoke for him the motto: "Sur les pensers nouveaux faisons des vers antiques."[68]

Yet Hofmannsthal would not commit himself, as Stifter or Saar had

[65] Hofmannsthal to Fritz Eckstein, May 2, 1896, Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890–1901,* 182.
[66] Hofmannsthal to Andrian, May 4–5, 1896, *ibid.,* 184–86.
[67] ". . . Jaffier makes the mistake of joining the indignant ones, though he probably belongs really to the lackies: a consistent main motif. . . ." (Hofmannsthal to Otto Brahm, Sept. 15, 1904, Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1900–1909,* 163.)
[68] Leopold Andrian, "Erinnerung an meinen Freund," *Hofmannsthal,* ed. Fiechtner, 70.

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done, to history. It seemed to have lost its exemplary value. Although his setting was Venetian, he fought hotly against the producer's tendency to make sets and costumes historically "realistic." Hofmannsthal demands "atmospheric" and "suggestive" costumes appropriate to "a conservative-reactionary period rotten at the roots . . . like pre-March [1848] Austria" (the period before Liberalism's first break-through!). Above all, the mob should "for God's sake" not be Venetian, but rather "uncanny, threatening," like a contemporary mob (*Gesindel*).[69] Both in the play and in the form of its production, then, Hofmannsthal approached contemporary social reality cautiously and evasively. He wished neither an escape into history and myth nor a direct representation of modern society and its problems. By using a suggestive, rather than a literal, historical milieu, he realized in this frightening drama of social disintegration the promise he had seen in drama as a literary form when he wrote Andrian from squalid Galicia. Drama, he said, would both connect one to life and free one from it.

The combination of engagement and distance that Hofmannsthal found in drama made possible his redefinition of the poet's function in modern society. His road into the clear had been a long one. First he escaped the hedonistic garden of Narcissus, with the futility that Andrian had rendered in his *Bildungsroman*. He had clarified the still graver dangers that he had allegorized in *Das kleine Welttheater:* the soul-satisfying illusion of the Gardener, that art was a substitute for politics; and the drastic conclusion of the rich Madman, that the only true participation in life was a suicidal merging with the formless irrational forces of the world. Slowly Hofmannsthal shaped a synthesis between lifeless illusion and formless vitality, between Gardener-king and Madman. Out of it emerged the poet, not as legislator, not as judge, not as sympathizer, but as reconciler.

In 1906 Hofmannsthal defined the poet's role with a new clarity: "It is he who binds up in himself the elements of the times."[70] In a society and a culture that he saw as essentially pluralistic and fragmented, Hofmannsthal set literature the task of establishing relationships. The poet must accept the multiplicity of reality, and, through the magic medium of language, bring unity and cohesion to modern man. The poet "is the passionate admirer of things of eternity and the things of the present. London in the fog with ghostly processions of unemployed, the temple ruins of Luxor, the splashing of a lonely forest spring, the roaring of monstrous machines: the transitions are never hard for him, . . . everything is simultaneously present in him."[71] Where others saw conflict or contradiction, the poet would reveal

[69] Letters to Brahm, Dec. [?], 1904, Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1900–1909,* 184, 192–93.
[70] Hofmannsthal, "Der Dichter und diese Zeit," *Selected Essays,* ed. Gilbert, 132.
[71] *Ibid.,* 133.

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hidden ties and develop them by bringing out their unity through rhythm and sound.

Was there room for utopianism in Hofmannsthal's new conception of literature? Not in the senses in which we have thus far encountered it. There were here no Stifterian model of an expurgated reality, no abstract social ideal in the manner of Saar, no resurrected rococo garden of delight, not even Hofmannsthal's earlier Potemkin village. For the poet now accepted reality as it was: insistently incoherent. The assertively centrifugal character of society and culture inhibited the constructive fancy. Emerging from his cultivated social isolation, Hofmannsthal had learned "to grapple with an existing social order," but as he did so, he found it less and less possible "to posit one which does not exist."

In *Der Turm* (1927), written over twenty-five years, Hofmannsthal nevertheless struggled once more to point the way to utopia. I say "point the way," no more, for Hofmannsthal no longer tried to project one. The action in *Der Turm* almost reverses that of *Das kleine Welttheater* at a deeper level. The hero, Prince Sigismund, began as the irrational prisoner in the self like the Madman. By way of his own dream of a just world, he attempted to pass from Madman to Gardener to king—from instinctual visionary to civic actor. In the process he associated himself with the needy and energetic but irrational mass. The Oedipal revolt of the poet-prince, as in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, became identified with a political revolution against the father-king. In Hofmannsthal, the result is not divine comedy but human tragedy. The work of harmonizing the disparate components through the language of mutual respect breaks down. As in the Austrian Empire, the forces of social and psychological disintegration prove too strong. Yet the poet-prince dies in the conviction that his message of love, drawn up from the lonely well of Narcissus where dream and reality had merged, will yet be understood one day:

> "Bear witness that I was here—
> Even if no one knew me."[72]

The Prince not known by the world: he is the opposite of Andrian's Prince Erwin, who died without knowing the world.

Hofmannsthal had rescued the function of art from the hedonistic isolation into which his class had carried it and had tried to redeem society through its reconciling power. The rifts in the body social had proceeded too far. Society could tolerate tragedy or comedy, but not redemption through aesthetic harmonization.

[72] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Dramen, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt am Main, 1948), IV, 207.

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Looking back on his life as an artistic rebel, the Expressionist Oskar Kokoschka recalled an episode of his childhood.[73] Kokoschka came from a humble artisan background, rather more like Stifter's than like Hofmannsthal's. Near his modest suburban home was a public park where little Oskar played. Once the Galitzinberg park had been the garden of a palace. No longer a private preserve of gallants and their ladies, or of violet monsignori, it became a place where Viennese urchins came to play among the marble statues. An old veteran of the Austro-Prussian War who served as watchman seemed to Oskar much like the sculptured Hercules at the fountain. The allegorical figures "lived on the same basis as the lords of the palaces" in the Viennese folk imagination, which was peopled with "tragicomic figures who wished to climb so much higher in society that they bumped into the world of spirits [*Geisterreich*]."[74]

Not only gamins like Kokoschka frequented the garden, but better folk too. Oskar made friends with two little girls who came with their mother to play. He disliked that mother with her cultured airs: she read French novels, insisted on proper manners, and served tea *à l'anglais* promptly at five. Oskar learned in scorn that the lady's father had been just a good bourgeois Viennese coffee drinker, but she had married an "Edler von."

Despite his distaste for their mother, the boy rejoiced in the girls. One he admired for her mind and her grace. The other, who swung on the swing with her clothes disarrayed, occasioned his sexual awakening. Here, in the garden of Prince Gallitzin, the lower-class boy awoke to the "abrupt and naked facts" revealed by an upper-class girl. Sexual instinct broke raw through the veneer of a stylish civilization. For Kokoschka, coming of age meant not the initiation into culture, as for his predecessors, but the tortured yet joyous affirmation of our animal nature.

In school young Oskar learned of the two great simultaneous inventions that ushered in modern times: printing and gunpowder. Since the first resulted in the hellish invention of the textbook, he turned to explore the second. (His faith in education and his application of science were something less than Stifter's.) One day, equipping himself with homemade gunpowder, Oskar went to the palace garden where his friends were at play. Beneath the tree where the swing was hung was a huge ant colony. Under it Oskar placed his explosive charge. When all was prepared, at five o'clock, the hated hour of tea, Oskar "cast the torch into the world."[75]

The explosion was immense, far beyond the destroyer's expectations. The

[73] Oskar Kokoschka, "Aus der Jugendbiographie," *Schriften, 1907–1955*, ed. Hans Maria Wingler (Munich, 1956), 21–46.

[74] *Ibid.*, 23. Kokoschka refers to the fairy realism of the popular dramatist Ferdinand Raimund.

[75] *Ibid.*, 39.

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burning city of ants flew into the air with a great clap of thunder. "How hideously beautiful!" Singed bodies and severed limbs of ants fell writhing over the well-kept lawn. And the innocent temptress in the swing was knocked to the ground—unconscious.

The forces of civilization rallied. The mother summoned the guard of the park. Oskar was "banished from the Garden of Eden."[76]

Unlike Adam, young Oskar—modern, lower class, self-willed—refused to accept his banishment as final. Though the old guard barred the gate "like the Archangel Gabriel," the young rebel would find a way. Behind the garden lay a city dump, with a bluff that Oskar might scale to enter the garden from the rear. He climbed the bluff, but disaster awaited him. He lost his footing.

Only the expressionistic fantasy could contrive what followed. Plunging back into the dump Oskar fell upon the bloated carcass of a rotting pig. A swarm of vicious flies rose from its body, stinging the hapless boy. Oskar went home to bed with a serious infection.

Lying in bed, the fevered second Adam had psychological experiences that have the tortured glow of Kokoschka's early painterly vision: At the root of his tongue sat a fly that incessantly turned round itself, leaving its grubs as it went. The wallpaper burned with revolving suns of green and red. His brain dissolved into a vile gray fluid.

With uncanny exactitude, Kokoschka's biographical parable reflects his role in the birth of Expressionist culture. In 1908, when he was twenty-two, Kokoschka burst upon the Viennese world of arts and letters in a fashion that won him the epithet *Bürgerschreck*.

The occasion was the *Kunstschau,* an exhibition in which Vienna's aesthetic movement celebrated its greatest and its final triumph. All contributions aimed at the beautified life. Use objects were raised to the level of the fine arts, while even the most serious painting and sculpture strove to fill decorative functions. The lines between truth and beauty, life and art, reality and utopia were erased in this elegant, upper-class culture.

With generous official support, the artists could make a veritable country estate in the heart of the city. Josef Hofmann's *Kunstschau* building took the form not of a modern museum but of a *Lustschloss*. The city fathers of Vienna bore the cost of setting the building in a gracious garden.[77] And finally, true to the Viennese tradition, there was a garden theater where, on balmy summer nights, were performed Friedrich Hebbel's *Genoveva* and Oscar Wilde's *Birthday of an Infanta.*

In this setting Kokoschka produced his first Expressionist explosion. His

[76] *Ibid.*, 42.
[77] *The Studio,* XL (1908), 308.

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contributions to the *Kunstschau,* both literary and graphic, led to his expulsion from the educational garden, the School of Applied Arts. In *The Dreaming Boys,* Kokoschka used the dreamy style of fairy tale poetry, fashionable in the well-conducted nursery, to render the nightmare of sexual awakening. Through innocent-looking color lithographs (there was a lady in blue with a teapot) executed in the formalistic, hieratic style of his teacher, the painter re-enforced with sexual symbolism the hallucinatory effect of his verse. The most refined visual and poetic language was employed to render the most searing personal experience, one hitherto not tolerated by the culture.

To the *Kunstschau* theater, Kokoschka contributed a playlet shockingly entitled *Murder, Hope of Women.* It was a drama of brutal Cyprian combat between nameless *Mann* and archetypal *Weib:* this for an audience enchanted by Wilde's *Infanta!*

In these works Kokoschka not only rebels against aesthetic culture, but brings civilization itself before the bar of naked instinct, outraged feeling. He speaks for no particular class, but for a European man suffering from a culture that concealed his problems. Nothing could break through the surface more powerfully than Kokoschka's identification of love and war.

It was a prophetic *Lebensgefühl* that produced the explosion in the garden: a humanism unfamiliarly combined with nihilism. Where was the realism of yesterday? Where the utopian possibility? Kokoschka answered in a way that psychologized realism and privatized utopia. Commenting on his autobiographical parable, he wrote:

> Isolation compels every man, all alone like a savage, to invent his idea of society. And the knowledge that every doctrine of society must remain a utopia will also drive him to take flight in solitude. This solitude swallows us in its emptiness. . . .[78]

From Stifter to Hofmannsthal, Austrian literature had struggled to express ideals that would enable men to grapple with social reality. Changes in society's structure, especially changes in the position of the cultivated middle class to which the artist gave allegiance, had transformed the function of art, slowly hollowing out its capacity to provide either utopian models or healing functions. In a rent society, with pent-up energies that could find no constructive outlet, prevailing culture seemed to a new generation not a creative illusion but a lie. In their prophetic explosion in the garden the Expressionists anticipated Europe's greater explosion, the new reality of world war and of revolution.

[78] Kokoschka, *Schriften,* ed. Wingler, 44.

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Presidential Leadership in Foreign Affairs: William McKinley and the Turpie-Foraker Amendment

PAUL S. HOLBO*

THE quality of William McKinley's leadership is a highly disputed historical question. His handling of the crisis with Spain in 1898 has received especially extensive and critical attention from historians.[1] This is so partly because Americans have varied and deeply emotional attitudes toward war and toward those men who were Presidents during wars and partly because the small, sometimes pathetic, sometimes comic Spanish-American War provides such delightful examples for special pleading from history.

McKinley has persistently been stereotyped as a weak President who had the backbone of a "chocolate eclair," and historians have helped to fix this negative image. Some contended that he did not lead the people as Presidents should, but that he bowed before the public's "martial spirit" and the "yellow press." Others felt that he should have paid more attention to the last-minute "concessions" by Spain in April 1898, that he should have accepted the Spanish offer of an armistice in Cuba, and that he should have re-

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[1] Among the historians and writers who have criticized McKinley's actions in April 1898 are Randolph Adams, Thomas A. Bailey, Charles A. Beard, Samuel Flagg Bemis, W. H. Callcott, Herbert Croly, A. L. P. Dennis, Foster Rhea Dulles, Harold U. Faulkner, Leland Jenks, George Kennan, Ernest May, Walter Millis, Samuel Eliot Morison, Allan Nevins, E. B. Oberholtzer, Robert E. Osgood, Julius W. Pratt, James Ford Rhodes, Mark Sullivan, and Woodrow Wilson. The "critical" school has been so dominant since the late 1920's that the existence of another view is almost unrecognized. Yet a number of earlier historians and a few later ones ably defended McKinley. These include James M. Callahan, Admiral French E. Chadwick, Charles E. Chapman, Carl Russell Fish, John H. Latané, and Tyler Dennett, as well as McKinley's biographer, Charles S. Olcott. The validity of these sympathetic interpretations can be evaluated in the light of recent historical interpretations. The first signs of a major sympathetic revisionism appeared in Margaret Leech, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York, 1959), 151–93, but they were somewhat vitiated by her attempt at psychological description. Ernest May's *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power* (New York, 1961), esp. 152–77, accurately describes the diplomatic situation, though the conclusions about McKinley are strongly critical. Richard W. Leopold makes an effective case for the President in his *The Growth of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1962), 173–77. A well-developed defense of McKinley appears in the works of H. Wayne Morgan, cited in note 3, below.

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sumed diplomatic negotiations. Presumably, if he had not been so weak or ineffective, peace might have been preserved, and the subsequent imperialistic "aberration" of the United States avoided.[2]

These theories are entertaining and superficially attractive. But, as scholars have recently begun to demonstrate, they have no substantial basis in fact, and they do McKinley an injustice. More important, they obscure the significant decisions about Cuba made on the eve of the war and McKinley's role in shaping policy and dealing with legislation, which represented crucial contributions to the maintenance of presidential leadership in foreign affairs.

It must first be understood that by April 1, 1898, the question facing the United States was not whether to go to war but who was to direct American policy. By that date McKinley had decided that Spain was not negotiating in good faith and would not meet the demands of the United States involving Cuba.[3] While he continued to take part in diplomatic exchanges, he believed war inevitable. Congress and the American people were certain to approve his decision to act in the Cuban situation. He did, however, anticipate serious opposition from the advocates of immediate intervention who intended to embarrass him by calling for recognition of a "republic of Cuba," and his concern was warranted; the issue of recognition led to a major polit-

[2] Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), 372, helped to popularize the remark about the "chocolate eclair," attributed to Theodore Roosevelt. Walter Millis, in his entertaining antiwar tract, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (Boston, 1931), and Julius W. Pratt, in his scholarly book, *The Expansionists of 1898 The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), expounded effectively on the role of public opinion, the yellow press, the jingoes, and the expansionists. George Kennan has helped to convince the last generation of college students that McKinley bungled the diplomatic negotiations in his *American Diplomacy, 1900–1950* (New York, 1952), 16 ff. It is strange that Kennan overlooked McKinley's consistent and effective use of formal diplomacy. The word "aberration" is Samuel Flagg Bemis', in his *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (5th ed., New York, 1965), 463.

[3] H. Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1963), 351–72, and *America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion* (New York, 1965), 37–62. The second of these books is less defensive in tone and more persuasive. Morgan analyzes McKinley effectively in "William McKinley as a Political Leader," *Review of Politics*, XXVIII (Oct. 1966), 417–32. A perceptive appraisal appears in John A. S. Grenville and George Berkeley Young, *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy: Studies in Foreign Policy, 1873–1917* (New Haven, Conn., 1966), 239–66. See also Henry Cabot Lodge, "The Spanish-American War. II—The Coming of War," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XCVIII (Mar. 1899), 505–506. On the administration's hope for peace on March 31, see Cornelius Bliss to Elihu Root, Mar. 31, 1898, Elihu Root Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Spain's intransigence on the essential details of full self-government and an indemnity for Cuba is borne out in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898* (Washington, D. C., 1901), 704, 711–13, 733. McKinley himself told Congress that the "disappointing" Spanish response of March 31 brought him "to the end of his effort." (*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI [Apr. 11, 1898], 3705–3706.) Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *A History of Spain from the Beginnings to the Present Day* (New York, 1949), 588, views the American demands as "exaggerated," yet admits their weight and regrets Spain's belated reforms and intransigent diplomacy. A more sympathetic Spanish treatment of the policies that led to "disaster" is Melchor Fernández Almagro, *Historia política de la España contemporánea* (2 vols., Madrid, 1956–59), II, 470–76, 493.

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ical crisis and provided the occasion for an effort by some congressmen to assume control over foreign policy.[4]

The first attempts to take the initiative from McKinley were made in late March 1898. A small group of silver Republican and Populist congressmen agreed in caucus to introduce a resolution calling for the recognition of Cuban independence.[5] Simultaneously, but in separate moves, two Republican "reconcentrados" (friends of the Cuban rebels) and the Democratic minority leader, Representative Joseph W. Bailey, introduced such proposals. The McKinley administration clearly opposed these resolutions. A prominent though unidentified member of the cabinet told the press: "The conditions for the recognition by the United States of the independence of a Cuban government . . . do not exist now. There is nothing for us to recognize, and no European nation would follow our example." He intimated that the President's course would be to establish peace and to prepare the conditions for independence. Meanwhile, the administration fought effectively to maintain control over relations with Spain. McKinley personally appealed to Republican war hawks to avoid hasty action, and Republican congressional leaders helped him stifle rumblings of discontent by announcing that he soon would address Congress on the subject of Cuba—a strategy that worked. On March 30, when Speaker Thomas B. Reed ruled against discussing Bailey's motion, he received solid backing from Republican members.[6]

McKinley delayed sending his message to Congress for ten more days because he wished to provide for the safety of Americans in Cuba and to make some preparations for war. On April 11 he delivered the long-awaited message, which is usually but not altogether correctly referred to as his "war message." There were three major aspects to the address. The President stated first that the United States meant to help the suffering people of Cuba. While he implied that force would be used, he did not, however, insist on armed intervention in Cuba. This stand won the approval of prominent Republicans, many of whom had been resisting pressures for war. Second, he

[4] The impatience of one Republican jingo is revealed in William E. Chandler to Paul Dana, Mar. 29, 31, Apr. 10, 1898, William E. Chandler Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. On April 9 Chandler wrote Dana that recognition of Cuba had become the entire issue. Contemporary newspapers and periodicals are filled with stories on this question. *Literary Digest,* XVI (Apr. 23, 1898), 484, called it "the chief feature" of debate. *Outlook,* LVIII (Apr. 23, 1898), 1010, said it was "the central point." And the New York *Herald* (Apr. 17, 1898) termed the battle over recognition "one of the greatest and most momentous" ever fought in the Senate.

[5] Omaha *World-Herald,* Mar. 30, 1898; Washington *Post,* Mar. 30, 1898. Populist Senator William V. Allen of Nebraska had been introducing resolutions to this effect since February 1896.

[6] Omaha *World-Herald,* Apr. 6, 1898. The resolutions of Republican Senators Joseph Foraker and William Frye took somewhat different forms. (Washington *Post,* Mar. 30, 31, 1898; Leech, *Days of McKinley,* 178–79.)

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asked Congress to give him full power to act, including broad authority to do whatever was necessary to halt the fighting in Cuba, to set up "a stable government" on the island, and to use American naval and military forces as he saw fit. Third, and at considerable length, he took up the question of Cuba's status, a highly controversial matter and the issue on which debate over his powers would turn.[7]

McKinley vigorously opposed recognizing Cuban independence. He argued that granting recognition would not help to end hostilities, but would limit the freedom of the United States to act, and that the Cuban revolutionary junta did not yet deserve recognition. Recognition, he stated,

> is not due to a revolted dependency until the danger of its being subjugated by the parent state has entirely passed away. . . .
>
> Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit this country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligation toward the organization so recognized. In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government. We would be required to submit to its direction and to assume to it the mere relation of a friendly ally.[8]

McKinley assumed a strong position in arguing that the United States should maintain freedom of action in Cuba. His message drew praise from Republican congressional leaders, an impressive cross section of prominent public figures, and the moderate press.[9] Furthermore, McKinley shrewdly

[7] Fitzhugh Lee to Department of State, Apr. 5, 1898, William McKinley Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, and John C. Spooner Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Cornelius Bliss to Root, Apr. 6, 1898, Root Papers; *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 11, 1898), 3704–3707.

[8] *Ibid.,* 3706. In March 1898 McKinley had sounded out prominent Republicans on the advantages of extending recognition. Whitelaw Reid argued that recognition ought to follow upon some signal Cuban military success, such as opening a port, and be accompanied by Latin American recognition. (Reid to McKinley, Mar. 8, 1898, McKinley Papers.)

[9] The clerks read the message badly, and the galleries and jingo newspapers were disappointed. (Washington *Evening Times,* Apr. 11, 1898; Washington *Post,* Apr. 12, 1898; New York *Times,* Apr. 12, 1898; *Harper's Weekly,* XLII [Apr. 16, 1898], 378; *Literary Digest,* XVI [Apr. 23, 1898], 484.) But *Outlook, Harper's,* and other magazines praised the contents of the speech, as did the majority of the press, judging from the *Literary Digest*'s summary. (See also the Washington *Evening Star,* Apr. 11, 12, 1898; New York *Herald,* Apr. 12, 1898; and Washington *Post,* Apr. 13, 1898.) There are a few critical messages in the McKinley Papers, and dozens of strongly congratulatory messages from such diverse persons as Abram Hewitt, Robert Ingersoll, Jacob G. Schurman, Oscar Straus, A. R. Whitney, Bishop John Newman, and Lafayette McWilliams. Democratic, Populist, and Republican "reconcentrado" members of Congress, such as Joseph Bailey, Roger Mills, Richard Pettigrew, Chandler, and Foraker, expressed themselves critically. In contrast, Senator Shelby J. Cullom, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, described it as "a strong paper" that would have "a strong influence," and the chairmen of the Senate Committees on Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, and Appropriations and of the House Committees on Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Appropriations, and Ways and Means voiced similar views. (New York *Times,* Apr. 12, 1898; Washington *Evening Star,* Apr. 11, 1898.) For the views of other public figures, see Vols. XII and XIII of the McKinley Papers. The extent of praise for the address is worth emphasizing because historians, even Morgan, have so often ridiculed or belittled

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called attention to the fact that he had taken the same stand against recognition of Cuban independence in his first annual message to Congress in December 1897. In this way he tried to rally all Republicans behind him.

He succeeded to some extent, partly because the Democrats seized upon the issue eagerly. On April 13, two days after the President opposed recognition, William Jennings Bryan defended the right of the United States to recognize Cuban independence, and he urged Democratic congressmen to unite on this question. Democratic leaders and some Populists and Republicans pressed the issue in Congress.[10] The independence of Cuba thus became a party issue. "The Democrats in the House and Senate can well afford to insist on Cuban independence as the price of their cooperation," the Democratic Atlanta *Constitution* advised. "The whole question is wrapped up in this."[11]

But more was involved in the Democratic challenge than recognition for Cuba or even the partisan advantage that might accrue from support of the struggling rebels. Control of foreign relations and the fate of McKinley's effort to assert the power of the executive were at stake—a fact often obscured by the contention of some historians that McKinley was indecisive. The question of the President's authority came up constantly in contemporary editorials and in congressional debate. A few congressmen—most conspicuously, Republican Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire and Democratic Representatives Bailey of Texas and Benton McMillin of Tennessee—charged the President with being evasive about Cuba. Most Democrats, on the other hand, complained bitterly about the nature of his requests and protested that he demanded too much power.

The following examples, one from the Democratic press, the other representing Democratic congressional opinion, could be multiplied many times. McKinley "asks Congress to delegate its war-making power and all control over the crisis to him," exclaimed the Washington *Evening Times*. This paper angrily urged Congress to repudiate the President and make war on Spain immediately. Democratic Senator Edmund W. Pettus of Alabama

McKinley's message. A clear factual account appears in David F. Healey, *The United States in Cuba, 1898–1902: Generals, Politicians, and the Search for Policy* (Madison, Wis., 1963), 20–22.

[10] *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3776–91, 3810–21. Bryan advocated recognition in a speech to a Democratic gathering in Washington. At the behest of Congressman Hugh Dinsmore, ranking minority member on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the assemblage unanimously endorsed the idea of recognition of the Cuban Republic. (Washington *Post*, Apr. 14, 1898.) On April 15 the *Post* reported that Bryan had urged upon Democratic leaders the popularity and political advantages of advocating recognition. Senator Allen of Nebraska predicted political disaster for the Republicans if they did not support recognition.

[11] Quoted in *Literary Digest*, XVI (Apr. 23, 1898), 485.

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summarized the congressional minority's interpretation of the President's message:

> Now Senators, what are we advised to do? To declare war? No. To recognize the Cuban Republic as an independent nation? No. To recognize the Cubans as belligerents? No. What are we advised to do? If you will boil the words down to their true meaning, we are advised to delegate to the President the power to intervene between Spain and Cuba for the purpose of putting an end to the war, and to use the Army and Navy at his discretion and force both parties to keep the peace; or, in other words, we are advised to give the President power to intervene and make war, if he sees fit, without declaring war at all.[12]

The Democrats attacked the President's requests as excessive and unconstitutional. The Republicans, particularly the so-called "conservatives," expressed faith in the President, stated that he needed the powers, and complained that the opposition was seeking to strip him of his prerogative of granting diplomatic recognition.

At this point it is necessary to investigate carefully congressional action in order to understand the legislative situation and what emerged from it. The question of recognition provided the motif for the weeklong debate over McKinley's policy. On April 13 the Democrats in the House introduced a resolution recognizing the independence of the republic of Cuba and directing the President "to employ immediately the land and naval forces of the United States."[13] This measure would have left McKinley little discretion, or dignity. But he was strong in the House, and the Democratic resolution was defeated after a sharp fight by a party-line vote of 150 to 190. The House then (April 13) approved the moderate resolution that McKinley favored by a vote of 325 to 19:

> Resolved, that the President is hereby authorized and directed to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba, to the end and with the purpose of securing permanent peace and order there and establishing by the free action of the people thereof a stable and independent government of their own in the island of Cuba; and the President is hereby authorized and empowered to use the land and naval forces of the United States to execute the purpose of this resolution.[14]

[12] Washington *Evening Times,* Apr. 11, 1898; *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 12, 1898), 3731. Senator Joseph L. Rawlins made a similar plea at the end of the debate. (*Ibid.* [Apr. 18, 1898], 4011.) "The best constitutional lawyers of the Senate," reported the Washington *Post* (Apr. 13, 1898), hold "that it would be unconstitutional to give the President power to intervene at any time in his discretion, as he has asked." Conflicting views on the war powers of Congress and the President were printed in the Washington *Evening Star* (Apr. 15, 1898). Republican jingoes avoided attacking McKinley directly, but Senator Redfield Proctor attempted to persuade the President to "lead" by saying nothing and turning over the entire question to Congress! (Proctor to McKinley, late Mar. 1898, McKinley Papers.)

[13] *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3814–15.

[14] *Ibid.,* 3815, 3819–20. As explained below, the words "and independent" were inserted after "stable," which McKinley had been forced to use in his message to Congress because this was the term General Stewart Woodford had used in his negotiations with Spain. The Department of State had informed the American envoy that "stable" meant "independent,"

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The resolution (House Joint Resolution 233) was everything that the President had requested. But he was not to have his way so easily in the Senate, where Republican ranks were split as a result of differences over domestic issues and factional quarrels. Even before the message had been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator William M. Stewart, a silver Republican of Nevada, objected to the lack of provision for Cuban independence and to the request for discretionary authority: "Such a new phase of it has been presented by the message of the President that I think some public discussion ought to be had before it is referred to the committee."[15] His extraordinary plea was ignored, but the Foreign Relations Committee, which had been at work on its measure for a week, reported a stronger resolution than the House passed. It was acceptable to McKinley, however. He had seen a copy of the measure and been given a chance to comment on it. Senate Joint Resolution 149 stated:

That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.[16]

A minority of the committee also issued a report. One of the signers, Democratic Senator David Turpie of Indiana, introduced an amendment to the first section of the resolution providing for the recognition of Cuba: "and that the Government of the United States hereby recognizes the Re-

and Woodford had verbally communicated this interpretation to Premier Praxedes Sagasta, but had never done so in writing. (Washington *Post,* Apr. 13, 1898.) The President was embarrassed by charges in Congress that he did not favor independence for the Cubans; thus the Republican managers worked out a provision for addition of the words "and independent." (Charles Boynton to Benjamin Montgomery, Apr. 12, 1898, McKinley Papers; *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI [Apr. 12, 1898], 3766–67; Washington *Evening Star,* Apr. 13, 14, 1898, which also records the President's approval.)

[15] A statement by Horatio Rubens of the Cuban junta that the insurgents would reject American intervention unless preceded by diplomatic recognition angered some congressmen and aided McKinley, who had warned against the possibility of such interference. (Chandler to Dana, Apr. 7, 1898, Chandler Papers; see also *Outlook,* LVIII [Apr. 16, 1898], 946, and *Harper's Weekly,* XLIII [Apr. 16, 1898], 378–79.) Stewart's statement appeared in *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 11, 1898), 3702–3703, and in his newspaper, *Silver Knight-Watchman,* Apr. 14, 1898.

[16] *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3773; Lodge, "Coming of War," 509. The senators who signed the majority report were Republicans Cushman K. Davis, Cullom, Lodge, Frye, and Clarence Clark, and Democrats John Morgan and George Gray.

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public of Cuba as the true and lawful government of that Island."[17] The real author of the amendment was Senator Joseph ("Fire-Alarm Joe") Foraker of Ohio, a Republican jingo and rival of McKinley and Senator Mark Hanna. The Turpie-Foraker amendment was not acceptable to the President, but the Senate adopted it on April 16 by a vote of fifty-one to thirty-seven.[18]

Before any conclusions are reached about the merits of the amendment, which has an appealing ring to a later generation of Americans, its contemporary implications and the sources of its support should be considered. The amendment was designed in part to embarrass the President and in part to seize the initiative from him. (Foraker also believed it was the best way to ensure the ultimate absorption of Cuba by the United States.) It quickly became identified as a Democratic measure. Of the Democratic senators, twenty-nine voted for the amendment, and only five opposed it.[19]

Eleven Populist and silver Republican senators also voted for the amendment. These dissident congressmen simultaneously accused McKinley of trying to avoid war, of plotting a war of aggression, and of planning to return the island to Spanish rule.[20] Even more revealing was their often repeated fear that the United States would assume responsibility for a bond issue of $400,000,000.00 that Spain had undertaken to finance its military efforts on the island. Cuban revenues were pledged for payment of the bonds, which had been purchased by banking interests throughout Europe and allegedly in the United States as well. "If we intervene and take possession of the country," Senator Stewart asked, "what are we going to do with it? . . . We can not liberate it from the lien which the bondholders have upon it. It is a mortgaged country."[21] The Populists and silverites favored the recognition of Cuban independence as a way of invalidating the bonds. Republican Senators Foraker and Chandler, the jingo Democratic press, and a number

[17] *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3776. The four who signed the minority report were Republican Foraker and Democrats Turpie, Mills, and John Daniel.

[18] *Ibid.* (Mar. 29, 1898), 3293, (Apr. 18, 1898), 4030. The vote came on Saturday evening, after four days of vigorous debate, which turned on the questions of recognition and executive power. (*Ibid.* [Apr. 16, 1898], 3988.) On Foraker's political background, see Morgan, *William McKinley,* 114–17, and Everett Walters, *Joseph Benson Foraker, an Uncompromising Republican* (Columbus, Ohio, 1948), 54, 64–140.

[19] Foraker's theory of economic absorption is revealed fully in a letter to Chandler, Oct. 18, 1898, Chandler Papers; New York *Herald,* Apr. 17, 18, 1898; *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 16, 1898), 3988. The five were Morgan (a Cuban annexationist), Donelson Caffery, Gray, Arthur Gorman, and Charles Faulkner; the last three had been summoned to the White House on April 14 for a conference with McKinley. Morgan and Gray were on good terms with the President.

[20] See *ibid.* (Apr. 11, 1898), 3702, for Senator Stewart's view, and *ibid.* (Apr. 12, 1898), 3732, 3745–48, for Senator Marion Butler's and Congressman Jeremiah Botkin's views.

[21] See, e.g., *ibid.,* 3732–33, 3745–48, (Apr. 14, 1898), 3830. Stewart's statement appears *ibid.* (Apr. 11, 1898), 3703.

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of Democratic congressmen, including Turpie, who voted for the amendment, shared these Populistic views or at least used the same arguments.[22]

Yet, the amendment could not have been passed without the support of "regular" Republicans. Eleven members of McKinley's party, many hitherto loyal to the President, broke ranks and voted with the Democrats. This split caused the Democrats to think that their strategy had been politically astute. As the administration feared, the defectors included several Republican jingoes. One was Chandler, advocate of a big navy and perennial dissident who deeply distrusted the President and meant to leave him no discretion; another was idealistic, flamboyant "Billy" Mason of Illinois. A few other Republican defectors argued that the Turpie-Foraker amendment would make it possible to free Cuba without war or other cost to the United States. One man of this persuasion was Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska, a personal friend of the President. He contended:

> If we recognize the Cuban Republic, if we intervene as the friend of that government, which already has an army, not one American youth will ever have to march by land upon Havana. The Cuban Republic has an army. Give it recognition, give it arms, give it munitions. . . . It will drive Spain into the sea.[23]

Of the thirty-seven senators who voted against the Turpie-Foraker amendment, thirty-two were Republicans. They opposed the measure for different reasons. A majority were against recognizing Cuban independence because they agreed with McKinley or preferred to stand by the President. Stephen Elkins of West Virginia, Charles Fairbanks of Indiana, and Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts were representative of this group.[24] Other senators, such as the war hawks William Frye of Maine and Redfield Proctor of Vermont, wanted immediate action and believed that granting recognition would delay war. Some of their statements hinted at a reluctance to see Cuba independent at this time if not in the future.[25] Still others who voted against the Turpie-Foraker amendment had been hoping to avoid war with Spain. Joseph Hawley and Orville Platt of Connecticut, Hanna of Ohio, Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, Eugene Hale of Maine, William Allison of Iowa, John Spooner of Wisconsin, and George Hoar of Massachu-

[22] Chandler to Dana, Apr. 5, 12, 14, 17, 1898, Chandler Papers. Foraker contended that it was a "principle of international law" that "if one country absorb another it takes not only the legal rights and advantages of that country but it takes also the obligations." (*Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI [Apr. 13, 1898], 3779–80.) On Turpie, see *ibid.* (Apr. 14, 1898), 3838–40; for other Democratic statements espousing the "Cuban-bond" theory, see the Washington *Evening Times*'s feverish editorials, Apr. 11, 12, 1898, and *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 12, 1898), 3765, (Apr. 13, 1898), 3785–88, 3816.

[23] Chandler to Dana, Apr. 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 1898, Chandler Papers; *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 16, 1898), 3986–87.

[24] *Ibid.* (Apr. 13, 1898), 3782, (Apr. 14, 1898), 3845–46, (Apr. 16, 1898), 3978–80.

[25] Frye and Proctor called for "prompt action." (*Ibid.* [Apr. 13, 1898], 3791, [Apr. 16, 1898], 3982–83, [Apr. 18, 1898], 4030.)

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setts feared that recognition of Cuban independence would lead directly to war.[26] They also were unimpressed with the argument that the United States might be obligated to assume the burden of Spain's Cuban debt.[27]

During the debate Senator Henry M. Teller, silver Republican of Colorado, introduced an amendment that was a complete substitute for the proposed resolution. Teller's resolution threatened intervention by the United States to stop the war in Cuba. It also contained a qualifying clause declaring that the United States disclaimed "any disposition or intention to exercise jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof and a determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to the people thereof."[28]

Teller's resolution was not adopted, but the qualifying clause attracted attention. Senator Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, reintroduced the clause with the word "sovereignty" added to "jurisdiction or control." The Senate accepted the clause, which became the fourth or so-called Teller amendment to the Senate resolution, which now also included the Turpie-Foraker amendment.[29] Senator Frye introduced an amendment stating merely that the people of Cuba "are and ought to be" free and independent. But the opposition held sway, and Frye's measure was tabled by a vote of fifty-five to thirty-three.[30] Senator Davis, moreover, moved to strike out all of the House resolution except the enacting clause and substitute the Senate resolution as amended. The amended version (still technically House Joint Resolution 233) contained the original Senate Foreign Relations Committee's resolution with the Turpie-Foraker and Teller amendments. Republicans Hale, Allison, Aldrich, and Hoar argued in vain that the Senate would now be in a deadlock with the House of Representatives and the President and that an effort was being made to "take from the Executive his constitutional power." But the motion passed by sixty-seven to twenty-one. The Senate then sent its resolution to the House without a request for a conference and adjourned until Monday.[31]

Senatorial advocates of recognition were in no mood to compromise. The

[26] *Ibid.* (Apr. 14, 1898), 3830–35, (Apr. 16, 1898), 3948–49, 3959, 3990–92. Elkins might also be included. These senators were called "conservatives," referring in this instance to their views on foreign policy.

[27] *Ibid.* (Apr. 13, 1898), 3786–87, (Apr. 14, 1898), 3833, 3846.

[28] *Ibid.* (Apr. 16, 1898), 3954. It is revealing that Foraker considered the Teller amendment unwise. (Foraker to James H. Wilson, May 22, 1899, James H. Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

[29] *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 16, 1898), 3988.

[30] *Ibid.* Senator Morgan's amendment calling for a declaration of war was defeated even more decisively, by a vote of eighty-three to five.

[31] *Ibid.* (Apr. 16, 1898), 3989–93. The majority consisted of thirty-one Democrats, seven Populists, five silver Republicans, and twenty-four Republicans; the minority was comprised of nineteen Republicans (mostly "conservatives") and two Democrats.

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House of Representatives, in contrast, was willing to accept the Teller amendment, and there were reports that it might adopt the entire Senate resolution. The showdown was scheduled for Monday, April 18, a full week after McKinley had addressed Congress. On Saturday evening the President discussed the legislative situation with his friend, Representative Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio, who was to function as his liaison with the House.[32] On Sunday the administration's political machinery began to function efficiently. Speaker Reed, who strongly supported the President, consulted with his lieutenants—Grosvenor, Joseph Cannon, Nelson Dingley, Sereno Payne, and John Dalzell—and dispatched other influential representatives to canvass the membership. One reporter likened Reed's rooms at the Shoreham Hotel to "the headquarters of a commander-in-chief."[33] The administration's forces concentrated on midwestern congressmen, who were reported to be torn between popular sentiment for a more aggressive resolution and a desire to stand by the President. Reed exerted "all his influence," knowing that the President counted on the House.[34] "I expect you to hold your state delegation in line tomorrow," he directed General David B. Henderson of Iowa.[35]

The administration men argued that President McKinley could not approve the resolution, which invaded his prerogative of directing foreign policy and also violated international law by providing for recognition of a government that did not merit recognition. Republican congressional leaders and cabinet members further intimated that he would veto the Senate resolution. The warning gained credence when the New York *Times* and the New York *Herald,* among other papers, recommended that the President exercise his veto if the House of Representatives did not reject the objectionable Senate resolution. And McKinley, fortified by messages of support from all over the country, was prepared to do just that.[36] By Sunday evening

[32] Lodge, "Coming of War," 510–11; New York *Tribune,* Apr. 17, 1898; Washington *Post,* Apr. 15, 17, 1898. Between Thursday and Monday, McKinley summoned to the White House and consulted with at least thirteen key congressmen, making clear his opposition to recognition of a republic of Cuba. (Washington *Evening Star,* Apr. 14, 16, 18, 1898.)

[33] Portland *Oregonian,* Apr. 18, 1898; Springfield *Republican,* Apr. 18, 1898. Hoar argued that the Senate would not hold out.

[34] New York *Times,* Apr. 19, 1898; New York *Herald,* Apr. 18, 1898.

[35] Omaha *World-Herald,* Apr. 18, 1898.

[36] New York *Tribune,* Apr. 18, 1898; Washington *Evening Star,* Apr. 16, 18, 1898. The administration talked vaguely of precedents for a veto set by President Grant, presumably referring to Grant's special message of June 13, 1870, in which he opposed the recognition of Cuban belligerency. That message was called a veto in advance. (New York *Times,* Apr. 18, 1898; Springfield *Republican,* Apr. 19, 1898; New York *Herald,* Apr. 18, 1898; Charles G. Dawes, *A Journal of the McKinley Years* [Chicago, 1950], 154–55.) Among the many important persons and organizations encouraging McKinley to stand firm were Chauncey Depew and the New York Republican Club, A. R. Whitney, Seth Low, William Rainey Harper, and Lyman Abbott. Political confidant Jacob Schmidlapp informed the President that Foraker lacked strength in Ohio on this issue. (Schmidlapp to McKinley, Apr. 16, 1898, McKinley Papers.) Congressmen who backed the President also received wide public support.

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the Speaker and his lieutenants felt confident that they would win on the floor. But on Monday morning they learned that they had been overconfident and that "tares had been sown in their field even while they slept."[37]

Fearing defeat, Reed arranged an adjournment for two hours to regroup his forces. A score or more of Republicans gathered in the Speaker's offices to discuss strategy. It was agreed that no debate should be permitted but that some concessions must be made to the advocates of independence for Cuba. Thus Representative Albert Hopkins and Majority Leader Dingley prepared a motion to accept the resolution preferred by the Senate; they deleted, however, the reference to recognition of Cuban independence and stated only that the people of Cuba "ought to be" free and independent.[38] Meanwhile, Senators Hanna, Elkins, and Julius Burrows worked among the representatives to offset the influence of Foraker, Chandler, Matthew Quay, and other war hawks and antiadministration men. At noon, when the House reassembled, both sides were confident. But the administration, which had made the necessary political adjustments, triumphed handily, by a vote of 178 to 156.[39]

The decision in the House of Representatives was the turning point, though the battle would not end so long as the coalition of Democrats, Populists, and rebellious Republicans held sway in the Senate. For the next fourteen hours, there was constant legislative maneuvering on the floors of both chambers, in the corridors, and in conference committee. Gradually, faced with steady pressure from the administration, the bolting Republican senators returned to the fold—first jingo Mason, and Foraker, then Jacob Gallinger, Quay, George Perkins, and Boies Penrose. On Monday evening Foraker announced, "We yield for the sake of harmony." When administration senators persuaded Speaker Reed that the House of Representatives must make some minor concessions, the last Republican bolters relented. An exhausted Congress passed the resolution early on Tuesday morning, in the Senate by 42 to 35, and in the House by 311 to 6.[40]

Senator Spooner of Wisconsin was deluged with congratulatory mail for backing McKinley. (John C. Spooner Papers, General Ser., Vols. XX, XXI, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.) Those who opposed the President were urged to give way. (Dana to Chandler, Apr. 18, 1898, Chandler Papers.)

[37] New York *Tribune,* Apr. 19, 1898. The Illinois and Pennsylvania delegations were shaky, but consented to remain loyal. (Springfield *Republican,* Apr. 19, 1898.)

[38] New York *Tribune,* Apr. 19, 1898; Washington *Post,* Apr. 19, 1898. "Clap it right on to them [without debate,]" advised "Uncle Joe" Cannon. (*Ibid.*)

[39] *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 18, 1898), 4041–42. Congressmen William Lorimer and James Mann and Governor John Tanner of Illinois also worked against the administration. (Washington *Post,* Apr. 18, 1898; Washington *Evening Star,* Apr. 18, 1898.)

[40] *Congressional Record,* 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 18, 1898), 4018, 4033–41, 4056–61; Lodge, "Coming of War," 511; *Silver Knight-Watchman,* Apr. 21, 1898; Washington *Evening Star,* Apr. 18, 19, 1898. The Senate skirmished sharply over its selection of con-

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The resolution adopted was not a war resolution.[41] Rather, it provided for the use of military forces to end the "abhorrent conditions" in Cuba, included the self-denying Teller amendment, and stated that "the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." Inclusion of the words "are, and" had inspired much argument during the final hours of maneuvering. But the resolution did not provide for recognition of the republic of Cuba. Indeed, except for the addition of the moderate Teller amendment, it was virtually identical with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's original version, which McKinley had approved. Senator Foraker lamely tried to claim that Congress had limited the power and discretion of the President and that the reference to the "free and independent" people of Cuba was of great importance.[42] But few persons were impressed by his argument. The President and the cabinet expressed great satisfaction over the outcome.[43]

McKinley had lost control of the situation temporarily to an unruly combination of idealistic jingoes, suspicious Populists, and political rivals. After great effort he re-established his authority over American foreign policy. He asserted the primacy of the President in foreign affairs at a time when either an independent-minded Congress or an inflamed public opinion might have inspired action that he deemed unwise. In this way he contributed substantially to strengthening the institution of the presidency.

It is ironical that scholars who favor a strong President have so often belittled McKinley. Admittedly, his style differed from that of some later Presidents, for he often acted quietly and indirectly, trying to persuade Congress to accept his views. He usually succeeded in gaining his ends and in retaining respect and good will. Contemporaries recognized his accomplishments. The view of the Springfield *Republican* was fairly representative of the reaction to his stand. After tracing the crisis to "party considera-

ferees, before choosing Davis, Foraker, and Morgan. Foraker had anticipated winning some concessions from the House; when he failed he displayed a spirit of compromise by supporting continuation of the conferences.

[41] On April 20, the day after the resolution was passed, McKinley demanded that Spain agree by April 23 to abandon its military campaign and evacuate Cuba. Spain chose to break diplomatic relations. On April 22 the President proclaimed a blockade of Cuba, and on April 25 Congress declared that war had existed since April 21.

[42] Joseph B. Foraker, "Justice and Necessity of the Spanish-American War," *Forum*, XXV (June 1898), 391–93. Chandler also claimed a partial victory in a letter to Dana, Apr. 19, 1898, Chandler Papers. But a few months later Foraker told Chandler that Congress had made a great mistake in not adopting the policy they favored. (Foraker to Chandler, Oct. 19, 1898, *ibid.*)

[43] New York *Times*, Apr. 20, 1898. Bliss to Root, Apr. 19, 1898, Root Papers; see also the congratulatory letters in the McKinley Papers. McKinley was able to operate satisfactorily under the resolutions of April 1898 until early 1901, when he desired to establish a civil government in Cuba. Then the Teller amendment proved somewhat inhibiting and inspired the embarrassing negotiations over the Platt amendment. (Root to John Hay, Jan. 11, 1901, to Leonard Wood, Jan. 9, 19, 1901, to Albert Shaw, Feb. 23, 1901, Root Papers.)

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tions" and "an unfortunate and unjustifiable distrust of the President by the radicals who belonged to both political organizations," the paper concluded with satisfaction that "the vast power of the President of the United States increases." There was "no precedent in American history" for the resolution that had been passed. "Yet the country is fortunate in having at its head, to exercise these enormous powers, a man who will not abuse them or seek his own or his people's aggrandizement."[44]

Critics of McKinley's day attacked him for not pursuing a more aggressive policy toward Spain. Later critics have condemned him for failing to restrain warlike American public opinion, forgetting that McKinley gained widespread recognition for maintaining a steady course and calming the country down. His message to Congress was "exactly what the occasion prompted and the nation needed," wrote Robert Collier of *Collier's Weekly,* "an honest, comprehensive temperate statement."[45] A few days later, when the battle was over, the New York *Herald* breathed with relief at the defeat of "the doctrine of yellow diplomacy." Had the Turpie-Foraker amendment been adopted, "any emotional Congress swayed with politics or champagne could have recognized Fenian republics, Cuban insurrections, the Mahdi in the Soudan. . . . The independence of Cuba may come, but it will be among the consequences, not the causes, of the war."[46] This view was widely, if not universally, held.[47]

The contemporary reaction to McKinley's leadership is evidence that not all of the criticism of his action on the eve of the Spanish-American War is warranted. McKinley knew what he wanted and accomplished his ends. (The pattern established in Cuba was important. He subsequently pursued a virtually identical course in dealing with the Philippine Islands.) He retained freedom of action for the country and for himself as President. He also blocked premature recognition of a Cuban government. This policy caused some ill feeling among the Cuban rebels. Yet, the New York-based Cuban junta was an ephemeral body, hardly a government, and certainly not representative of the Cuban people. And the island needed time to recover from the ravages of the war and to prepare for self-rule.[48]

Following the war, McKinley's grasp of the Caribbean nettle continued to be impressive. He brought about the speedy end of military government in Cuba since he believed that the island must have a special relationship to-

[44] Springfield *Republican,* Apr. 20, 1898.
[45] Robert J. Collier, "The President's Message," *Collier's Weekly,* XXI (Apr. 23, 1898), 2–3.
[46] New York *Herald,* Apr. 20, 1898.
[47] See *Literary Digest,* XVI (Apr. 30, 1898), 515–16.
[48] After the war scholars continued to discuss the question of recognition of Cuba. (See, e.g., Horace E. Flack, *Spanish-American Diplomatic Relations Preceding the War of 1898* [Baltimore, 1906], 13 ff.)

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ward this country while at the same time he insisted that the United States did not seek sovereignty over the island. He attempted to protect Cuba from those Americans who sought unwarranted privileges there and argued until his death that the United States must shoulder economic responsibilities for the "Pearl of the Antilles." He helped to make Americans aware of their obligations toward Cuba, even if he did not foresee the full extent of political turbulence that would follow upon the elimination of the Spanish regime.[49]

[49] The New York *Herald* (Apr. 20, 1898) astutely anticipated some of the problems that occurred in Cuba.

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* * * * Reviews of Books * * * *

General

REPORT ON PROJECT HISTORY RETRIEVAL: TESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS OF AN OPTIC-COINCIDENCE SYSTEM OF INFORMATION RETRIEVAL FOR HISTORICAL MATERIALS. By *Elizabeth Ingerman Wood*. [Sponsored jointly by the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum; Drexel Institute of Technology, Graduate School of Library Science. Drexel Library School Series, Number 14.] ([Philadelphia: Graduate School of Library Science, Drexel Institute of Technology; distrib. by Drexel Bookstore, Philadelphia.] 1966. Pp. xiii, 123. $3.00.)

Faced with the explosion of printed materials, microfilms, manuscripts, and government documents, librarians and archivists have begun to apply the machinery and techniques of data processing to the crucial problem of locating and retrieving research materials from their often poorly organized and cramped collections in the simplest, most expeditious, and most complete way possible. As the author of this brief report on a test of one such system notes, "effective information retrieval can aid both historians and staff members in selecting pertinent materials more quickly and directly and it may also enable the historian to find in orderly fashion materials that can now only be found through accident." This pilot project involved the collections of a group of historical depositories ranging from the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Delaware State Archives to the New-York Historical Society and the Virginia Colonial Records Project. There were wide differences between these collections in the scope and nature of their holdings and their degree of organization and utility. The retrieval system used, the Optic-Coincidence system, "small, compact, inexpensive . . . within the budget of any institution," included punched cards, a light source, and a viewing screen. Each collection was first organized by breaking down the items in its holdings into identification components: proper name, date or time period, subject matter, and so forth. This information was grouped and punched onto the cards. Test questions were then asked as to the amount and location of materials on particular subjects, such as how many items in the Delaware State Archives would be useful for a biography of Caesar Rodney and how many lists of emigrants to the colony does the Virginia Colonial Records Project have. The Optic-Coincidence system located the materials requested in most cases with a completeness and rapidity that neither trained researchers nor librarians using present methods could have approached.

Although the system described here is quite simple, involving no great complexity of machinery, the vital elements of all such processes—organization, definition, categorization, speed, and completeness of retrieval—are all included and

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pinpoint the potential of such technology. With the growth of data banks and computer sophistication, the historian will be able to deal ever more effectively with the problem of acquisition of relevant data no matter how quixotically located. This project report is worth perusal not only for its own usefulness but also as an indication of some of the possibilities opening up to the research historian.

Cornell University JOEL H. SILBEY

VSEMIRNAIA ISTORIIA [World History]. Volume X. Edited by *V. V. Kurasov et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR: Institut Istorii; Institut Narodov Asii; Institut Afriki; Institut Slavianovedeniia.] (Moscow: "Mysl'." 1965. Pp. 726.)

THIS is the final volume in an ambitious collective history of the world begun a decade ago under the auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and to which some four hundred scholars have contributed. The purpose of the series is to provide an authoritative Marxist-Leninist schema and interpretation for world history, and the ten volumes are being translated and published in several countries of Eastern Europe, as well as in Greece and Japan. More interesting than Volume X itself is its "afterword" from the editorial board for the entire series, which includes many of the leading figures in Soviet historical science. After acknowledging that new research has modified some of the findings presented in earlier volumes and noting that, since the series began, Soviet historiography has been liberated "from a whole range of dogmatic positions that had held sway in the recent past [that is, Stalinism]," the editors make a plea for greater methodological and interpretive sophistication in Marxist historiography. They argue for more attention to the specific facts and "objective" conditions of different societies and periods and urge study of the complexities of contemporary Western society, of varieties of social change and revolution, of the complicated relationship between consciousness and action, of the admittedly tenuous tie between the "economic base" of society and ideas and culture, and of the interaction of the world scene with individual peoples and countries, including the problem of how some societies may "skip" the capitalist stage of historical development.

This volume presents a rather routine and uninspired summary of the Second World War from the Soviet point of view. Heavily emphasized is the Soviet role, as well as partisan and resistance movements. The treatment is chronological, except for brief chapters on Latin America, Africa, and the international Communist movement during the whole period. As usual, nothing is said about the secret Nazi-Soviet agreement for the occupation of Poland in 1939; Stalin and the Ministry of Defense are blamed for failing to prepare for Hitler's attack; and the Allies are accused of deliberately delaying the second front. The photographs are poorly reproduced, but there are some useful maps and drawings and an appendix that lists contributors to all the volumes of the series.

Indiana University JOHN M. THOMPSON

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SOCIAL ORIGINS OF DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY: LORD AND PEASANT IN THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD. By *Barrington Moore, Jr.* (Boston: Beacon Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 559. $10.00.)

In this suggestive treatise, a prominent sociologist seeks to explain contemporary political systems by means of a comparative study of the role of landlords and peasants in the transformation of eight societies from an agrarian to an industrial way of life.

Moore sees three patterns emerging from his materials: in the English, French, and American cases, landlords and businessmen together seized the initiative within a democratic environment to invest agrarian profits in industry; in Germany and Japan, the landlords allied themselves with the state in an industrializing effort that culminated in fascism; and in Russia and China, the conservatism of the landlord-oriented bureaucracy served to inhibit modernization, and the peasants provided the revolutionary force that led to the establishment of Communism. In India, where landlords, businessmen, bureaucracies, and peasants have all been ineffective as modernizing forces, the bureaucracy still has an opportunity to evolve a democratic solution.

Moore sees these democratic, fascist, and Communist patterns, moreover, as "successive historical stages." Assuming that "democratic capitalism," to use his term, is past its zenith, he suggests that in Latin America and Africa the agrarian problem may well be solved by peasant revolutions that could lead to Communism.

There are some important general questions that historians will wish to raise about Moore's theoretical conclusions, whatever the specialists may have to say about his analysis of individual countries. In what sense have democracy, fascism, and Communism succeeded each other? The introduction of Communism, in fact, preceded that of fascism. In what sense did the conservative route taken by Germany and Japan "culminate" in fascism? In neither country did fascism survive for more than a dozen years. If Moore would maintain that the natural course of developments in Germany and Japan was interrupted by war and defeat, he would also have to acknowledge that war and near defeat had much to do with the success of Communism in Russia and China.

To express serious reservations regarding Moore's theoretical conclusions, however, is not to question the significance of his study. Approaching his material as a sociologist, Moore offers a challenge to historians to be bolder in their comparisons and more imaginative in their formulation of problems. Historians, for their part, can contribute to such studies a fuller appreciation of the considerations of ideology, social psychology, leadership, war and diplomacy, and, indeed, chance, that must be taken into account in addition to economics and class relationships in seeking to explain the transformation of societies.

Princeton University C. E. Black

SOVEREIGNTY. By *F. H. Hinsley*. (New York: Basic Books. 1966. Pp. vii, 255. $5.95.)

This history of sovereignty has a fascination all its own for it treats of failure, of what did not happen in the past. First, Hinsley considers why Europeans did

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not conceive the concept of sovereignty before the sixteenth century. He then describes how men once again formulated the "notion of sovereignty [an idea that had eluded the twelfth-century Roman law revivalists] . . . in much the same way and by much the same process as when it was first formulated in imperial Roman times." This central theme is cogently reasoned, and it is logically consistent within itself; yet the more logically convincing the argument becomes, the less real it seems in history. To explain why a theory of sovereignty failed for so long to emerge, Hinsley concludes that its "emergence" required a dissolution of the medieval "framework of political thought which could not achieve independent standing, practical validity or general currency." This did not occur until "the revolutions in thought and politics of the period of the Reformation." A final chapter on sovereignty in the modern world turns from history to political science. Throughout the book, in fact, the particularities of history are often reduced to abstract propositions, a treatment that some historians may find abstruse.

Fortunately, *Sovereignty* reflects a historian's sense of time, place, and circumstance, and Hinsley's knowledge of European history has an extensive range. He reaches many broad conclusions; perhaps a few are overbold, but most of them seem plausible. The many "exceptions" that he conscientiously notes, however, almost invalidate the assumption that history and politics can be scientific. Actually, the recurrence of emergencies in governance, this analysis suggests, was what drove men to rationalize the excuses for their conduct into a theory of sovereignty. For them, sovereignty had a dual function: "within the community" to justify the supreme political authority; and in the "relations between states" to vindicate each nation's "independence." Within the international context sovereignty may no longer be "the sole international concept" and yet, Hinsley believes, still be "the central concept." To simplify so complex a subject successfully is indeed an achievement, and *Sovereignty* was surely a hard book to write. Yet it would be less difficult to read were there fewer overlong sentences, lost antecedents of "this," "that," and "which," and uses of "the fact that"—especially when the "fact" is a negation: "Perhaps the best proof of this may be seen in the fact that it was not by reference to a claim to sovereignty that imperialists defended themselves. . . ."

Yale University WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE THINGS THAT ARE CAESAR'S. By *Milton Katz*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. 227, x. $4.95.)

THE art of self-government requires any society that attempts to practice it to produce men of two capacities that successful Caesars must possess: ability to secure election by the community and to remain in power long enough to accomplish something, and skill enough to carry on with continuity the tasks that successful governing requires. One of the most significant problems that any self-governing society faces is whether it can command such capacities in sufficient quantity and in correct proportions, or, as the author describes it, in a "proper mix."

The chance that both capacities may be possessed by any one individual is so rare that self-government generally requires two classes of persons, each spe-

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cializing in one of the two talents required. Because these two types have characters occasionally conflicting, there must be an accommodation of the contrasting traits.

Mr. Katz outlines in capsule form the history of this accommodation in ancient Rome, in the government produced by the French Revolution, in England, in Germany, and in the United States, and, to emphasize the problem and the need, details most recent efforts in the new state making in Africa, particularly in the Congo. His main purpose is to warn against possible ruinous consequences if the accommodation is not made.

The principal problem, particularly in the United States, has been to find sufficient numbers of people of both classes enlisted in the right proportions, to supply the "mix" needed to enable the government of this enormous democratic society to keep up with its growing and increasingly complex needs. This has required the establishment of a permanent civil service and the periodic election of a governing group who can be politically responsive and flexible in the face of popular pressures and who are willing and able, at the same time, both to make practical political choices and to sustain and support the permanent experts, the civil service, which for its part needs to be aware of the requirements of public opinion.

Katz implies that there is a subtle reciprocity between these two groups, the character of which is not uniformly understood, and that it is essential that it be better comprehended. The political officeholders and the civil service, the high-level policy makers and the permanent experts must possess a reciprocity of understanding. A "proper mix" is essential. This "mix" does not now exist; consequently there is not that successful accommodation between the two groups necessary for efficient government. This is particularly true in local government where conditions are even more difficult and dangerous.

The accommodation, which is essential, depends upon the skill with which recruiting is done in both categories of those involved in government—those political policy makers who pass in and out of the ranks of the high command, men of character and talent skilled in identifying themselves with Caesar's policies, and those in the permanent services who supply continuity, commitment, and *expertise* to the conduct of government.

This book is an example of a proper and expert application of accurate and penetrating historical knowledge directed to the solution of a basic problem of self-government. Let us hope that it will have wide reading and serious consideration in high circles.

University of Pennsylvania Roy F. Nichols

SHAKESPEARE CELEBRATED: ANNIVERSARY LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE FOLGER LIBRARY. Edited by *Louis B. Wright.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1966. Pp. v, 176. $5.00.)

The unity of this *Festschrift* derives from the celebration by the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1964–1965 of the four-hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. From the lectures given by the many scholarly visitors or researchers

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there during that year, the editor, also director of the library, selected seven for publication in this volume.

The book, typographically fitting, scholarly, and well written, stands as a monument to the enlightened humanism of the Folger during the last fifteen or so years, when it could have been merely a warehouse of folios and quartos. It does not, of course, carry insurance that it will escape the difficulties that usually beset *Festschriften;* a few words in this journal about each essay may guide scholars to it in future decades.

In the first paper, "Shakespeare between Two Civil Wars," C. V. Wedgwood gives a pleasant account of England's condition and prospects during Shakespeare's life, concentrating particularly on the high valuation placed on peace after the troubles of the fifteenth century and the dangers of the sixteenth. To accomplish this she chooses and discusses passages from the plays, especially the histories, that may reflect Shakespeare's points of view, hopes, and fears.

D. B. Quinn, in "The Road to Jamestown," suggests that the English and French had a more experimental attitude toward colonizing than the Iberians, that the English experience during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries showed that the more complete the social entity established, the more chance of permanence, and that state support, and the desire to have its economy complement England's, counted decisively toward the success of Jamestown. Madeleine Doran, in "Shakespeare as an Experimental Dramatist," makes a case that while Shakespeare stood for "Nature" as opposed to "Art" in the ancient debate, it was with full knowledge of the rules of "Art" that he transgressed them ever more boldly. A. R. Humphreys, in "Shakespeare and the Tudor Perception of History," shows how Shakespeare's histories "embody a peculiar wealth of national story and character."

"Shakespeare in Czechoslovakia," by Zdeněk Stříbrný, traces the history of the Bohemians visiting the London theater in Shakespeare's time and seeing his plays at home from the seventeenth century to 1964, and he points out how Shakespeare rallied the spirits and roused the nationalism of Bohemians. Sergio Baldi discusses Shakespeare as poet, in "Shakespeare's Sonnets as Literature," to show how "literary trends, the Platonic, the manneristic, and even the baroque, worked together to give their actual form to Shakespeare's sonnets." The final essay, by Frederick Hard, "Sidney Lanier: Amateur Shakespearean," brings Shakespeare to nineteenth-century America, and shows how this descendant of the illustrious court musicians of Shakespeare's day led America into scholarly study of Shakespeare, stressing music as a key.

Although five of the seven essays are written by professors of English literature, historians should not neglect this book. Some will find it useful; most will enjoy it.

University of California, Davis WALTER L. WOODFILL

ENGINEERS OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Bertrand Gille.* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1966. Pp. 254. $12.00.)

PROFESSOR Gille's study, published first as *Les ingénieurs de la Renaissance*

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(1964), is the first book devoted entirely to this subject. Two themes dominate: the first deals with the place of Leonardo da Vinci in the history of science and technology; a second emerges in Gille's attempt to base the scientific revolution largely on the interests and activities of the engineers. Of the two, the author's reappraisal of Leonardo seems the more convincing, and here his views are based upon a detailed knowledge of fifteenth-century manuscript sources. A view of the Renaissance engineer emerges that corresponds closely with the career and interests of Leonardo. Even his famed inventions are shown to have been largely borrowed from the work of men such as Alberti, Fontana, Valturio, Taccola, and Francesco di Giorgio.

The reader may well sympathize with this characterization of Leonardo as a man of his own age rather than as an isolated genius, but he may entertain grave doubts about Gille's interpretation of the birth of modern science, which he views primarily as the triumph of Archimedean engineering tradition. Surely few would argue against the importance of technological advance in the rise of modern science, but the complexity of this period requires that it be viewed against a much broader background than that Gille has chosen to depict. I feel that the Scholastic criticism of Aristotelian thought is of more importance for modern science than he has indicated. One cannot help but feel that Gille's enthusiasm has led him to overplay his hand in attempting to connect this criticism with the work of contemporary engineers. In addition, it is perhaps even more questionable for him to have ignored Renaissance Neoplatonism in his account. This may have had little connection with engineering, but it most certainly influenced sixteenth- and seventeenth-century views of nature and mathematics. In short, while Renaissance technology may properly be considered significant, it is doubtful whether it should be considered the most important stimulus for the rise of modern science.

The scholar may be disturbed by other aspects of this book. Historians might well question the categorization of all Greek works after about 50 B.C. as "Byzantine." And the decision to eliminate all footnotes is hardly atoned for by the short list of additional readings for each chapter. The "Catalogue of Manuscripts," on the other hand, is a most valuable contribution that most certainly will be used by all researchers in this field.

As a first attempt to deal with an important subject, this book predictably succeeds in some areas and fails in others. The multitude of questions that it poses, however, cannot help but encourage further research.

University of Chicago ALLEN G. DEBUS

VOLTAIRE'S CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER. By *Merle L. Perkins*. [Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, Volume XXXVI.] (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire; distrib. by Librairie Droz, Geneva. 1965. Pp. 342.)

MERLE L. Perkins is an authority on the writings of Voltaire. In this scholarly analysis he dissects Voltaire's views on government and statecraft before he discusses the titular theme, international order, in the ninth and concluding chapter. The first eight chapters are titled "The Nations of the Earth," "European

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Politics," "International Law," "Peace Projects of Saint-Pierre and Rousseau," "Enlightened Despots," "Sources of War," "Individual Rights and Popular Sovereignty," and "National Power and Foreign Policy."

Voltaire's concepts were a product of wide critical reading and much independent thought, as Perkins convincingly demonstrates. He also traces the shaping influence of contemporary events, identifying, for instance, six stages in Voltaire's varying concept of the benevolent ruler. "His concept changed with the times and circumstances and is usually closely allied with eighteenth-century events and aspirations." While acknowledging such ideational shifts, however, Perkins insists that Voltaire's deeper convictions on man's nature and potentialities were more constant and retain validity today. "Many of his views still appear sound and relevant."

The international order, as Voltaire conceived it, depended upon man's rational impulses. Although Voltaire moved away from divine authority and Platonic truths, discarding absolutist for relativist notions, he kept a flickering faith in the rectifying influence of human reason. Perhaps the clearest expression of this faith occurs at the close of the *Essai sur les mœurs*. "Amidst these sackings and destructions which we note in the space of nine hundred years," the *Essai* concludes, "we see a love for order which secretly animates the human race and has prevented its total ruin."

There is a current tendency to reaffirm the practicality and realism of the philosophes, and the present work should strengthen this school of interpretation. Scholars will appreciate its explicit documentation, especially the citations from the Besterman edition of Voltaire's correspondence, and will value the illustrative passages and the list of pertinent books in Voltaire's library, provided in two appendixes. The volume closes with a "Partial List of Works Consulted" and a short "Index of Persons."

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

WAR, POLITICS, AND DIPLOMACY: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *Gordon A. Craig*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. x, 297. $7.50.)

IN this volume Professor Craig has assembled fifteen essays written between 1941 and 1965 and ranging from an appreciation of Hans Delbrück, the founder of modern military history "within the framework of general history," to an article describing the diplomatic potential of the emerging "new nations." The essays are broadly divided into three categories. The first group contains four pieces on "The Art of War," the second, three papers on "Civil-Military Relations," while the remainder deal with "Diplomacy." To be sure, the boundaries between the categories are not, and cannot be, sharply drawn.

This essential interrelationship is clearly demonstrated in the first three essays. In the "Command and Staff Problems in the Austrian Army, 1740–1866," the author shows how in the Habsburg Empire the army never achieved the supremacy over civilian authorities that its counterpart held in Prussia. And while this hampered the development of professionalization and the rise of an effective staff and command structure, which on several occasions produced defeat, the civilian supremacy was not without its positive side. Discussing the

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"Problems of Coalition Warfare: The Military Alliance against Napoleon, 1813–14," Craig finds that the alliance, pursuing sharply differing objectives, was made militarily effective and in fact only kept together by diplomatic skill and fears about the re-emergence of Napoleon. This skill, however, the author notes, was notably lacking in "The Military Cohesion of the Austro-German Alliance, 1914–18," where lack of proper political as well as military coordination resulted in such major initial setbacks that by 1917 "the military effectiveness of the alliance was beyond salvation." These three articles are lucid variations on the main theme and welcome contributions to the field of Austrian military history which, in this country at least, has been almost totally neglected. The section appropriately concludes with an essay on Delbrück.

In the second section Craig returns to the field for which he is perhaps best known: German military history. Besides a study of Edwin von Manteuffel, the author offers two essays that contrast civil-military relationships in Germany under the Iron Chancellor and during World War II. While the first two studies show the military at their height, the third reveals how far, comparatively, the power and influence of that group had declined under Hitler.

The final section considers a broad spectrum. There are essays on "Neutrality in the Nineteenth Century" and a case study of British nonintervention in Belgium in 1869. They are followed by papers discussing the more technical aspects of diplomacy, ranging from "Bismarck and His Ambassadors" to a discussion of "John Foster Dulles and American Statecraft." Perhaps the most perceptive and important contribution here is "The Revolution in War and Diplomacy, 1914–39," which delineates the changing role of the professional diplomat and his art under the impact of war, revolution, and totalitarianism.

Nine of the essays have previously appeared in books, journals, and proceedings; two were privately printed; and four are published here for the first time. Bringing these masterful essays together is very valuable. Whether they are read here for the first time or reread again, they provide new insights and open up new perspectives.

University of New Mexico GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG

VOICES PROPHESYING WAR, 1763–1984. By *I. F. Clarke*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 254. $10.00.)

I. F. CLARKE has tackled a long-neglected subject: imaginary works dealing with wars of the future. While it is true that a number of these existed before 1871, he shows that it was G. T. Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* that really started the fad. In it Chesney showed how Britain was defeated by an invasion following the neglect of its armed forces and its defenses by the government of the day. The political motive employing a propagandist technique then became the feature of many such stories up to the present. A change occurred, however, after the 1904 *Entente* when the theme was not invasions of Britain by France but similar attacks by Germany. In all of these stories up to the First World War there were, says Clarke, two conflicting yet unrecognized trains of thought centering on the idea that the ideal war could save the ideal state. He maintains that this was so because people still looked upon applied science as all for the good. But after the

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disillusionment of 1914, a struggle he believes these works helped promote, people became pessimists. Thus after the war he sees all these works heading straight to Nevil Shute's *On the Beach* and to George Orwell's *1984,* which compelled men to look upon modern atomic war as suicidal where world civilization is concerned. In all of this he bridges the gap between intellectual and military history as his extensive triple bibliography indicates.

All of this is fine. There is the feeling, however, that particularly in the twentieth century the author has not correlated his literary findings with military thinking. Was the fictional war not in some cases, such as in the air war literature of the interwar years, as much the product of interservice, and even intraservice, rivalries as of imagination? Mathematical computations of destruction were commonly used in parliamentary debates in the early 1920's and by P. R. C. Groves in his 1922 *Our Future in the Air,* which is not at all the same book as his 1935 work of this title, the one Clarke cites.

Kansas State University ROBIN HIGHAM

THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1774–1923: A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By *M. S. Anderson.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xxi, 435. $9.00.)

THIS is a judicious and useful survey of the Eastern Question from Kutchuk-Kainardji to the end of the Ottoman Empire. It is not original in its data or interpretations; nor does it claim to be so. But it is a well-informed, integrative study based on obvious mastery of the vast amount of monographic literature, both Western and Russian, that has appeared on this subject in recent decades. The organization is traditional, as is evident in the chapter headings: "The Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers, 1774–98"; "The Napoleonic Wars and the Growth of Balkan Nationalism, 1798–1821"; "The Greek War of Independence and the First Mohammed Ali Crisis, 1821–33"; "The Second Mohammed Ali Crisis, 1833–41"; "Anglo-Russian Relations and the Crimean War, 1841–56"; "From the Treaty of Paris to the Bosnian Revolt, 1856–76"; "The Eastern Crisis of 1875–8"; "The Near East after the Congress of Berlin, 1878–96"; "The Baghdad Railway, the Macedonian Question and the Bosnian Crisis, 1896–1909"; "The Near East before the First World War, 1909–14"; "The War of 1914–18"; "The Peace Settlement, 1918–23."

The brief "Conclusion" of ten pages is noteworthy for its thoughtful reflections. The author expresses "an impression of sterility" concerning the Eastern Question, originating primarily from the self-neutralizing policies of the Powers. Their persistent suspicions and interventions appear in the light of historical perspective to have been greatly exaggerated when weighed against their interests. They were able to maintain a precarious balance amongst themselves and to postpone the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, but more than this they could not achieve. Consequently, the interminable maneuvering and crises that comprise the perennial Eastern Question appear in retrospect to have been fruitless and irrelevant to the real interests of both the Powers and of the Near Eastern peoples.

Northwestern University L. S. STAVRIANOS

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THE CONVERGENT CENTURY: THE UNIFICATION OF SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Harold I. Sharlin.* [The Life of Science Library, Number 46.] (New York: Abelard-Schuman. 1966. Pp. 229. $6.50.)

PROFESSOR Sharlin writes of major innovations in nineteenth-century scientific theory, limiting himself to physics and chemistry. The result is a discussion of the French mathematicians' analysis of current electricity; the working out of the laws of thermodynamics; Faraday's theories of electromagnetic phenomena; the evolution of concepts of the atom and the molecule; and William Thomson's and James Clerk Maxwell's elaboration of Faraday's electromagnetism. There are also chapters on the study of light waves; the development of the kinetic theory of gases; the application by the American, Josiah Willard Gibbs, of thermodynamics to chemistry; the emergence of theories of cathode ray phenomena; and the diffusion of science.

The author's approach to his subject is straightforward. He writes about the towering figures in chemistry and physics, giving to each a short biographical sketch before focusing on their most significant work. The scope is limited to the development of ideas about science and the scientific method. This is not a social history of science; nor did the author intend it to be.

The interpretive themes providing coherence are those of convergence, controversy, and scientific method. Seizing upon the conviction of many nineteenth-century scientists that they were nearing a great unifying concept of nature, Sharlin discusses at length the concept of the conservation of energy. He does not, however, sufficiently stress that the emergence of the electron concept at the century's end was of little help to the great synthesizers. He has stimulatingly emphasized the controversy between intelligent men who advanced persuasive conflicting explanations of phenomena. In this connection, the chapter on cathode rays is particularly good. Sharlin avoids the use of the phrase "scientific method" to prevent, I suppose, the reader from recalling simplistic definitions encountered elsewhere. Yet, in writing of mathematical explanation, experimentation, model imagery, and analogy, he helps his reader comprehend the method. The section on Maxwell, Thomson, and electric force provides the most direct access to the author's ideas on analogy and model building. Throughout the book Sharlin contrasts the mathematical method of the French and the less abstract approach of the British and the late nineteenth-century Germans.

For sources Sharlin relied heavily upon the classical papers of the scientists and the classics among the secondary works. There is little indication that he drew upon his contemporaries in the history of science. Thus his book lacks some sophistication and complexity, though its basis is solid. Only occasionally does the author extend himself beyond these foundations and lay about him with generalities. My comments do not, however, take into account Sharlin's chapter on the encouragement and diffusion of science. The less said about this foray into the institutionalization of science, the better.

Johns Hopkins University THOMAS P. HUGHES

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SCIENCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited and with a general preface by *René Taton*. Translated by *A. J. Pomerans*. [History of Science.] (New York: Basic Books. 1966. Pp. xxiv, 638. $17.50.)

Fifty-six experts were enlisted to cover the history of science in the twentieth century. The result is not history; it is an undigestible compendium.

Each of the contributors is an expert in one field of science, and rarely can such experts explain what is being done in language comprehensible to an outsider. One notable exception is Louis de Broglie. His chapter on atomic and quantum physics discusses the scientific endeavor for what it is, an attempt to derive acceptable theories from conflicting evidence. Most of the other authors, however, fail completely as historians and are satisfied to be chroniclers of "milestones."

Is it inherently impossible to treat the formulation of scientific theories as history? I think not. Scientists, like historians, begin their research with the generalizations of the time. In the nineteenth century, for example, energy seemed to be the key to understanding. Conservation of energy was the grand generalization of the century, and the important theories used the word dynamic. When we know something about the generalization of the period from which scientific theories were formulated, individual discoveries appear related and comprehensible.

The chapter on geology is more like the nineteenth-century British Association for the Advancement of Science reports that told of the "history and present state" of theory in different areas of science. That approach provides a basis for an interim report before the general direction of theory becomes clearly marked.

Part VI, "Science and Society," is especially disappointing because the editor's introduction speaks of science in our time as having "become a social factor of prime importance." The section on science in the United States is good, but the one on the USSR sounds like a political tract. I do not understand why there should be sections on Latin America and Vietnam when they conclude that nothing of importance is being done in those places.

Science in the Twentieth Century represents much work by sincere and intelligent scientists, and it is not the only time scientists have failed as historians. All historians should, however, read this volume. Perhaps it will convince them that historians should become interested in rescuing the history of science from the empiricists.

Iowa State University Harold I. Sharlin

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN TWO SYSTEMS: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON BY A GROUP OF HIS STUDENTS. *Henry Rosovsky*, Editor. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1966. Pp. ix, 289. $6.95.)

This interesting collection of papers contrasts the economic growth of capitalist societies—particularly the United States, Great Britain, and Japan—with the pattern of economic development generated by Soviet Communism. Containing the original contributions of ten economists, all former students of Professor

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Gerschenkron, the volume features the application of the tools of economic analysis to historical situations, an approach utilized in Gerschenkron's works. The issues discussed include technological change in pre-Civil War United States, decline of the British steel industry, the Meiji transformation in Japan, human capital formation in the US, a critique of historical statistics, and the role of money in the Soviet economy.

Part One, which deals with various aspects of capitalist economies, is introduced by a quotation from Gerschenkron's book, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective:* "Historical research consists essentially in application to empirical material of various sets of empirically derived hypothetical generalizations and in testing the closeness of the resulting fit in the hope that in this way certain uniformities, certain typical situations, and certain typical relationships among individual factors in these situations can be ascertained. None of these lends itself to easy extrapolations. All that can be achieved is an extraction from the vast storehouse of the past of sets of intelligent questions that may be addressed to current materials."

Part One consists of five unrelated essays: "The Mechanization of Reaping in the Ante-Bellum Midwest" by Paul A. David; "The Common School Revival: Fact or Fancy" by Albert Fishlow; "No Safety in Numbers: Some Pitfalls of Historical Statistics" by Goran Ohlin; "Japan's Transition to Modern Economic Growth, 1868–1885," by Henry Rosovsky; and "The Relative Decline of the British Steel Industry, 1880–1913," by Peter Temin.

Historians and demographers will find Ohlin's stimulating essay of particular interest. He considers a number of estimates of mortality in medieval Europe and their relationship to the interpretations of the economic dynamics of pre-industrial growth. Rosovsky's essay is disappointing in that it merely re-covers ground previously analyzed by Norman, Allen, Lockwood, Ohkawa, Crawcour, Tsuchiya, Tsuru, Patrick, and others.

Part Two is entitled "Industrialization in Planned Economies" and is introduced by the following quotation from Gerschenkron's *Soviet Economic Growth:* "Neither the great landmarks in the economic history of the Soviet Union over the past 35 years nor the specific institutional arrangements which are characteristic of the Soviet economy need be explained by recourse to Marxism. Rather, it is much more plausible to explain both the formidable changes that have taken place and the *modus operandi* of the Soviet economy in part as a recurrence of a traditional pattern of Russian economic development; in part as stemming from the exigencies of a given situation and, most of all, as emanating from the mechanics of power politics—that is to say, essentially as necessitated by the desire of a dictatorial government to augment and to perpetuate its power position."

There are five essays in Part Two: "The Economics of Overtaking and Surpassing" by Joseph S. Berliner; "On the Theory of Economic Administration" by Robert W. Campbell; "Gold and the Sword: Money in the Soviet Command Economy" by Gregory Grossman; "Foreign Trade Behavior of Centrally Planned Economies" by Franklyn D. Holzman; and "Pressure and Planning in the Soviet Economy" by Herbert S. Levine.

The application of economic analysis to economic history emerges clearly in

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Part Two, which appears to have an internal consistency and coherence lacking in Part One. Perhaps because they are concerned mainly with the prime socialist economy, the essays seem more meaningful and interrelated than do those in Part One. Levine concludes the final essay by noting that it is the task of the apprentice to learn the master's methods, but the master should never be held responsible for the foolishness of the apprentice. A wrathful God, Levine says, once spoke of *poked awon avoth al banim,* but he did not even countenance *poked awon banim al avoth*. Levine notes that for those who, unlike Gerschenkron, cannot handle a multitude of foreign languages: a wrathful God once spoke of "visiting the sins of the fathers upon the sons," but even he did not countenance "visiting the sins of the sons upon the fathers." Fortunately, for Gerschenkron, the teachings of the master seem to have flourished in the hands of the sons.

City University of New York JEROME B. COHEN

GOLD AND WORLD POWER: THE DOLLAR, THE POUND, AND THE PLANS FOR REFORM. By *Sidney E. Rolfe*. With the assistance of *Robert G. Hawkins*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. viii, 276. $6.95.)

A SENSE of apprehension animates this book. The author is much concerned lest unrealistic planners of international monetary reform shall espouse policies likely to restrict severely the international movement of money, men, and materials. Such restrictions may ensue, he believes, unless the international economy is freed from reliance upon gold and from addiction to arbitrary evaluation of currencies. As one means to secure this freedom, present monetary planners should consider, dispassionately, utilization of some degree of the principle of flexible exchange rates.

The first third of this book presents a general summary of twentieth-century balance of payments problems, concluding with the rise of the Bretton Woods system. Analyses of the subsequent plight and prospects of the British pound and the dilemmas of the dollar follow. Next comes a descriptive critique of the principal plans for reform and, finally, a plea that preoccupation with liquidity problems shall not shunt aside basic adjustment to actual conditions with adoption of flexible exchange rates. Argumentation is buttressed by twelve graphic charts and three tables portraying economic trends of 1950–1964, mostly related to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and West Germany from 1960, with some reference to Canada, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Stress lies on outstanding facets of economic change. A four-page bibliography reflects chiefly the range of argumentation in 1960–1964 writings, including some from Chicago's renowned "Friedman School" of economic theory.

The past is monitory, but planners must look to the future. Although Britons have talked so much of their long-run economic problem that they "are probably the best educated nation in the world on their own domestic difficulties," yet their "incomes" policy shows signs of being "based on dubious assumptions." As for Americans, they err in assuming that "devaluation is a sign of weakness"; rather, they should recognize that their addiction to "classical medicine" has brought "huge losses of potential output and employment." Their position is too

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serious for them to ape the congressional conservatives who at Bretton Woods "confused today with always." Under international liberalism with fixed exchange rates they cannot attain domestic growth and full employment.

Since Mr. Rolfe frankly admits that "no one plan for reforming the international monetary system is perfect" and since neither economists nor historians are notorious for agreeing among themselves, a reviewer does better to present Rolfe's view than to criticize it. But the book could have been helped by somewhat more precise diction and far better proofreading.

University of Pennsylvania JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE STRICKEN PEACOCK: ANGLO-BURMESE RELATIONS, 1752–1948. By *Maung Htin Aung*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. xii, 135. 16.25 gls.)

MAUNG Htin Aung, who formerly served as vice-chancellor of the University of Rangoon as well as Burma's ambassador to Ceylon, seeks to provide in *The Stricken Peacock* a long-overdue Burmese interpretation of his country's complicated relationship with Britain in the nearly two-hundred-year period from 1752 to 1948.

The work is a trying one. Htin Aung attacks with vigor and, more often than not, with justification the frequently parochial studies of English historians of Burma, especially D. G. E. Hall, G. E. Harvey, E. C. V. Foucar, and Brian Harrison. He also takes frequent issue with the American historian John F. Cady.

The book's major shortcoming is the author's overwhelming dependence on a handful of other English-language secondary sources, particularly Dorothy Woodman's *The Making of Burma* (1962), a good book which he cites again and again in criticizing the works of Hall and Harvey in particular. Htin Aung refers in his preface to documents collected when he was chairman of the Burma Historical Commission, but he cites very few of them. Likewise, he specifically excludes such primary material from his bibliography, asserting that other works already include such references.

In short, Htin Aung's book is pro-Burmese, which one would expect in view of its author's distinguished record of service to his country, but it is not really a Burmese interpretation. Like the criticized works of Hall and Harrison, it draws almost wholly on English-language sources and secondary ones at that. There is no evidence of significant original research on the author's part.

The Stricken Peacock also suffers from its far too brief and much less scholarly treatment of British colonial rule and Japan's wartime occupation. The first 95 of 125 pages of text deal in detail with the British conquest of Burma, although the author states his intention to cover the whole period 1752–1948. Htin Aung's treatment of the later years suffers in comparison with the rest of his book, particularly since he says nothing that has not been said previously by the same scholars he attacks earlier in the work.

The above criticisms notwithstanding, the fact remains that Htin Aung has produced a well-written, lively, and more than modestly justified critical essay

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dealing with the inadequacies of past and persisting European histories of Burma and particularly of that country's relations with Britain.

University of Kentucky RICHARD BUTWELL

INDIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF REGION, 1858–1907: A STUDY IN BRITISH IMPERIAL POLICY. By *Ravinder Kumar*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1965. Pp. 259. $10.75.)

RAVINDER Kumar has traced the rise of Anglo-Indian supremacy in the Persian Gulf in the half century preceding the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907. It is a novel work, the first full-length study of the subject written by an Indian scholar and based largely on the unpublished records of the Foreign Department of British India, records that now form an important part of the national archives of sovereign India. The second half of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth, it must be remembered, antedated the discovery of oil in the territories washed by the gulf, and since no other natural resources in the zone whetted European imperial appetites at the time, Anglo-India's interest in it remained preclusive, simply that of excluding rival powers. The author details the successive efforts by the Ottoman Empire and Persia, as Asian states bordering on the gulf, to reassert rights that had been allowed to wither, and by France, Russia, and Germany, as expansive European powers with varying interests and aspirations, to stake imperial claims. Each such effort, Kumar shows, the British rulers of India viewed as a threat to the defense of the subcontinent, and as Anglo-India frustrated the challengers one after another, it progressively established its exclusive position.

The India Office, as Kumar implies now and again, took the durable decisions on the gulf on viceregal recommendation yet in cooperation with the Foreign Office. But the views of the Foreign Office receive only scant attention, because no more than a fragment of its relevant correspondence ever reached the subcontinent. The book thus suffers from an overreliance on sources available in Delhi. This is also reflected in the time span that Kumar adopted. The year 1858 was momentous in India's relationship with Britain. A better starting point, however, for the study of Anglo-Indian dominance in the gulf would have been 1798, when the East India Company concluded an agreement with the shaykh of Masqat as a defensive measure against Napoleon's occupation of Egypt. Better still would have been the year 1880, when the shaykh of Bahrayn became the first gulf ruler to surrender his external sovereignty to Britain. In either case, a logical stopping point would have been 1916, when Qatar's admission to the system of quasi protectorates and nonalienation bonds consummated Anglo-Indian hegemony in the gulf. Finally, the author did not quite erase all traces of the dissertation out of which the book grew, as attested by the massive, and often redundant, annotation and the ascendancy of fact over interpretation and analysis.

Still, within these limits, it is a useful book that brings us one step closer to an understanding of the origins of Britain's special position in the Persian Gulf, and a timely one, too, now that that special position appears to be coming to an end.

Columbia University J. C. HUREWITZ

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AMERICANS IN AFRICA, 1865–1900. By *Clarence Clendenen et al.* [Hoover Institution Studies, Number 17.] ([Stanford, Calif.:] Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University. 1966. Pp. 130. Cloth $4.00, paper $3.00.)

TYING together materials largely from secondary sources, this work paints in broad outline the story of American involvement in Africa during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is generally a picture of decline and neglect until the era of Henry M. Stanley, the pivotal American figure of the book and the period. His quest of Livingstone, his epic journey across Africa, his relations with Leopold II of Belgium, and his exploits in behalf of the Congo Free State are dealt with, along with the consequences ensuing from American recognition of that state. A collage of American adventurers (including Stanley) into the Congo Basin follows, resulting, the authors would have us believe, in inner Africa becoming "almost as familiar as the prairies of Kansas." Finally, the role of American adventurers, missionaries, and engineers in the northern and southern parts of Africa is assessed.

As anything but a useful introduction to the subject, which it is, the book falls somewhat short of the mark. It is inadequate in depth, and, relying almost solely on secondary sources, it uncovers nothing new. Its emphasis is sometimes out of proportion. Three pages, for instance, are devoted to an apologia for the record of the United States African Squadron off the coast, which, besides being seriously open to question, is outside the scope and time span of the book. Yet Stanley's Emin Pasha expedition merits just two sentences; and of George W. Williams, American journalist, clergyman, attorney, and Negro historian, who alerted the world to Leopold II's activities in the Congo in 1890, there is not a word.

Further, the authors' zeal to give Americans their due, combined with the book's brevity, sometimes leads them into unsupported generalizations and errors. Their Stanley in 1884 is the "world's foremost expert on Africa," and they assert that historians have generally overlooked his "steel-like resolution and hardness." They have Stanley and Livingstone proceeding to the Lualaba after exploring northern Lake Tanganyika, and Stanley discovering Lake Mweru during his transcontinental expedition. Neither occurred; nor was the Zanzibar trade the *raison d'être* for any New England ports.

Despite some shortcomings, an introduction such as this is to be welcomed, and it should spark more research into a neglected but very interesting area.

Ohio University ALAN R. BOOTH

LA GUERRE DE 1914–1918: LES OPÉRATIONS MILITAIRES. By *L. Koeltz.* [L'histoire du xx^e^ siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1966. Pp. 653. 60 fr.)

AN intelligent, thoughtful, and articulate professional soldier who capped a distinguished military career by serving as a corps commander in the North African campaign of World War II, General Koeltz has brought immense experience and knowledge to his history of the military operations of World War I. His focus is determined by a statement made in 1904 by Colonel Ferdinand Foch, who said:

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"Whoever wants to understand warfare must try to understand those who wage it. The key to military history is found in the headquarters." That is, it is found in the intentions, plans, and actions of the higher commanders.

Koeltz has admirably carried out his purpose in clear and cleanly written prose. He presents the principal military personages in the acts of estimating and selecting courses of action according to the precepts of strategy, tactics, and logistics; enough of the political situation to give framework and motivation for the military activities; sufficient material on organization, weapons, and doctrine to make comprehensive the employment of forces; and, where necessary, personality sketches to include the human fallibility and frailty that are part of all decisions.

The work is military history in its purest sense. Stressing the management of military forces, concentrating on the mass rather than on the individual, it is impersonal and reasoned. It is, as might be expected, indubitably French in outlook. Koeltz's main interest is the Franco-German struggle. All other participants occupy the fringes of his central concern, his attempt to discover the answer to a question that torments him: did Germany lose the war or did France win? His conclusion seems somewhat forced: Ludendorff, he says, was conquered by Foch. This, in the final analysis, may be why such matters as the collapse of Russia, the entry of the United States, and the other fronts seem to receive relatively brief attention. And perhaps it is why his treatment of Pershing, for example, is cursory, his judgment of the Meuse-Argonne offensive less than complimentary.

But given a subject of such complexity and scope, the narrative is absorbing, comprehensive, and highly informative.

Department of the Army MARTIN BLUMENSON

HITLER & JAPAN: THE HOLLOW ALLIANCE. By *Johanna Menzel Meskill.* (New York: Atherton Press. 1966. Pp. x, 245. $6.75.)

HISTORIANS have long known that the Axis alliance was an instant failure as a diplomatic instrument. This excellent monograph shows how equally disappointing it was to Germany and Japan as a military partnership. Not that the Axis Powers lost great opportunities for victory, for there were none to be lost, but such opportunities as existed for fruitful cooperation were not really exploited, often for frivolous reasons. Neither in 1940 nor later did Germany and Japan coordinate their political and strategic goals. Neither tried seriously for a combined grand strategy (for example, a Middle Eastern drive in 1942). Economic and technical mutual assistance made only a minor contribution to their respective war efforts. Even in the area of least friction—the division of the world for their respective "New Orders"—quarrels over economic interests still arose.

This work's many virtues include judicious use of a wide range of sources, particularly German documents, a clear, compact, straightforward style, and, most important, the quality of raising pertinent questions and answering them convincingly. Where the author does not know the answers, she says so; where conjecture is necessary, her arguments are persuasive. There are some debatable

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interpretations, but none affect the value or thesis of the book. Except for a rather thin final chapter, it is solidly informative throughout.

The only mildly disturbing aspect is a reverse side of the book's strength. Professor Meskill is so good at discovering reasons for policy decisions, even foolish and self-defeating ones, that the irrational element in German-Japanese relations tends to be underrated. She recognizes the final irrationality of their aims and irrational elements in their decision-making processes. Yet mainly the disharmony in the alliance derives from each power's refusal to subordinate selfish private goals to the common end. While true, this obscures a worth-while distinction: Japan used the alliance selfishly, but the Germans, especially Hitler, often used it senselessly. A pervasive, fundamental irrationality appears in Nazi diplomacy, here as elsewhere—the refusal to recognize that commitments are commitments, and actions have consequences. Meskill gives us instances of such thinking, describing, for example, how Germany suddenly in 1941 wanted the pact, defensive and anti-US, transformed into an offensive military alliance against Great Britain, "as if the pact were a lamp that needed only to be rubbed in the right way to bring out its power." Precisely this kind of inconsequence, in contrast to the relative sobriety of Japanese diplomacy, helps account for many phenomena the author describes: Japan usually got the better of Germany in concrete agreements, Germany repeatedly tried to reassert rights it had previously signed away, and Nazi officials seemed curiously blind to the effect that their double-dealing would have on relations with Japan. In fact, this special Nazi irrationality helped greatly to assure that the Axis Pact would remain a hollow alliance.

University of Illinois PAUL W. SCHROEDER

Ancient

TERZO CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEGLI STUDI CLASSICI E DAL MONDO ANTICO. In two volumes. By *Arnaldo Momigliano.* [Storia e letteratura: Raccolta di studi e testi, Numbers 108 and 109.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1966. Pp. 533; 546–874. L. 15,000.)

PROFESSOR Momigliano offers two volumes as his *Third Contribution to the History of Classical Scholarship* with the addition for this one of *and of the Ancient World.* His first collection was Number 47 in the same series, and the second, Number 77. A fourth is promised, and articles are mentioned that are not included in any of the published three. Moreover, a selection of articles from all three *Contributi* has been published, entirely in English, as *Studies in Historiography* (1966). It may be remarked for bibliographers that the jacket designer of this last work gives the author his middle initial: A. D. (for Dante) Momigliano. A brief note on so wide-ranging a collection as this can at most indicate how many interests they touch. The sixty-five articles are grouped under five headings in the two volumes. In Volume I, the first part contains eighteen "Recent Essays in the History of Historiography." Of these, the first five deal with Greek and Roman historiography; the remainder stretch from a Portuguese falsification of a Latin inscription published in 1505 to a memoir on the dis-

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tinguished Italian historian, F. Chabod. Part II, "Some Youthful Essays," has twelve more directly historical articles, of which the sixth through the ninth deal with the concept of a "general peace" in fourth-century Greece. In Volume II, the third part contains eleven articles grouped as "Essays and Discussions on the Origins of Rome." It opens with the valuable "An Interim Report on the Origins of Rome," to which five further essays and five book reviews form pendants. Part IV offers nineteen selections plus one unnumbered "Notes and Discussions of Method" composed of book reviews, contributions to discussions, and prefaces. The fifth and final part, *"In Memoriam,"* comprises memoirs on four scholars, of whom only one, Fraccaro, was an ancient (Roman) historian. Actually two pieces included in Part I as methodological might well belong here, those on Beloch and Chabod. Except for the items from 1931 to 1934 in the second part, the pieces date from 1958 to 1965, that is, since the publication of the second *Contributo*. The majority are in Italian, several are in English, and three are in German.

The collection of materials, published in such a diversity of places, is convenient for consultation, and it reveals the extraordinary scope of the author's scholarship: from Hecataeus to Chinese historiography; from historicity in contemporary thought through the renewal of studies in ancient legal history—both presented in English in *Studies in Historiography*—to Persian influences on Hebrew and Greek historiography. The index of ideas discussed shows the sweep of Momigliano's main interests: Greek and Roman historiography from ancient Sparta to the *Historia Augusta,* early Rome, modern historiography, and the history of Judaism. Throughout, the study of history is carried beyond a mere systematization of historical material to a methodological and philosophical analysis. The author thoroughly commands the sources and the modern literature, including the Russian. His bibliographical references call attention to much that the reader may find new. The indexes of passages, of ideas, and of ancient and modern persons cover nearly sixteen pages. The tone, even in disagreement, is urbane and polite, the style lively, and the interpretation balanced. Scholars in a wide variety of both historical and humanistic fields will find stimulating suggestions for reading in the table of contents. This *Contributo,* like its two predecessors, not only summarizes and passes judgment on previous scholarship; it also offers starting points for further investigation.

Harvard University MASON HAMMOND

THE HYKSOS: A NEW INVESTIGATION. By *John Van Seters.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 220. $6.50.)

OUR knowledge of the Hyksos, those "rulers of foreign lands" who dominated the Egyptian Delta and who claimed overlordship over the princes of Thebes and Upper Egypt for approximately a century and a half, from about 1700 until 1550 B.C., is scanty and is derived mainly from documents written anywhere from the time of the end of the Hyksos' rule in Egypt in the middle of the second millennium B.C. until shortly after the fall of Jerusalem in the first century A.D. The literary sources are, for the most part, propagandistic in nature, distorted, and hostile, although they contain more than a core of historical truth.

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The nonliterary, archaeological evidence for the Hyksos is scanty. Possessing little material culture of their own, they quickly assimilated and Egyptianized, although to the native Egyptian they were always the alien outlander. Nevertheless, they were responsible for important innovations in the techniques of warfare as practiced by the Egyptians, the foremost of which were the introduction of the superior Asiatic compound bow, the curved saber, and perhaps the horse-drawn war chariot. A number of scholars, including Van Seters, however, do not credit them with the introduction of the last. Unquestionably, the most important consequence of the Hyksos' sojourn in Egypt was intangible: the shattering of the smug, self-confident superiority and isolation that the Egyptian had developed and cloaked himself in during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and the natural consequence of this national humiliation which saw first the expulsion of the Hyksos and then the establishment of the Egyptian Empire.

There have been many scholarly studies on the Hyksos, on their origins, on the way in which they entered Egypt and gained power, and on their eventual expulsion, and each succeeding study has done much to enlighten and increase our knowledge of them. Van Seters' work is among the most important of these studies. Not only does he approach the Hyksos from the standpoint of the Biblical and West Asiastic scholar; he carefully and thoughtfully embodies all current scholarship. Most important is his brilliant hypothesis that an important literary text, *The Admonitions of Ipuwer,* a document hitherto dated to the First Intermediate Period, actually should be dated to the Second Intermediate Period. If he is correct, and I believe that he is, then we have a new and exceedingly important document for the appearance of the Hyksos and their rise to power in Egypt. Van Seters' book is excellent, and it is highly recommended for anyone interested in the preclassical ancient Near East.

Queens College ALAN R. SCHULMAN

THE PALACE OF NESTOR AT PYLOS IN WESTERN MESSENIA. Volume I, THE BUILDINGS AND THEIR CONTENTS. Part 1, TEXT; Part 2, ILLUSTRATIONS. By *Carl W. Blegen* and *Marion Rawson.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1966. Pp. xxx, 440; xxvii, 484 plates. $40.00 the set.)

WE expect prompt and meticulously exact publication from Professor Blegen, and *Pylos* I conforms to this high standard; the text is admirably complemented by a separate volume of excellent plans, pot profiles, and photographs, mainly by Alison Frantz. The "History of the Excavations" has, however, perhaps unnecessarily been repeated from annual reports in the *American Journal of Archaeology.* The thirteen-page list of illustrations in the text volume has also been repeated unnecessarily from the plate volume (there with valuable page concordance). After short sections on the site and building materials comes the main body of the work (not light reading), an exhaustive description of each room: preservation of floor and walls, dimensions, nature of fill, objects found. This may all be indispensable for checking conclusions and providing data for further study, but was it necessary to include the exact number and placement of every visible "chase" for timber reinforcements? They might have been more

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usefully and economically treated under materials. There is also a detailed description of the main palace, the SW building, and minor buildings, followed by a well-organized and competent survey of nearly eight thousand pieces of pottery, described as "this first discovery of what appears to be virtually the whole stock of ordinary dishes and crockery in a Mycenaean palace." The final six-page account of the character, date, and identification of the palace is particularly important for the historian. The authors are surely right in claiming the site as the dominant Mycenaean economic and political center of the western Peloponnesus, and as the Pylos of the *Iliad*. The pottery date for the holocaust that destroyed the palace is certainly at the turn of L. H. III B to C; the absolute date, "about 1200 B.C.," can be debated, but the opinion of the excavator of both Pylos and Troy will not lightly be put aside.

Not to seem ungrateful, we might have hoped that this, the best-preserved and excavated Mycenaean palace, would come in for rather more general discussion and comparison than it does. Occasionally a detail such as column fluting is compared, but not the façade niche which is unique in Mycenaean palaces but common in Minoan. The general plan, the hypothetical gallery in the main megaron, the "Queen's Hall" complex, and the "earlier throne room" in the SW building might have been more thoroughly treated. I agree with Mylonas that the "Queen's Hall" complex was more likely for distinguished guests, but disagree both with his identification of the "earlier throne room" as the "Queen's Hall" and Blegen's as the "earlier throne room," and I will discuss this in a forthcoming article.

University of Toronto J. Walter Graham

HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DU MONDE HELLÉNISTIQUE (323–30 AV. J. C.). Volume I, DE LA MORT D'ALEXANDRE AUX AVÈNEMENTS D'ANTIOCHOS III ET DE PHILIPPE V. By *Édouard Will*. [Annales de l'Est, Mémoire Number 30.] (Nancy: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines de l'Université de Nancy. 1966. Pp. 369.)

No clear, detailed account of the political history of the Hellenistic period has been written in any language by a single scholar since Benedictus Niese's three-volume *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* (1903; reprinted without change in 1963), but now there is reason to hope this gap will be filled, provided Professor Will does not falter after such a promising first volume. When completed, the work will furnish students with a critically annotated narrative extending far beyond Niese's stopping point of 146 B.C., though not including the fifteen years between Chaeronea and Alexander's death. For this, one is almost grateful, the literature on Alexander during the last sixty-three years being as exhaustive and exhausting as it is.

Despite the author's disclaimers in the preface, this is emphatically a work of interpretation, by no means an objective synthesis of the views of others. Further, there is no effort to assign equal space to equal periods of time—an assumption we in our wisdom are prone to make in our reconstruction of lost historical works from their fragments—but instead the author has lingered over the delicious obscurities of the third century, while he is content with capsule

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treatment of the better-documented early period (323–276 B.C.) in Part One of this volume.

Part Two, entitled cryptically "L'Impossible Stabilité (281–223)," is made up of three chapters: the first deals with the relations between the various Hellenistic states to 241 B.C.; the second with Seleucid problems in Asia Minor and the East down to 223; and the last with European affairs to the death of Doson. In Chapter 1, the most interesting part is an essay analyzing Lagid foreign policy in the third century. He finds the origin of this policy in Egypt's need for security in the confusion following Alexander's death. This security was sought in reserves of money, raw materials, and trained personnel, while the means used to obtain them was a mercantilist economics already tried with great success by Cleomenes of Naucratis. So successful were they that the Ptolemies sometimes were seduced into overseas adventures to satisfy dynastic ambitions, but they never lost sight of the essential object, the protection of Egypt. This leads him to a new interpretation of the sporadic intervention of the Ptolemies in Greece itself and to a rejection of current views of Egyptian impotence at sea brought on by Macedonian naval victories.

There is more, much more, than can be taken into account in such a brief review, but this at least must be said in closing. The present volume contains critical bibliographical discussions after each portion of the narrative, discussions that summarize the scholarship of the last sixty years in such a way that the reader who disagrees with the author's interpretation will also be led directly to the evidence on which it rests. Volume II will be awaited with great impatience.

University of California, Los Angeles TRUESDELL S. BROWN

THE MASK OF JOVE: A HISTORY OF GRAECO-ROMAN CIVILIZATION FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE. By *Stringfellow Barr*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1966. Pp. xv, 598. $15.00.)

THIS is the sequel to Professor Barr's fine synthesis of Greek history (*The Will of Zeus* [1961]), but it is heavier in size and in spirit. *The Will of Zeus* tells of crimes and tragedies, but these are purged by the author's love for Hellas. *The Mask of Jove* describes the great achievements of soldiers, statesmen, saints, and sages, and of one, Marcus Aurelius, who was all four. But all are men of sorrows even in their triumphs, and the book is another "consideration on the greatness of the Romans and their decline." The ultimate failure of Rome's cosmopolis is suggested in the dedication: "To Another City." Few will need to come to Chapter v, "The Kingdom of Heaven," to identify that city. Barr cannot give the Roman Empire at its best the devotion that he gives Athens at its worst. He seems to fear that his readers may be seduced into doing so, for he continually reminds them that the Romans wear a mask: the mask of liberator assumed by Augustus, that of Jove put on by Diocletian, or that of Caesar-Apostle used by Constantine. The generalization about the Romans is true, but it must be qualified by the further generalization that it is true of all mankind.

In this book Barr uses the device of letting "the actors speak for themselves"

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even more than in *The Will of Zeus*. This is good, but it has drawbacks. Too often Barr neither criticizes the sources himself nor cites others who do, leaving the reader to wonder how much he is to believe. Lack of such criticism can lead not only beginners, but seasoned scholars, into factual errors, faulty generalizations, and premature conclusions, especially where their own emotions are strong. It is no accident that Barr's treatment of Christianity is the worst part of a generally distinguished work. It displays a curious neofundamentalism, as though the book required the imprimatur of William Jennings Bryan. Barr seeks the Kingdom of God, not the historical Jesus, and his Christians never step down from stained-glass windows.

Whether as Christian or as historian, one must dissent from Barr's last judgment on the Roman Empire: that it provides "a record of how not to attempt the construction of a genuine City of Man." A Christian must regard the attempt itself as presumptuous, since the city that has foundations is built not by man but by God (Heb. 11:10). A historian can say only that Rome built a more lasting cosmopolis than any other nation and that none has achieved even transient success by another method.

University of Louisville LAURENCE LEE HOWE

CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS. Volume VIII, Part 3, THE INSCRIPTIONS, 1926–1950. By *John Harvey Kent*. (Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1966. Pp. x, 260, 64 plates. $20.00.)

LIKE B. H. Hill's recent book on Peirene, Kent's *Inscriptions* represents many years of labor on material that itself extends throughout a millennium of Corinth's history. Hill and Kent both gave themselves completely to every phase of their task. From examining and photographing the hosts of fragments, through all the editing and finally the compilation of twenty-two indexes, Kent did everything. In many essential respects, not least because it includes both Greek and Latin inscriptions together, *Cor* VIII 3 is indeed a model volume.

A comparison of the sheer numbers of inscriptions from the three main periods reveals surprising aspects of Corinth. In excavations conducted during most of the years from 1896 on, with a fair amount of digging in Greek layers, the number of inscriptions discovered from the Greek period, that is, from all the years before 146 B.C., amounted in 1950 to hardly more than 100, and the additions since 1950 have not been numerous. One might imagine that originally there were many more; Kent suggests that they were inscribed on wood and so have perished. The suggestion deserves full attention (elsewhere). In any case the volume provides new evidence that bears on the paucity of inscriptions from the Greek period. The fact that three decrees (out of a present total of only eleven) are inscribed on local limestone proves, what was not clear before, that marble did not have to be imported, nor did wood have to be used. One new decree, Number 27, alone has lettering that looks earlier than all the others, that is, than the period 243–146 B.C.; probably somewhat earlier than 300 B.C., alas it tells almost nothing. The Timoleon monument, Number 23, is almost the only inscription of more than local interest.

In startling contrast, the Roman period is abundantly represented. Numbers

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50–500, dated 44 B.C.–A.D. 267, are the only texts, among a mass of fragments, long enough to be worth editing. Kent probably had knowledge of the chronology of Roman lettering better than anyone's, and most of the fragments otherwise hopeless could be dated by him at least to broad periods; most are Roman. When he wrote, the grand total of inscriptions from the years 44 B.C.–A.D. 267 was "surely over 1500."

The third major period, A.D. 267–668, is like the first in the paucity of official inscriptions: only 21 are published here. From the same years (Christian) gravestones survive in such numbers that Kent publishes at least 164 (add Number 721). Hence, either official inscriptions suffered a separate and peculiar fate, or (as I should say of the first period, that is, the Greek on ante-146 B.C.) comparatively few official inscriptions were ever set up.

Always alert to interesting possibilities, Kent began years ago to use his knowledge of the chronology of lettering to study when Greek was reinstated as the usual, perhaps as the official, language of inscriptions at Corinth, and so, doubtless, of the whole province. We now have his statement. The statistical evidence, whether or not it indicates an official act, points to the champion Philhellene, Hadrian. This is one item of many in a notable synthetic introduction to the great Roman section.

Still in his prime, and loving these studies, Kent lived to see the volume in print, but not to read its praises. A Vermonter by adoption, and chairman at Hill's own University of Vermont, Kent piously venerated the master. To knowledge of Corinth—our own American site, familiar and yet often strange—no university has contributed more distinguished and more genial scholarship.

American School of Classical Studies, Athens STERLING DOW

RES PUBLICA AMISSA: EINE STUDIE ZU VERFASSUNG UND GESCHICHTE DER SPÄTEN RÖMISCHEN REPUBLIK. By *Christian Meier*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. viii, 332.)

THE institutions and basic procedures of the Roman constitution are well known. Still, little solid information (but much misinformation) exists on the party groupings that made the constitution function. Modern analogy has often misled: *optimates* and *populares,* for example, are often inaccurately termed "aristocrats" and "democrats." Family combinations worked behind the scenes. The ancient patron-client system was extended, most importantly to the army and the provinces.

Meier chooses to emphasize connections formed through personal obligation (*Bindungswesen*) in an effort to illuminate further the *Verfassungswirklichkeit* of the late Roman Republic. *Bindungswesen* made it possible for the overextended city-state, despite obvious deficiencies, to govern an empire and to endure. Through this system, all important elements at home and in the provinces had a kind of representation within the ruling circle and so had a stake in the government. Thus no one, until Caesar, after 49 B.C., seriously desired any basic change. Finally, however, the tangled web of *Bindungswesen* produced "a kind of schizophrenia"—requiring change but permitting no change—that led to the downfall of the Republic.

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Important sections of the book deal with the equestrian order, the rural and city plebs, *populares,* and *optimates*. A final long section ("background to the picture") is an excellent constitutional history of the last half century of the Republic. The documentation is impressive but a bit overdone; there are few lapses (though four of my articles might have helped on minor matters). The book summarizes well the state of research on many problems.

Meier sometimes overstates his case, most notably when he criticizes the work of H. H. Scullard, R. Syme, L. R. Taylor, and E. Badian on the family-political groups. He says that their "Faction-thesis" seems disproved for the late Republic. Actually, their work is more supplemented than displaced by this study. The problem is partly semantics. Meier attributes to these scholars (especially Taylor) a narrowness that they do not have. Such overgreat precision—Meier is sometimes more exact than the Romans were—is a venial defect of the work.

In sum, this is an important work whose defects are minor. It deserves careful study.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill HENRY C. BOREN

ROMAN STATE & CHRISTIAN CHURCH: A COLLECTION OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS TO A.D. 535. In three volumes. By *P. R. Coleman-Norton.* (London: S. P. C. K.; distrib. by Alec R. Allenson, Napierville, Ill. 1966. Pp. lxxvii, 370; v, 371–844; v, 845–1358. $39.10 the set, postpaid.)

JUST as nineteenth-century scholarship has been distinguished for the establishment of definitive texts of the literary and documentary materials of antiquity, so the twentieth century has made great contributions by providing sound translations of these records for a generation no longer entirely at ease in the use of the classical tongues. In this monumental three-volumed collection of documentary matter Mr. Coleman-Norton has continued a tradition of translation of the legal records of Roman antiquity into the English language that began with S. P. Scott's rendering of the Corpus Juris Civilis and related legislation. Clyde Pharr's *Theodosian Code* (1952), a landmark in such translation, was followed by the *Ancient Roman Statutes* (1961) to which Coleman-Norton was a contributor. These generally secular legal records are now supplemented by this large reservoir of material dealing with the relations of the Roman state and Christian church to A.D. 535.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the value of a compilation such as this. It affords the interested layman and nonspecialist student a vast spectrum of records otherwise not readily available. To scholars familiar with the field, the usefulness of such translation cannot be discounted. Translation is a fine and delicate art if it is to convey exact nuances of meaning from one language to another. The comparison of independent renderings with one another and with the original text can refine the precise meaning for even the mature scholar. Many of the documents contained here are selected from the Justinian and Theodosian Codes. Coleman-Norton indicates his indebtedness to the Pharr Theodosian, and, within the limits of my observation, they do not vary widely in basic meaning. Pharr provides a smoother text, but Coleman-Norton's annotation is extremely detailed and comprehensive.

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Indeed, aside from making the basic texts accessible, the fundamental value of this work resides in its thorough apparatus of notes, at once critical, informative, and bibliographic. There is a short but pertinent introduction accompanied with notes that deserve reading. The third volume concludes with appendixes, table of titles of address, splendid glossary, indexes of sources, persons, places, and subjects, together with lists of Biblical, classical, and patristic quotations and allusions. It is rare to find a work of this sort with such an extensive apparatus of aids. These volumes are no mere collection of documentary records, but really provide a guide to the primary sources in this field. This was a task of exacting labor, and historical scholarship owes a large debt of gratitude to Coleman-Norton and the SPCK which has published these volumes in a substantial and useful format.

Rice University FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROMAN WORLD: GIBBON'S PROBLEM AFTER TWO CENTURIES. Edited by *Lynn White, jr.* [UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Contributions, Number 3.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. *1966*. Pp. viii, 321. $6.95.)

FUNDAMENTALLY, these eleven essays are a commentary on Gibbon's treatment of the late ancient and early medieval world, not a re-examination of the problem of the "decline and fall" per se. The division of subject matter is largely by cultures and peoples. Some authors present a factual survey; others engage in learned polemic or express fiery disagreement with Gibbon's values; one is merely pompous.

The bibliographic information that one might expect in essays seeking to bring Gibbon up to date varies greatly from chapter to chapter; one of the most thoughtful studies, that in which Hoxie discusses Gibbon's disinterest in the art of the period as being nonart, has no notes at all. The authors generally disagree with Pirenne and Dopsch as well as with Gibbon; Lynn White's own technological predilections have had their influence, as in the explanation of the decline of slavery. David B. Davis should be read in this connection. Cross references have been inserted, but the editor certainly should have removed "baroquizing."

These essays may have some value for an assiduous reader of Gibbon. Are there any today? Intriguing notes are occasionally struck of self-congratulation at our own advances, orchestrated in White's concluding essay into the statement that Gibbon's "work is almost unbelievably obsolete, save for antiquarian details." Another contributor (Vryonis) puts the matter rather differently: "In spite of the fact that Gibbon distorted the picture of an entire civilization, and did so with considerable prejudice, biting malice, and obvious pleasure, his work will abide as an object of contemplation."

University of Illinois CHESTER G. STARR

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Medieval

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN CAUCASIAN HISTORY. By *Cyril Toumanoff*. ([Washington, D. C.:] Georgetown University Press. 1963. Pp. 599. Cloth $10.00, paper $7.50.)

THIS volume, which contains five of the author's previously published and now updated studies, will be of interest primarily to scholars of Georgian and Armenian studies, secondarily to Byzantinists, and, finally, the first essay has something for the scholar who is not a specialist in the ancient and medieval Near East. The work bristles with learned notes and appendixes, forged upon the author's formidable linguistic anvil, which lead the stouthearted reader through a maze of Indo-European nomenclature for socioreligious institutions, Greco-Roman geographical works, obscure Armeno-Georgian historical and religious compositions, to many of the more recent scholarly works in Russian, Georgian, and Armenian. What differentiates Toumanoff's work from much that stems out of philological scholarship is the vigorous effort in the first study to relate this great mass of detail to the flow of history. Part I, "The Social Background of Christian Caucasia," attempts to illuminate the origins and trace the development of Armenian and Georgian society from the second millennium into the Christian era. Faced with the lack of written sources Toumanoff has applied a number of techniques in an effort to present a picture of evolving Caucasia. Caucasian society in historical times was a highly aristocratic one that combined "features of feudal and dynastic regimes." Taking this statement as the "given" in his historical riddle, the author then works back in time and applies certain theories on feudalism and dynasticism and on the religious basis and rationalization of ancient civilization. Having thus established a theoretical social and religious grid in the manner of the social scientist, Toumanoff plots the rise of Caucasian civilization from a tribal to a more complex society. Caucasian society came to be characterized by three features: dynasticism, feudalism, and theophanism. The Georgian and Armenian societies were subject to the cultural and political currents pulsating from successive world empires—Achemenid, Macedonian, Roman, Parthian, Sassanid, Byzantine. These cosmocracies greatly affected the life of the Caucasian world without, however, destroying its basic social structure.

The remaining four studies are much more specialized and will have meaning primarily for the historian of the Christian and Muslim Near East. Of these the second, "States and Dynasties of Caucasia," is the most important and is of particular interest for Byzantine social history because of the wealth of factual information on Armenian and Georgian families.

It is difficult to evaluate this vast body of material, and only a handful of scholars in the world would be philologically equipped to do so. But there can be no doubt that Toumanoff's work constitutes a substantial contribution if only because of the quantity of material that he has assembled and made accessible for scholars in the Georgian, Armenian, and adjacent fields. Secondly, the very structuring and ordering of the material on early Caucasian history are fortunate for they present a convenient approach to a chaotic and complex history. One

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will readily dispute the validity of the theories on feudalism and religion that Toumanoff has applied, but the approach is both interesting and promising. The author also critically examines such classics in the field as the writings of Adontz and Manandean. There are, however, certain generalizations that Toumanoff has expressed, particularly in the preface and introduction, that do not seem valid to me. First is the statement that ". . . Byzantinology has been but little aware of the special importance of Caucasia for the Byzantine world." One need only look at the works of Charanis, Runciman, Jenkins, Schlumberger, Canard, Loos, J. Laurent, and he will almost be convinced that the Byzantine was a semi-Armenian empire. These scholars not only incorporated the findings of specialists in Caucasian history such as Adontz, but the Greek sources furnish so much material on the subject that it was unnecessary for them to know Georgian or Armenian merely to perceive the importance of Armenia and Georgia in the Empire's history. I quite agree with the author's exhortation that "in order to deal authoritatively with Caucasian history, the Byzantine scholar . . . must deal with new languages." But life is brief, and the body of knowledge to be mastered is vast, so that beyond Greek and Latin the Byzantinist must choose among three "groups" of languages: Slavic, Georgian-Armenian, and Arabic-Persian-Turkish. Both in terms of the history of Byzantium and of the broader historical currents the first and third groups are far more important as they are the key to the *Fortleben* of the Byzantine inheritance in Europe and to the development of the Islamic world. Finally, when he states that Byzantium's abolition of the petty Armenian principalities and their annexation were the cause for the Seljuk victory at Manzikert in 1071, and when he speaks of the appearance of numerous Armenians and Georgians in Byzantine society as the "peaceful conquest of the empire by Caucasia," we have an example of the fact that "Caucasiology has been but little aware of the special importance of Byzantine internal history for the Byzantine world."

University of California, Los Angeles SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

ISTORIYA KHRYSTYANSTVA NA RUSY-UKRAINI [The History of Christianity in Ukrainian Rus]. Volume I, DO R.1353 [To the Year 1353]. By *Nicholas D. Chubaty*. (Rome and New York: Ukrainian Catholic University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 816.)

THIS impressive contribution to free Ukrainian historiography was planned by Professor Chubaty thirty years ago. When teaching at the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lwów, he was inspired by its rector, Father Slipyi, who now, as cardinal and metropolitan-in-exile, is making possible the publication of that work by the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome.

In two respects the author gives more than the title promises. Realizing the close connection of Christianity and religious life with the whole destiny of the Ukrainian people, he writes not only an ecclesiastical history of Rus, which he identifies with the Ukraine, excluding Moscow, Novgorod, and even Byelorussia, but, at the same time, a detailed survey of the making and development of his nation. Furthermore, being deeply convinced of the exceptional place of Ukrainian Christianity in the Universal Church, he presents that local experi-

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ence against the background of, and often in contrast to, the attitudes of its neighbors, touching also various problems of general European history.

This presentation is based upon original research and thorough knowledge of the historical literature, including the most recent. But it also reflects the author's personal convictions. Sincerely devoted to the Eastern Church of Slavic rite, he is, however, critical of Byzantine influence in the Kievan state and even more of the Muscovite form of Orthodoxy. And while he welcomes direct contacts with the papacy and reunion with Rome, he resents whatever seems to him "Latino-Polish pressure," even missionary activities. Such feelings clearly appear in this first volume, which goes from the pre-Christian origins of Rus to 1353.

Chubaty takes positions on older and more recent controversies, and even more controversial issues will appear in the next volumes, especially how it happened that precisely in the six centuries of Polish influence the Ukrainian church could revive its original traditions, including the ties with Rome, and survive the dangers and persecutions coming from Moscow until our time. But instead of questioning some of the author's conceptions, which at present are only summarized in the thought-provoking introduction to the first volume, I prefer to hope that the remaining two will appear as soon as possible.

White Plains, New York O. Halecki

BYZANTIUM: THE IMPERIAL CENTURIES, A.D. 610–1071. By *Romilly Jenkins*. (New York: Random House. 1966. Pp. 400. $10.00.)

Generally speaking, when one thinks of the Byzantine Empire, one thinks of Constantine the Great and his transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to the newly founded city of Constantinople, a transfer that greatly conditioned the subsequent historical evolution of that Empire; of 1453 when the Ottoman Turks took Constantinople and brought the Empire to an end; of Justinian, of Saint Sophia, of the codices of Roman law; of the great theological controversies of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries that resulted eventually in the fragmentation of Christianity. And so virtually all general histories of the Byzantine Empire begin their narrative with Constantine the Great and end it with the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

It may be a surprise, therefore, to discover that Professor Jenkins in this book has chosen to begin his narrative essentially with the reign of Heraclius (610–641) and to end it with the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. There are good reasons, however, for making this choice. The period involved constitutes a historical unit: it has a beginning, a development, and an end. The events of the seventh century gave to the Empire the essentials of its character; the centuries that followed saw it rise to greatness; the Battle of Manzikert marked its end as a great power. This whole period, therefore, lends itself nicely to a unified treatment. Jenkins has given us such a treatment. He has offered a well-written, stimulating, lively, and, in places, even moving book. He has done this on the basis of his own scholarship, though the influence of Ostrogorsky is quite apparent.

It is to be regretted, however, that Jenkins did not strictly observe his own

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dictum that he would let the sources be his guide. This is particularly noticeable in his treatment of the question of the Slavonic penetration of Greece and the effect that that penetration had on the original Greek inhabitants. It may be observed also in connection with some other statement as, for instance, the one to the effect that "the largest part of the population of Anatolia was of Slavic stock." This deviation from the sources, however slight, nevertheless mars what is otherwise an excellent book.

Rutgers University PETER CHARANIS

DIE GESELLSCHAFT IN DER GESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS. By *Karl Bosl*. [Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, Number 231.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 67. DM 2.80.)

THIS short pamphlet contains three lectures concerning problems of medieval social history given by Professor Bosl at Japanese universities in 1965. Though newly composed units, the lectures obviously afforded the author opportunity to meditate further on issues he had previously considered in numerous specialized studies and forced him to reach general conclusions that would be pertinent and meaningful for his Japanese audiences. The short bibliography appended to the published lectures is sufficient indication, however, of the breadth of Bosl's investigations.

In his opening lecture on "The Beginnings of European Society and Civilization (6th–8th Centuries)" Bosl questions immediately any tendency to speak of European conditions before the time when the concept of Europe had any validity. Although here not lacking in originality, he has been influenced by writers like Denys Hay, Christopher Dawson, and H. Gollwitzer, all of whom he cites. Eventually there developed a European unity, recognized as such, but this came only after the concept of *oikoumene* that prevailed in antiquity had been replaced. A truly European society was evident by the seventh century, with ancient Gaul as its true center. Bosl attributes the integration of local and regional tendencies, with their diversity and pluralism, to the Carolingian intellectuals. With the development of feudalism the Franks succeeded in binding together individuals and various peoples in a monarchically ordered society. Rather than seeing in the disintegration of the Carolingian state the ultimate end of antiquity, Bosl emphasizes Carolingian novelty and creativeness. Following Carolingian times, in spite of unfortunate vicissitudes, France remained the cultural center not only for Western Europe but also for Central Europe and lands to the east. The imprint of the Frankish past persisted, and it is incorrect, says Bosl, to attribute European cultural unity to the effects of the reforming papacy of the eleventh century.

In a lecture on "The Aristocratic Structure of Medieval Society" the development of elite groups is stressed. Medieval civilization was Christian and clerical, yet also aristocratically oriented. Even the heavenly hierarchy was conceived of in similarly ordered forms. The importance of ancestoral lineage of high degree was accepted by aristocratic societies, but modifications intruded when such connections alone no longer indicated true *nobilitas*. Outstanding personal qualities, reflecting the virtues of honor and glory, were principles prized by the

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nobles' world. The third lecture provides a discussion of "Social Mobility in Medieval Society." Obviously there is much stress on the impact of urban groups in Europe following the eleventh century—their origins and strivings for free status. A brief review does not permit full and adequate description of the cogently argued contentions of these three interesting lectures.

Northwestern University GRAY C. BOYCE

THE EARLY CHARTERS OF EASTERN ENGLAND. By *C. R. Hart.* [Studies in Early English History, Number 5.] ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1966. Pp. 280. 55*s*.)

IN this volume, one in a series of "Studies in Early English History" published by Leicester University, Mr. Hart provides a hand list of all known records of pre-Conquest land transactions for the east of England between the Thames and the Humber, with the exception of those relating to Essex, which he has already published. The series also contains similar volumes covering the West Midlands, Wessex, and Devon and Cornwall.

In Part I all charters, extant or known only by reference, are arranged by date within county. Summary of the contents of each document—donor, donee, and gift—is followed by brief comments including, as may be appropriate, information about the text, its authenticity, its date, the donor, the land, or any persons mentioned. The printed source is given, or the document is noted as lost. Two texts not previously printed are given in full with comments on such matters as text, date, diplomatic, and authenticity. In Part II Hart prints, for the first time in this century, the texts of all known pre-Conquest charters for Barkings and Thorney abbeys with detailed discussions of texts, dates, authenticity, diplomatic, and, where appropriate, commentary on persons and places mentioned. In Part III he lists all known pre-Conquest land transactions not in charter form for the religious houses of Ely, Ramsey, Peterborough, and Bury Saint Edmunds.

Hart points out that, in contrast to the paucity of material for eastern England in earlier centuries, there is more information available about land transactions for this part of the country during the last century of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom than for any other part of England. Because this material is little known, he has brought it together in this hand list. Like its companion volumes for other parts of the country, it should be most useful to diplomatists and to historians of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

Princeton, New Jersey ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

THE NORMANS. By *Timothy Baker.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. ix, 317. $7.95.)

THE ninth centenary of the Battle of Hastings produced a bumper crop of books dealing with the Norman Conquest. This work, despite its title, is another Conquest book. The Norman Conquest is an oft-told story, and Mr. Baker contributes nothing new to it. But originality is perhaps not to be expected of a book that is addressed to the intelligent layman rather than the specialist.

The book is, by and large, excellently written and shows, if not a complete

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mastery of the original sources, at least an acquaintance with many of them and an intelligent sensitivity to modern historical writing on the subject. And Baker's vision of the Conquest is an admirably broad one. Beginning with sketches of pre-Conquest Normandy and England, he continues with a survey of the political and military history of 1066 and the post-Conquest era, and concludes with a series of chapters on various aspects of post-Conquest English society: the feudal problem, political and social change, the Church, language, Norman architecture, and the minor arts. Throughout these chapters he keeps in mind his basic question: how did the Norman Conquest affect England? And if his discussions are unoriginal, they are competent, thoughtful, and usually up to date.

The book suffers from occasional misstatements and misinterpretations. The Becket affair, for example, is handled briefly and badly, and one wonders why it had to be treated at all. It is incorrect to say of the establishment of feudal quotas: "No one disputes that this achievement, however it is rated, was primarily William's work." The Anglo-Saxon fyrd is undervalued and misunderstood, being described as largely a peasant army. It is regarded as ineffective and out of date, yet William's victory is described as largely fortuitous. It is misleading to say that Henry I was probably responsible for William Rufus' murder. The lay reader will also be misled by Plate X, the north transept of St. Albans Abbey, which is described in the caption merely as "late eleventh century" but which features a large nineteenth-century rose window. And at times the political narrative becomes far too name-ridden for the layman to absorb.

The book will, nevertheless, serve as an attractive, comprehensive, and generally reliable introduction to the Norman Conquest for the nonhistorian.

University of California, Santa Barbara C. Warren Hollister

MIDDELALDER STUDIER: TILEGNEDE AKSEL E. CHRISTENSEN PÅ TRESÄRSDAGEN, 11. SEPTEMBER 1966. Edited by *Tage E. Christiansen et al.* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1966. Pp. 337.)

The history of Denmark during the Middle Ages is unfortunately much less well known to the English-speaking scholarly world than it should be. It is thus with particular pleasure that one notes this series of studies of aspects of medieval Denmark dedicated to Professor Aksel Christensen, which, though in Danish, gives us much valuable information. There are eleven studies in all: two dealing with the better-known Viking period of Canute and Sven Forkbeard; four that concern themselves with the great period of the Waldemars during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and five with the later Middle Ages and, especially, the crucial fifteenth century.

It is difficult to point out any articles of special importance, but to me a number seemed interesting. Among them were Jørgen Hansen's study of relations between Church and crown in the reign of Waldemar the Great, Erik Kjersgaard's examination of the military organization of Denmark after feudalization had begun in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Niels Skyum-Nielsen's study of the chancery in the late thirteenth century, and Erling Peterson's attempt to discover the price level of commodities in Denmark during the later Middle Ages.

What these articles emphasize above all, however, is the need to compare the

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Danish experience during the Middle Ages with that of England and northern Germany, the nearby areas that resemble it most in many ways. When one does that, one discovers that many institutions and problems thought to be unique are actually part of a wider European development that needs to be studied in a broader compass than has often been the case. It is therefore to be hoped that in the future the scholars here represented will continue their researches and make them available to the non-Danish-speaking world on an even broader canvas than this slender volume provides.

University of Texas ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

DER PRIMAT DER RÖMISCHEN KIRCHE IM DENKEN UND HANDELN GREGORS VII. By *L. F. J. Meulenberg.* [Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome, Volume XXXIII, Number 2.] (The Hague: Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk door het Staatsdrukkerij- en Uitgeverijbedrijf. 1965. Pp. 138.)

THE author of this useful monograph seeks a more precise evaluation of the significance of Gregory VII's pontificate in the history of Roman primacy than has, in his view, been heretofore established. He proposes to achieve this end by systematically collecting Gregory's pronouncements and decisions relating to Roman primacy and by ascertaining the extent to which the Pope's position conformed to the tradition of primacy that he inherited with his office. His inquiry is directed toward certain crucial themes related to the inner structure of the Church: the nature of the Roman Church, the pope's position in the Church, the infallibility of the Roman Church, the relation between pope and hierarchy, the legates, Rome's judicial and penal power, its legislative authority, the pope and monasteries, the pope and the laity. Gregory's position on each of these matters is scrupulously sought out, basically from within his *Register.* That position is carefully compared with the tradition-sanctioned legal concepts of Roman primacy, which Meulenberg believes formed the background for the Gregorian era; as his source for these principles Meulenberg utilizes certain canonical collections known and used by the *Curia* in Gregory's age.

Meulenberg provides a valuable service in organizing Gregory's views of his position as bishop of Rome in relation to the topics noted above. His conclusions with respect to each issue warrant attention; they are, however, too complex to present here. In general, he finds that Gregory accepted the existing legal tradition concerning Roman primacy, but added little to this juristic concept. There are no solid grounds for concluding that the Pope consciously sought the erection of a centralized constitution for the Church in the name of a strong primatial concept. The Pope accepted his primacy in principle, but his position always shaded off into something less than an absolute. Thus it is very difficult to argue that Gregory advanced the ideal of Roman primacy in a legalistic sense.

But this does not quite settle the matter. On the last page of his book Meulenberg insists that, in spite of what his prior efforts have shown, Gregory VII did indeed provide a powerful impetus to the ideal of Roman primacy. This impetus derived from an inner religious conviction: his belief that he as pope stood in a mystical unity with St. Peter, which permitted him to apply and interpret

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the will of God for Christian society. The author does not, unfortunately, elaborate this theme, leaving the reader at a loss to know where Gregory's pontificate fits into the history of Roman primacy. Basically negative, this work provides solid ground for concluding that Gregory did *not* contribute much that was new to the legal concept of Roman primacy. What Gregory did add to the exaltation of Rome must be sought in a context quite apart from legal history.

Michigan State University RICHARD E. SULLIVAN

LA ORDEN DE SANTIAGO (1170–1275). By *Derek W. Lomax*. [Estudios, Volume XXXVIII.] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 306. 300 ptas.)

THE religio-military Order of St. James, a peculiarly Iberian combination of celibate priests and nuns along with dedicated crusaders who married and whose families provided a continuing flow of new recruits, has long been regarded as a foremost agency in the history of the Luso-Hispanic reconquest and especially in the making of medieval Castile. This book, however, is the first comprehensive modern study to make critical use of the rich documentation in Madrid and elsewhere as the basis for a reconstruction of Santiago's history, institutional structure, and many-sided military, colonizing, economic, and ecclesiastical operations in its initial heroic century.

After describing the order's establishment in 1170, its record of combat against the ferocious Almohads, and its special relationship with the papacy and the kings of León, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, Dr. Lomax skillfully analyzes the content and several versions of the Rule; the governmental system of Master, major and lesser encomiendas, and chapter-general; and the interesting problem of the nonnoble as well as the noble components of the membership. He gives extended treatment to the distribution and administration of the vast landed possessions in Extremadura, New Castile, and Andalusia that produced the revenues indispensable for the order's survival and effective campaigning, revenues derived from its own livestock raising and farming or from rentals, banalities, judicial fees, and so forth collected from its towns and vassals. Some especially good pages assess the nature of the juridical rights and degree of self-government extended in Santiago's *fueros* to the colonists who came to settle in the pasture lands and croplands of the southern *meseta*. The astonishing extent to which throughout their domains the *freiles* founded and controlled parish churches to the virtual exclusion of the episcopate is also made clear.

While limitations of space inevitably make for compression at various points, this does not outweigh the work's very substantial merits as a unique, long-needed, and highly illuminating account of a medieval Iberian military order. It is further enhanced by a bibliography of archival and published materials; an appendix of thirty-seven hitherto unpublished texts (including a Castilian version of the Rule) that illustrate numerous aspects of internal organization and relations with outside authorities; a distribution map of convents, castles, and principal estates; and fifteen plates.

University of Virginia C. J. BISHKO

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HANDELSGESCHICHTE ÄGYPTENS IM SPÄTMITTELALTER (1171–1517). By *Subhi* Y. *Labib*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Supplement 46]. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1965. Pp. xi, 586.)

Recently Arabists and Islamists have shown an ever-increasing interest in the economic and social aspects of Islamic civilization and have contributed many valuable studies and monographs pertaining to specific problems of social and economic relevance especially in regard to medieval Egypt.

The publication and editing of hitherto unavailable Arabic texts of Egyptian historians of the Middle Ages, covering mainly the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, have widened the documentary basis and put in the hands of scholars a rich reservoir of information that has enabled them to deal with this formerly neglected field of Islamic research and scholarship. There was, however, no all-embracing picture of medieval Egypt's economic and commercial life. Professor Labib has now supplied us with the first comprehensive and scholarly investigation of this aspect of medieval Egypt.

He begins with the crusades and continues to the Ayubite and Mameluke dynasty over Egypt, and he covers all important spheres of the economic life of medieval Egypt: organization and control of Egyptian trade; markets and fairs; trade corporations; banking, interest, credit, currency, monopolies, and weights and measures; specific methods of taxation; customs duties; shipping and trade routes and maritime lanes and ports; the network of traffic and transport by ships and caravans; and the development, rise, and decline of Egypt's commercial potential. He analyzes the commercial policies of the various Mameluke sultans and investigates also the effect that the Portuguese discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope had on Egyptian trade. By placing these and other problems in the context of the contemporary world scene, he shows Egypt's close relationship to other political and commercial centers and cities of the European Christian lands.

Though the wealth of material is stimulating and thought provoking, it is badly organized, repetitious, and lacks clarity in many instances. The research is based on broad documentation and thorough combing and utilization of Arabic sources, on geographical, historical, juridical, and theological texts, on inscriptional and numismatic evidence, and on papyri. The author used archival material and Persian and Byzantine sources to a lesser degree.

The work as a whole, the abundance of footnotes, a complete bibliography, including Arabic sources and the literature of Western scholars, and the detailed indexes, will be hailed by every student of medieval Islamic civilization as a significant contribution and an indispensable mine of information for historians and economists alike.

University of California, Berkeley Walter J. Fischel

THE THEORY OF PAPAL MONARCHY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CANONISTS. By *John A. Watt*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 160. $5.00.)

This book provides a coherent and valuable account of canonistic thought on the

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problem of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* from Gratian to Hostiensis. Its special contribution is to reappraise the great figures of the mid-thirteenth century—Innocent IV and Hostiensis—in the light of the abundant twelfth-century canonistic material that has recently been made available by scholars like Kuttner, Stickler, and Ullmann. There is also a careful analysis of the elements of continuity and change in the thought of Innocent III.

The author points out that all the medieval canonists would have agreed with the following propositions: "that the powers were divided, that they must co-operate with each other and that in some sense or other the spiritual power was the higher one." Within this framework of thought, however, there was room for many differences of opinion. Before the time of Innocent III, for example, the decretists were sharply divided over whether the pope possessed the "sword" of temporal power and bestowed it on the emperor. After Innocent's pontificate the theory that the pope *de jure* possessed both "swords" was generally accepted. Dr. Watt maintains that, although Innocent III made use of earlier canonistic doctrines and his main arguments were "continuous with Decretist thought," nevertheless he "transformed the canonist understanding of the relations of the powers." That is to say, Innocent's decretals combined various scattered suggestions of the decretists into "foundations" for a formidable theory of papal monarchy. They claimed, in effect, that there was a "prerogative power" inherent in the papacy, normally used only in the spiritual sphere, but available for exercise in temporal affairs also whenever this was necessary for the maintenance of justice and right order in the Christian world.

Innocent IV is vigorously defended against the charge that his doctrines "made a real break with what had gone before" by "an unrestrained insistence on papal absolutism in the temporal order." On the contrary, the author argues, in so far as Innocent IV departed at all from the ideas of Innocent III it was by adopting positions more moderate than those of his great predecessor. (In this connection Innocent IV's striking gloss on X. 3.34.8, with its teaching that legitimate political power could exist among infidels, might have been emphasized.) For Watt, Innocent III was the greatest creative influence on the development of canonistic ideas in the thirteenth century, and his influence was not wholly in favor of papal monism since his refusal to judge directly concerning a fief provided the root from which would spring the later doctrine of "indirect power." Innocent IV and Hostiensis faithfully developed all the aspects of Innocent III's thought without distorting it through any extremism of their own. These are sound conclusions, persuasively argued, and they are important in that they challenge the views expressed in several widely accepted histories of medieval political theory.

Cornell University BRIAN TIERNEY

THE ENGLISH FUR TRADE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *Elspeth M. Veale.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 251. $7.20.)

THIS scholarly monograph is too modestly titled; it actually outlines the whole history of the precolonial English fur trade and gives a fascinating account of the use of fur as a status symbol from the early Middle Ages to the mid-sixteenth cen-

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tury, when fur-lined robes became old-fashioned and fur retreated to trimmings and felt hats. The book is also a quite new contribution to the history of late medieval London as England's fashion trade center.

Owing to lack of adequate statistics, the subject has to be treated mainly through qualitative analysis of demand. English taste was satisfied with lower quality skins and workmanship than were available to the rich in Paris, Venice, Florence, Lübeck, and Bruges, but it followed European trends. In the fourteenth century red squirrel was the high fashion. Enormous quantities were used in fur linings, hoods, and bedding: Edward III slept under a coverlet sewn from two-thousand skins. Yet the Hanseatic merchants who exploited the Baltic sources managed, for a time, to oversupply their markets. It was because squirrel became too common, Miss Veale believes, that high fashion switched, in the next century, to the darker furs—sable and marten—which, yard for yard, were twice as expensive, with black Spanish lamb and black rabbit as runners-up. Ultimately, overslaughter and deforestation made all types of fur scarce and costly, encouraging other forms of display and other ways of keeping warm. The author is too skeptical of attempts to explain critical changes of taste to do more than indicate the complexity of the problem of the reception of innovations: one might get further by trying to locate the social milieu in which each one first appeared. She is happiest in describing shifts in the organization of the trade and in setting the skinners firmly into London history. Here the only weak passages are those relying on Gwyn Williams' guesswork about London population and about the intent and effect of Edward I's intervention in London government. On the other hand, her own contributions are solid and original, fully documenting the difficulties the merchant skinners encountered in their unsuccessful attempts to dominate small competitors or to acquire any effective guild monopoly over the processing and working up of furs.

In short, the book is English social history at its best.

University of Michigan SYLVIA L. THRUPP

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume I, THE AGRARIAN LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by *M. M. Postan*. (2d ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 871. $14.00.)

APART from some notable improvements in bibliographies, the first six chapters of this edition are either unchanged or have been revised only as to details. Essentially, they express the same points of view that they did before.

Significant changes begin with the long chapter on "Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime" (really eight subchapters). Even here, the sections on Spain, eastern Germany, Poland-Lithuania, and Scandinavia are almost untouched. Professor Verhulst has made some very helpful revisions in Professor Ganshof's treatment of France, the Low Countries, and western Germany. Mr. Jones's subchapter on Italy is new and good; the only possible criticism would be his reliance on rather late sources. But he has given an excellent description of the peculiarities of Italian agriculture.

Professor Postan has summed up years of work in his brilliant discussion of English agriculture. He is rightly concerned with the actual living conditions

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and income of peasants, not with legal problems of status and tenure. In his concern for the peasant he is at times a little too pessimistic. Granted that our evidence on medieval demography is imprecise, it is good enough to exclude his suggested upper limit (nearly seven million) on English population around 1300. And if this is true, then the pressure of population on land at the end of the thirteenth century was less acute than he suggests. Moreover, pressure was probably unevenly distributed; at least this was the case in parts of northern France that were not unlike England. On the other hand, no one can doubt his assertion that the average size of peasant holdings and the real incomes of peasants were rather low about 1300 and that both increased in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. He also makes some very perceptive remarks about the ways in which landlords adjusted to changing conditions, and especially to factors that may have favored the gentry over the magnates in the fifteenth century.

The new eighth chapter on the later Middle Ages, by Professor Génicot, is also a brilliant performance. It is interesting to compare his conclusions with those of Postan, who gives much of his space to the same period. They seem to differ somewhat on the degree to which the situations of the small landlord and the peasant with a middle-sized holding improved. But this chapter and Postan's section are so stimulating that they justify completely the preparation of a second edition.

Princeton University JOSEPH R. STRAYER

A CALENDAR OF THE REGISTER OF WOLSTAN DE BRANSFORD, BISHOP OF WORCESTER 1339–49. By *R. M. Haines*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 9.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1966. Pp. liii, 637. $40.00.)

MEDIEVALISTS will welcome this calendar of a Worcester register with its variety of records of the early years of the Hundred Years' War and the ravages of the Black Death. The editor, thoroughly conversant with the period, reveals throughout the breadth of his background reading of manuscript and printed sources as well as of modern works. His introduction deals with the physical make-up of the register, the extent of the diocese of Worcester at this time, the early life and priorate of Wolstan, and Wolstan's administration as bishop, to which are added helpful descriptions of the functions of the bishop's officers and of his *familia*. Enlightening analyses are presented through a series of tables concerned with institutions to benefices, appointment of heads of religious houses, letters dimissory, licenses for absence from benefices, ordinations, and so forth. An appendix offers transcribed original documents, among which are foundations of chantries. An index of persons and places and a subject index complete the volume.

Wolstan, born probably about 1284 in Worcestershire, was ordained a priest in 1308 and was admitted as a monk of the cathedral priory in 1310; he became its prior in 1317. His election as bishop of Worcester in 1327 was set aside because Pope John XXII had issued bulls translating Adam de Orleton from Hereford to Worcester. Two bishops followed Oreleton by papal provision before Wolstan

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was again elected in 1339 and duly consecrated. The register is significant in showing a bishop not preoccupied with a government office, but giving himself solely to the conscientious administration of his diocese in which there is found no trace of pluralism or nepotism. Wolstan made three visitations and personally performed his ordinations, not enlisting the aid of suffragans. Pleading ill-health, he did not attend meetings of parliament, making only one exception. He had the courage to stand up to Edward III who wished an advance payment of a tenth, saying that he himself would grant a sum as would the abbots of Pershore and Evesham, but he could not ask it of his clergy. Wolstan, however, kept the royal favor, for Edward III later wrote of him: *"inter alios prelatos regni nostri Angliae justus pius et honestus, ac Deo sanctae Romanae ecclesiae devotus et obediens sit, et semper fuerit reputatus."*

Sandy Spring, Maryland DOROTHY BRUCE WESKE

LETTERS FROM PETRARCH. Selected and translated by *Morris Bishop*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 306. $9.50.)

MORRIS Bishop provides English translations for some 110 of Petrarch's prose letters, about half being complete or slightly abridged, the rest abridged or excerpted. Few of these letters have been available in English until now.

The translations are generally accurate and lively. Yet sometimes discrimination appears sacrificed to familiarity, as when *impetum atque iniurias fortunae* becomes "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune."

Much of Petrarch is to be found in his letters. Bishop's selection reveals Petrarch's worries about fame in his youth and about health in old age, his friendships with princes and writers, his preference for ancient times (though he recognized the superiority of Venetian shippng to that of the ancients), his awareness of the economic depression that followed the Black Death, his openness to many of the curiosities, troubles, and satisfactions of his age. Yet certain things that should emerge from a representative book-length selection of Petrarch's letters do not appear. We find little of his polemic against dialecticians and only certain aspects of his quarrel with physicians. Some of the letters that are most revealing on Petrarch's ideal of culture and moral philosophy are omitted, as are most of the letters on political topics. Though availability may have influenced Bishop's selection, the nature of his understanding of Petrarch seems to have weighed as heavily. Bishop set forth his view of Petrarch in an earlier book, *Petrarch and His World* (1963): the first modern man, "one of the eternal men." A view so often repeated must have something to recommend it, but it is inadequate preparation for a reading of Petrarch's letters. It leaves one perplexed over Petrarch's rhetorical argument "that it is more honorable to be an Italian than a Greek," based on the ancient habit of calling one part of Italy "Magna Graecia"; it provides no approach to Petrarch's posings, his continual contradictions, his strivings for rhetorical effect. It leads Bishop to reject without explanation the new dating, and thus the new understanding, of "The Ascent of Mt. Ventoux" proposed by Giuseppe Billanovich. The quality in Petrarch that Bishop's selection most faithfully communicates is his self-consciousness. This is certainly a cen-

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tral feature of his personality and one that brings him closest to us. But even this self-consciousness cannot be understood apart from Petrarch's other characteristics that are of his century, not of ours. One wishes more attention had been paid them in making this selection of letters.

Princeton University JERROLD E. SEIGEL

ROZBIÓR KRYTYCZNY ANNALIUM POLONIAE JANA DŁUGOSZA Z LAT 1445–1480 [Critical Analysis of the *Annalium Poloniae* by Jan Długosz, 1445–1480]. Volume II. Edited by *Jan Dąbrowski et al.* [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 12.] Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1965. Pp. 434. Zł. 85.)

THE first comprehensive history of Poland was written about five hundred years ago. In it, Jan Długosz set forth a record of Poland's evolution from legendary times to 1480, the year he died. This history, in manuscript form, served as a most important source of information on early Polish development for scholars and officials of the realm during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While a part of this lengthy record was printed in 1615, a complete version was not published until 1711–1712.

Długosz, a canon of Cracow, held two principal posts that influenced his writings. The first was that of secretary to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Cracow and later a cardinal, who virtually ruled Poland for a considerable period. After the cardinal's death in 1455, Długosz entered the royal service and was employed by King Casimir Jagiełło in various capacities which brought him in touch with most of the events and many of the leading personages of the time. Also at one time or another, he had access to archival materials of both Church and state. Indeed, the earlier part of the history of Poland, which he began in 1455 at the suggestion of Oleśnicki, was drawn largely from documents in the Polish archives, but, as the events were recounted, his history became in fact a chronicle of contemporary events. Because Długosz was far from objective in his opinions, analyses, and interpretations, modern scholars have deemed it necessary, considering the value of his accounts, to determine the degree of literal accuracy they possess.

An undertaking of this nature was begun by Aleksander Semkowicz, one volume of whose critical studies, covering the period to 1384, was published in 1887. Much later this task was resumed by a group of scholars including Stanisław Gawęda, Krystyna Pieradzka, Julia Radziszewska, and Krystyna Stachowska, headed by the late Professor Jan Dąbrowski, and the first volume of their work was published in 1961. This study, relating to Długosz' history for the period 1385–1444, was the result principally of a comparison of Długosz' accounts with Bohemian, Russian, German, Silesian, and Lithuanian chronicles. Four years later the present volume was published. In this, the fact-finding group compared Długosz' accounts of his own times, often heavy with personal prejudice, with sources contemporary with Długosz and with more recent studies as well, verifying, correcting, or discrediting the original theme as the findings warranted. This final portion of the critical analysis of Długosz' history makes his work for

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the first time fully useful to historians. The commentary as presented in the present volume, including a vast number of critical notes and an extensive bibliography, bears tribute to both the devotion and the scholarly attributes of the editors, and it is, in itself, a major contribution to the study of Polish history.

Library of Congress JANINA W. HOSKINS

MECHANICAL UNIVERSE: THE ASTRARIUM OF GIOVANNI DE' DONDI. By *Silvio A. Bedini* and *Francis R. Maddison*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVI, Part 5.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1966. Pp. 69. $2.50.)

THIS work of collaboration, "a conflation of studies independently begun by both authors," undertakes to describe accurately the *astrarium* of Giovanni de' Dondi and to trace its history to its destruction at the end of the fifteenth century, as well as "to collect and systematize in chronological order all available surviving contemporary accounts and later records relating to the astrarium." This job was definitely worth doing, since De' Dondi's instrument, though not the first of its kind, is among the most famous; there have been many areas of ignorance and faulty knowledge regarding it.

The authors have done an impressively thorough and intelligent job. All quotations are given in English translation in the text and are referred to the documents printed in the original language in an appendix. Numerous well-chosen and well-produced photographs greatly enhance the book's value, though happily not its price. This is a most welcome addition to the literature on medieval technology. Both the authors and the publishers are to be congratulated.

University of Southern California RICHARD C. DALES

Modern Europe

DECLINE AND RISE OF EUROPE: A STUDY IN RECENT HISTORY, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN CONSCIOUSNESS. By *John Lukacs*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xii, 295. $4.95.)

THIS book's principal theme is "the ambiguous and, as yet, inadequate development of a European consciousness." To develop this topic the author concentrates on the original use of the term "Europe" as a noun and then the increasing use of it as an adjective. This may seem like a simple schematic approach, but in developing his account Lukacs touches on much European history in a very perceptive way.

Of the two concepts, what is Europe is relatively easy to deal with. The geographic, economic, and political development are tangible and can be surveyed. In the Middle Ages the geographical idea of Europe was inextricably interwoven with the idea of Christendom. Between 1400 and 1700 the terms Western Christendom and Europe were interchangeable, but the Treaty of Utrecht was the last international agreement to include a reference to *respublica*

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Christiana. What unity Europe had gave way to a changing state system, and the history of Europe became the history of the separate states. Incidentally, England and also Russia are considered as being integral parts of Europe. It is this European state system that is now declining.

Pius II, we are informed, turned the word Europe into an adjective around 1450. Just what that term has meant and means today is difficult to state, for it is a matter of consciousness. Inability to define exactly this concept does not mean it does not exist or that the Europeans are not increasingly aware of it. It is good to have someone raise his voice against the post-World War II tendency to sell Europe short even though the rise of a European consciousness is still rather vague.

Considering the ground he covers, it is not surprising that the author makes some sweeping generalizations, a good number of which are debatable. For example: had Great Britain by 1900 "acquiesced in the Far Eastern and Pacific and perhaps even in the Atlantic primacy of the United States"; or what are "the increasingly cramped habits of the modern American mind"? But right or wrong, the broad observations do not detract, but rather add zest to his arguments. There are explanatory footnotes, so many and long at times that they interfere with the readability of the text. Here as in the text itself, the author includes numerous telling quotations without direct citation, a procedure hardly just to the author quoted or to the reader who might like to know the exact source of the quotation.

Bowdoin College E. C. Helmreich

CHARBON ET SCIENCES HUMAINES: ACTES DU COLLOQUE ORGANISÉ PAR LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LILLE EN MAI 1963. Under the direction of *Louis Trenard.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Industrie et artisanat, Number 2.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 465. 59 fr.)

It is easy to criticize a collection of interdisciplinary papers dealing with a single subject. Frequently, as with *Festschriften,* the articles contained therein are diffuse and of unequal quality. In this case, some are local history and therefore of little interest to the outsider; others deal with topics that have appeal primarily for the specialist, as, for example, a paper on the language of the miners and another one on their religious affiliations. For all the papers contained in this book coal is the common denominator. The colloquium that met at Arras in May 1963 was organized under this heading. Beyond it there was no particular unifying theme. If anything, the results of the conference—certainly the assessment of the present and the projection for the future—had a pessimistic tone to them. The coal industry everywhere is a sick industry.

In short, this was not a meeting dedicated only to the history of the coal basin of northern France. It covered a fairly broad expanse of topics, presented by a large array of personalities. Here academician met governmental official and industrialist, and historian, sociologist, geographer, and expert on literature

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were asked to make their contributions to the understanding of a common phenomenon. Could one expect such a diverse group to tackle one single problem so that a coherent synthesis would emanate? This was obviously too much to expect. Instead, one must be grateful for some of the outstanding articles and, moreover, for the interesting comments that followed several of them. Among the articles of value is Claude Fohlen's piece on the relationship of coal to the Industrial Revolution in France between 1815 and 1850. There being a close correlation between coal and the rise of industry in the nineteenth century, the lack of this raw material and transportation difficulties operated as major constraints. Even more to the point is the fact that it was cheaper to import British coal than to make use of the coal mined in France, an important historical fact that François Crouzet in a subsequent article spelled out with great cogency. Bertrand Gille took up the question of size and the problem of mergers. That merging of firms was the tendency is not surprising; that the government stepped in to prevent further mergers about 1852 is indeed significant.

For the rest, a group of three articles under the heading of geography and demography proved most interesting. André Gamblin produced a fine piece in which he examined the localization of industry on the basis of several theoretical criteria. Pierre Bruyelle pointed to the concentration of population in coal districts, and Jacqueline Beaujeu-Garnier elaborated on migrations to and from the coal areas, emphasizing the employment of foreign labor. I should also not wish to omit Pierre Reboul's report on mines and miners in nineteenth-century French literature. Lastly, several bibliographical articles on French, Belgian, English, East German, and West German historical literature on coal are included.

Tulane University HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

ACTA PACIS WESTPHALICAE. Series 2, Part C, DIE SCHWEDISCHEN KORRESPONDENZEN. Volume I, 1643–1645. Edited by *Ernst Manfred Wermter*. (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. xxxii, 960. Cloth DM 142, paper DM 138.)

IN 1957 the *Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte* was founded in West Germany with the goal of encouraging research on problems of general modern history from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. They chose to do this by following the venerable German tradition of the careful collecting, editing, and publishing of historical sources. The first major project undertaken has been the *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, which appears in three series: "Instructions"; "Correspondence"; and "Varia." The first volume in Series One appeared in 1962, and one volume has appeared in Series Three. The present volume of Swedish correspondence on the preliminaries to the Peace of Westphalia is the first in its series. Taken as a whole, this promises to be one of the most important collections of sources published since World War II and answers a need most recently pointed out in Fritz Dickmann's *Der Westfälische Frieden* (1959). Although a few letters are in French, German, or Latin, most are in Swedish and were exchanged between Stockholm, the Swedish resident in Münster, Schering Rosenhane, and the Swedish ambassadors in Osnabrück, Johan

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Oxenstierna and Johan Adler Salvius. They illustrate effectively the complexity of the peace negotiations, European diplomatic activity of the period, and the rather impressive political sophistication of the Swedish representatives, especially Adler Salvius. His sensitivity to public opinion on the matter of the Swedish war with Denmark is outstanding as is his ability to isolate the distinctive characteristics of the foreign policies of the various negotiating states. Occasionally amusing side lights occur as when he wrote home in November 1645 recounting conversations with the Spanish ambassador, Saavedra, who had told him to watch out for the French and to remember that Spaniards shared with Swedes the same Gothic ancestors.

At the end of the volume there are a chronological index, including references to materials not printed here, and a very good index of names. Ernst Manfred Wermter, the general editors of the series, Max Braubach and Konrad Repgen, and the publishers are to be congratulated on a difficult job well done. Every respectable research library should possess this work.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

POWSTANIE PALATYNACKO-BADEŃSKIE 1849 ROKU ORAZ UDZIAŁ W NIM POLAKÓW [The Revolution in the Palatinate and Baden in 1849 and Polish Participation]. By *Anna Owsińska*. [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 14.] (Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1965. Pp. 209. Zł. 36.)

AMERICAN scholars have somehow by-passed this long-forgotten and little-known revolution, although it certainly has importance in the evaluation of the struggle of democracy versus reaction in Germany. Early in 1849 the Frankfurt National Assembly passed a democratic constitution for a new German Empire (*Kaiserreich*) that was strongly opposed by German monarchists and reactionaries. King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia refused to accept the crown as Kaiser of a constitutional Germany. The Prussian government supported all rulers of particular *Länder* in their opposition to change and intervened with armed forces to preserve the *status quo*.

The social structure of the western and southern German states, their closer contact with French and Italian liberalism, and their traditional opposition to the Prussian upstarts favored the adoption of the new constitution in these areas. After the democratic enthusiasm of 1848 had evaporated and the Frankfurt Assembly started to disintegrate, the Left Wing came, quite belatedly, to the conclusion that words should be followed with deeds. In May 1849 local revolutions broke out that were intended to replace the existing order by the Frankfurt constitution. The revolution in Dresden lasted four days; in other cities, it was even shorter.

The "democrats" were most successful in the Palatinate and Baden where the local armed forces (except for their officers) immediately sided with them. In Baden, Siegel, an able, democratically inspired lieutenant became commander in chief. But he had no military ability, and his army of some twenty thousand lacked officers. The new government approached the Polish Democratic Associ-

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ation in Paris for officers. This association represented the Left Wing of the Polish *émigrés* and included a large number of well-trained officers from the army of the Polish Kingdom (1815–1831) established by the Congress of Vienna in personal union with the Russian Empire.

Both the Palatinate and Baden nominated Polish generals as heads of their armed forces, and about two hundred Polish officers led the ranks. Lack of time and a dangerous "fifth column," which at critical moments sided with the Prussians, caused defeat of the "democrats."

Anna Owsińska has used well the available archival material and vast memoirs of contemporaries. Kept in scholarly form, with an abundance of footnotes, her monograph still makes interesting reading. She added a useful name index, but neglected to include a bibliography. Her map of day-by-day operations was certainly a good idea, but it is crowded and lacks a scale and unit symbols; hence, it is not very useful. These technical deficiencies mar, but do not reduce the value of this piece of good historical writing.

Hoover Institution WITOLD S. SWORAKOWSKI

SCHICKSALSJAHR 1866. By *Adam Wandruszka*. ([Graz:] Verlag Styria. 1966. Pp. 304. Sch. 118.)

THE hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Königgrätz has inspired a number of reassessments of the significance of 1866 in Central European history. Adam Wandruszka, Austrian by birth and professor of modern history at Cologne, modestly rejects any comparison of this memorial volume with the major works by Friedjung, Srbik, and Wilhelm Schüssler, or the recent study of the battle by Gordon A. Craig. Although there are no footnotes, the scholarly quality of the work is revealed in many paragraphs that summarize an important work of recent scholarship or examine critically a still-debatable issue.

The author's theme and purpose are conventional: to show how 1866 was a turning point in German unification, an important step in building the Italian state, and a shift of major significance in the power relationships of Prussia, Italy, and France, largely at the expense of Austria. The structural features are likewise simple: the treaty system of 1814–1815, the lessons of the 1848 Revolutions, the success of the Italian unification movement and the repercussions in Germany, Bismarck's "blood and iron," the Austro-Prussian power struggle in Central Europe, and the diplomatic and military events of the critical year 1866.

The book is avowedly written for a younger generation of Germans for whom the knowledge of these events of a hundred years ago have all but vanished from historical consciousness. In general, the tone of the book is more *Grossdeutsch* than *Kleindeutsch,* more Europe centered than Prussian or Bismarck centered, and more calmly objective than partisan.

An appendix, occupying a third of the space, presents extracts from the unpublished diary of Austrian General Karl Moering for the year 1866. Moering commanded a brigade at the Battle of Custozza and served as Austrian commissioner in the transfer of Venetia to the kingdom of Italy. A liberal, but staunchly loyal to the Habsburgs, he quoted a Vienna pasquinade on the causes of the Austrian defeat:

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Freiwillige ohne Knöpf',
Minister ohne Köpf',
Ein Kaiser ohne Hirn,
Da müssen wir verlier'n.

Wandruszka ably summarizes a critical year in Europe's political history and the diplomatic developments leading up to it. A translation would make this worthwhile study available to a wider circle of students and general readers, an audience that it greatly deserves.

University of Virginia ORON J. HALE

DIE RUSSISCHE EMIGRATION IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1919–1929. By *Hans-Erich Volkmann.* [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 26.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 154. DM 34.50.)

IN the 1920's Hans v. Rimscha published surveys of refugees from Bolshevik Russia. Now, proposing to treat only Germany, Hans-Erich Volkmann brings information from later accounts and scholarship as well as from private and public German manuscript collections, especially from the political archives of the Foreign Office at Bonn.

"The Structure of Russian Emigration," first and briefest of the six topical chapters, leaves me puzzled about the number of refugees, said always to have averaged at least 150,000–250,000 in Germany between 1919 and 1929. But the author declares that exact evidence is wanting. Chapters II–IV give incidentally some glimpses of the miseries of refugees. "With only minimal protection of human rights, largely without work, and thus robbed of every regular foundation for life, most carried on a desperate struggle for their existence." For reasons that are neither evident nor explained, Chapter V, "The Political Activity of the Monarchists," fills almost half the book. The author is obviously interested in the subject, has published articles on German efforts in the Baltic States in 1918–1919, and is at work on a large study of the latter subject. While he thus leaves Germany for the activities of Bermondt-Avalov, he shows at least some connections of the Russian monarchists with German nationalist, antidemocratic groups at home, especially in Bavaria, such as in the Bad Reichenhall conference of 1921. But his exclusion of Germans who were formerly Russian citizens keeps him from examining associations with the Nazis as Walter Laqueur has done in English in *Russia and Germany* (1965). Volkmann follows the activities of the Russian monarchists into France; so, too, outside Germany he follows the conflicts over the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church and the efforts of Rome for union. He points out problems that Rapallo brought Russian refugees in Germany and shows continued close connections with German extremist groups of the Right. Although he suggests that the Russian refugees created problems similar to the more massive ones after 1945, he neither explains nor follows that theme. For all the wealth of detail in less than 154 pages, scholars can hardly be cheered that such a paperback book is priced at DM 34.50—more than eight dollars.

University of Washington D. E. EMERSON

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THE GREAT POWERS, LITHUANIA, AND THE VILNA QUESTION, 1920–1928. By *Alfred Erich Senn.* [Studies in East European History, Number 11.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1966. Pp. x, 239. 40 gls.)

THE decade 1920–1930 produced such quaint devices for preserving peace as the Washington Conference, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the Maginot Line. France and Britain rested their hopes upon the Versailles system, depending largely on Poland to police Eastern Europe. A lack of contact with reality, however, was not a monopoly of the Allies. Hysterical nationalism was rampant in most of Europe. The war itself had been testimony to its strength, and that, in the post-war period, was further amplified by the disposition of power symbols to weak nations like Lithuania. That nation, like others, became intoxicated by the wild hopes for international morality aroused by Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations, and the utopian concept of national self-determination.

As this book progresses it repeats the ever-recurring motif of Lithuanian frustration, of a nation trying to be something it was not in a world that never was.

Even though the Poles treacherously violated the Suwalki agreement of October 7, 1920, by seizing Vilna two days later, France and eventually Britain blessed the Polish possession of Vilna, as did the Council of the League by indirection. Power politics was of course a major factor, but it is true, as Senn points out, that Vilna, Lithuania's historical capital, was ethnically Jewish and culturally Polish. As the years passed, Lithuania was warned ever more urgently to cease threatening the peace and to stop leaning on anathematized Russia for support. This advice remained quite beyond the emotional acceptance range of Lithuanian nationalism.

Professor Senn has admirably depicted the psychotic and self-destructive patterns that the Lithuanian people and statesmen manifested as they reacted to the cruel loss of their spiritual capital at the very moment of their national resurrection. This book, although rather cramped for all the author tries to say and therefore tedious reading in parts, bears a timely message to a world again deluded and divided and beset with Vilna-type problems from Berlin to Taiwan. The focus is rather one-sidedly on Lithuania, Senn complaining that the Polish sources were not "cooperative." A subject index was definitely called for, and a bibliography should also have been included.

City College of New York STANLEY W. PAGE

1940. By *Laurence Thompson.* (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1966. Pp. 256. $5.95.)

LAURENCE Thompson, a journalist of rather unusual sensitivity, presents here a book for the lay reader that will well repay the four or five hours it may require to read it. Combining an ability to write well-paced prose with a willingness to use the recollections of others, he has produced a diverting and instructive account of the year 1940. It was a year of pivotal importance in which several matters were brought to a stage of full or partial completion and in their out-

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come gave a tilt favorable to Great Britain as it faced—for the most part alone—the mounting fury of the war.

The book is like a dozen beads on the string of the year. Beginning with the intrigue and narrowing of political and military arrangements in late 1939 and early 1940, the work goes quickly to the campaign in Norway, the overthrow of Chamberlain, the emergence of Churchill, the battle in northern France, Dunkirk, the question of "peace," and finally the *Blitz*. Each episode has an identity of its own, but there are unity and coherence in the lot. Many readers will want to go through the book at one sitting.

This feeling of pace and movement comes in part from Thompson's willingness to move around as his narrative requires it. London is the focal point, but Washington and Berlin come in as they are needed. Good use is made also of the rather rich store of personalities available, and many characterizations and insights will strike the reader's fancy. One is pleased with the deftness of several of these (Halifax is a good example) or startled by their acerbity. Occasionally the author falters in his effort to create atmosphere, but on the whole the craftsmanship is good.

Could not one just as easily do 1939 or 1941? Almost certainly—and there may be efforts. Done with the proper touch it is a form of historical writing that may appeal to a rather wide reading public. The span of time is not too long, and the possibility of letting the main characters take over not too remote to result in popular history of a good sort. More of it would not be bad.

University of North Carolina JAMES L. GODFREY

DIPLOMAT IN WIEN: ERLEBNISSE, BEGEGNUNGEN UND GEDANKEN UM DEN ÖSTERREICHISCHEN STAATSVERTRAG. By *Sven Allard*. (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik; distrib. by P. A. Norstedt & Söner, Stockholm. 1965. Pp. 246.)

IN the form of a partial memoir, the former Swedish ambassador to Austria (1954–1964) sets himself the task of explaining the sudden willingness of the Soviets to conclude the Austrian State Treaty in early 1955, after almost a decade of recalcitrance. Allard enjoyed a close, personal relationship with the representatives of the three Western Powers and the Austrians (especially Bruno Kreisky) and, for this reason, was occasionally used as a sounding board by Soviet diplomats as well. He therefore claims to have had an intimate behind-the-scenes acquaintance with and understanding of the diplomatic developments that led to the treaty. His account does not bear this out, however. The few private conversations he records do little more than embellish the testimony of the published, widely available sources, especially official pronouncements and newspapers, upon which he chiefly relies. Allard's analysis of the evidence, like his long, pedantic background lectures and digressions on the theory and conduct of Soviet foreign policy, does not rise above that of a college instructor or political journalist. He arrives at length at the generally accepted interpretation of the Soviet decision: having lost hope that Austria might become another "satellite," and having failed to couple an Austrian settlement successfully with the exclu-

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sion of West Germany from the Western defense alliance, the Soviets (specifically Khrushchev) decided to use the Austrian treaty to launch a new diplomatic offensive. The neutralization of Austria was to serve as an object lesson on the principles of coexistence and to hamper the growth of Western military power by illustrating the advantages of neutralism and demilitarization. The whole thing has been done better by an American Foreign Service officer, William B. Bader, in his *Austria between East and West, 1945–1955* (1966). Bader explains the Soviet decision against a backdrop of East-West competition within as well as without Austria and draws upon a much more comprehensive collection of sources, including the Dulles Papers.

Though of little value to scholars, Allard's account may have some appeal to that stratum of the European intelligentsia which is always titillated by the clubby reminiscences of professional diplomats, even those confined to the periphery of power.

University of California, Los Angeles JOSEPH FREDERICK ZACEK

CATHERINE OF ARAGON AND HER FRIENDS. By *John E. Paul.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 263. $6.00.)

IN nineteen short chapters Dr. Paul sketches the lives of those who made up the circle of Henry VIII's first queen. He has not attempted to write another biography to place beside the masterpiece of Garrett Mattingly. Rather he intended to keep Queen Catherine in the background, while concentrating on her friends and associates. The Queen's friends, as chosen by Paul, include both the famous and the obscure. The familiar stories of Thomas More, John Fisher, and the Nun of Kent are retold. Among the more interesting minor characters is the mischievous Doña Elvira Manuel, Catherine's duenna. Catherine's shyness and inability to adjust to life in England gave Doña Elvira the opportunity to dominate the court. After five years in England Catherine was still unable to speak English, and, consequently, she remained dependent on the Spanish ladies at court. Doña Elvira's intimacy with Catherine was of a degree that permitted her to inform Ferdinand and Isabella that their daughter's marriage to Prince Arthur had not been consummated, but it was diplomatic meddling, not inquisitiveness, that ruined her. Her rash scheme to align Henry VII with Archduke Philip miscarried. A well-timed illness compelled Doña Elvira to retire to Flanders, and neither Catherine nor England mourned her departure.

Although published in the United States by a university press, Paul's study is primarily for the general reader. It is written in an engaging style and makes full use of recent secondary works as well as the standard printed sources. For the scholar there is little new, and the absence of footnotes does not inspire confidence. The critical reader cannot help but be skeptical about Paul's certainty that Catherine was deprived of the bare necessities and forced to borrow money lest she face starvation. Her complaints about poverty and neglect can scarcely be taken at face value. On the other hand, a rereading of the tragic stories of More and Margaret Pole shows how savage life in Tudor England could be.

University of New Mexico BARRETT L. BEER

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CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. ELIZABETH I. Volume V, 1569–1572. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1966. Pp. vii, 725. 189*s*.)

In reviewing the initial volume of Elizabethan patents (*AHR,* XLVI [Apr. 1941], 627) Conyers Read complained mildly about the tardy pace of the publication of the series. More recently, Robert Johnson noted the progressively higher prices demanded for succeeding volumes (*AHR,* LXX [July 1965], 1174). A necessary third comment is that concerned with the ever-mounting debt we owe to the skillful and meticulous artists of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. In this work they have produced another magnificent addition to the documentation of English history.

This volume calendars Patent Rolls entries from November 17, 1569, to November 16, 1572. Concerned with nonpolitical domestic affairs, this synoptic compilation presents little of the drama that characterizes statutes of the realm, royal proclamations, or acts of the Privy Council. Yet as instruments conveying vital historical information, and because of the interdependence of evidences in historical studies, the patents are of fundamental importance, and they are drawn in the multiple forms necessary to their purposes: licenses, pardons, grants, commissions, and dispensations.

Many relate to land grants, denizations, and pardons and contain a wealth of names and locales that will contribute to the study of genealogy and local history. The commissions for discovery of concealed lands, patents for monopolies, and grants of royal properties include hitherto unprinted materials relevant to the provenance of subsequent constitutional problems, with particular reference to the House of Commons' search for the power to remedy grievances of the Commonwealth in the next century. The licenses for manufacturing, importing, and exporting of consumer goods will increase our knowledge of Elizabethan mercantilism, while the lists of offenders pardoned after the northern rebellion, and the simultaneous methodical spoliation of its attainted prime movers to the enrichment of courtiers and favorites, help define certain of the Queen's administrative policies.

Wisconsin State University, Whitewater Paul L. Hughes

CAST OF RAVENS: THE STRANGE CASE OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY. By *Beatrice White*. (New York: George Braziller. [1967.] Pp. ix, 260. $6.00.)

This volume is concerned with some of the scandals of James I's reign. Sir Thomas Overbury was one of the victims of the divorce between Frances Howard and Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, and her marriage to Robert Carr, earl of Somerset. After years of intimacy with Carr, Overbury became a threat to the Carr-Howard marriage. Overbury was imprisoned in the Tower, where he became the target of at least two intrigues. Carr, James, and others worked for Overbury's disgrace and detention until after the marriage. Frances Howard sought his death through witchcraft and poison. His death brought relief to some and suspicion and fear to a few.

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Two years after Overbury's death and hasty burial and the Carr-Howard marriage, the Earl and Countess of Somerset were the center of another scandal. One of the lesser persons involved in the attempt to murder Overbury confessed. Sir Edward Coke, who investigated and prosecuted most of the cases, soon had evidence against several, including the lieutenant of the Tower and the Earl and Countess of Somerset. The lesser persons were executed, but Carr and Howard, though convicted, escaped severe punishment. Carr's punishment was banishment from the company of James, who had replaced him with George Villiers even before the trial. Howard's punishment was her exclusion from the court and all of its intrigues.

Dr. White has concentrated on scandals and intrigues, rather than the literary efforts of Overbury or the policies of James. Only two of the characters, Lord Ellesmere and Francis Bacon, escape with anything approximating morals, ethics, honesty, integrity, or normality. Infirmity prevented Ellesmere from playing an active role. Bacon was appointed as a counter to Coke in order that Carr and Howard not be pressed into divulging too much and that they not be subjected to the treatment accorded the lesser lights by Coke. This volume does not modify current interpretations, but it does fill in and confirm parts of the picture. White is to be commended for producing a sound piece of historical scholarship and for presenting her material in such a way as to make it valuable and interesting to the specialist and the layman.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte GEORGE R. ABERNATHY, JR.

THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN. By *P. G. Rogers*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 168. $4.80.)

THIS is the story of that Puritan sect of Cromwellian England that had the deepest commitment to millennialism. Although there have been several articles about the Fifth Monarchy Men in recent American periodicals, mostly unused by the author, this is the first book-length treatment since Louise Fargo Brown's *Baptist and Fifth Monarchy Men* (1912). Unlike Brown's study, to which it adds very little factual information, it rightly does not stop before the climactic Venner uprising of 1661; nor does it argue that Fifth Monarchy Men were closely related to the Baptists.

First introduced to the Fifth Monarchy Men by Harold Laski thirty-five years ago, Rogers warmed up to this well-written study with two books on nineteenth-century millennialism. Consequently, he does not fit the Fifth Monarchists into the total picture of Cromwellian Puritanism, but his deep knowledge of English millennialism does permit him to treat his subject as "primarily a religious movement." The first chapter deals with the seventeenth-century English precursors of Fifth Monarchism; the next eight chapters trace the narrative through the 1850's and early 1860's with extensive quotes garnered from all the important pamphlet literature except for the writings of John Tillinghast; only in the last chapter do we get an analytical statement, and, for what it is worth, a moral judgment about these "Stiff-Necked People."

Rogers correctly stresses Fifth Monarchism's heterogeneous nature as it ranged from "peaceful dreamers to bellicose fanatics," its aversion to religious

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toleration except for the Jews whom they welcomed as "harbingers of the long-awaited Kingdom of Christ," and its "anti-democratic" and theocratic political outlook which "would have riveted upon England a system as bigoted and intolerant as any" under James I and Charles I. Unfortunately, Rogers does not distinguish between those influential millennialists of Puritan England (like Cromwell's chaplains, John Owen and Thomas Goodwin), whose version of the Second Coming of Christ was inward and spiritual, and the Fifth Monarchy Men, whose version was outward and literal. Nor does he really make the case for the Fifth Monarchists as "left-wing" revolutionaries (the Laski influence?), but he does state unequivocally that in wishing to throw off the old yoke of oppression, they would, if successful, have imposed a new one.

Indiana University LEO F. SOLT

NAVY BOARD CONTRACTS, 1660–1832: CONTRACT ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE NAVY BOARD. By *Bernard Pool.* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1966. Pp. xii, 158. $9.00.)

THE contracts discussed here were for shipbuilding and repairs, timber, masts, and naval stores, together with services such as the removal of mud from docks and mooring sites. Victualing and guns and powder were the responsibility of other departments. Although the Navy Board was the largest government purchasing department, the subject has been only partly dealt with in earlier works, and the present study was well worth undertaking. The result is a concise and clear account, solidly based on the Admiralty Papers and other contemporary evidence, but with insights deriving from the author's experience as Director of Navy Contracts, 1948–1960. Modern scholarship is not neglected, although Daniel A. Baugh, *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole* (1965), appeared too late for its important findings to be employed.

Shipbuilding by private builders outside the royal yards was exceptional before 1660, but thereafter was frequently resorted to in order to fulfill the naval programs. The contracts are studied in detail and reveal much about the navy and about business methods. Navy yards were forced to compete with private builders for both labor and materials, and striking instances of conflicting interests arose. There appears to have been little competition in bidding on shipbuilding and almost none at all on the supply of materials such as eastern timber. Given these circumstances and contemporary standards of business morality, it is not surprising that the Navy Board came under heavy attack from reformers. Pool does not estimate the number or influence of Navy Board contractors in Parliament, the exclusion of whom was enacted in 1782. Reform of other abuses was steadily pursued after 1783 and receives much attention. Despite the author's evidence of gratuities to officials and administrative atrophy, he is convincing in his conclusion that the work of the board was "basically sound and well-administered." Confirmation is provided in the form of proof that after the abolishment of the Navy Board in 1832 the five successor departments began to compete with each other in purchasing the same items.

Vanderbilt University P. H. HARDACRE

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THE FIRE COURT: CALENDAR TO THE JUDGMENTS AND DECREES OF THE COURT OF JUDICATURE APPOINTED TO DETERMINE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LANDLORDS AND TENANTS AS TO REBUILDING AFTER THE GREAT FIRE. Volume I. Edited by *Philip E. Jones*. ([London:] William Clowes and Sons. 1966. Pp. xx, 320. 45*s*.)

On the morrow of the Great Fire of London in 1666, responsible persons both in the City and in Westminster realized that litigation between landowners, prime tenants, and subtenants might delay rebuilding by years or decades. If the common law was ill-adapted to divide the loss equitably between the affected parties, Chancery was much too cumbersome and slow to act as expediter. In the end an emergency "Fire Court" was set up to settle such disputes, consisting of all the common-law judges using common-law oral procedures but free to employ such standards of equity as it saw fit. The present Corporation of the City of London has begun the publication of the entry books of decisions of this remarkable court.

The court was essentially successful in settling disputes and getting the burned properties rebuilt quickly. Generally, the tenant was given the first refusal of rebuilding, with the landlord usually required to compensate by extending leases or by making a contribution in cash or reduced rent. When the tenant was unwilling or unable to rebuild quickly, he was required to surrender his lease so that the landlord could rebuild.

For economic and social historians not particularly interested in these legal arrangements, this volume will nevertheless have great interest. The transactions of the court reveal with remarkable clarity ownership and tenurial patterns in urban real estate on the eve of the fire. Rents, particularly of public houses, were high, making urban real estate attractive both for investment and speculation. Subleasing was common, producing both capital and income gains. (Annuities were almost as common as mortgages, though both were surprisingly infrequent, as the risk on houses was much greater than on land.) All in all, a highly intricate and most interesting picture of the real-estate market emerges.

University of Michigan Jacob M. Price

THE ARMIES OF QUEEN ANNE. By *R. E. Scouller*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 420. $11.20.)

This book deals with British Army administration during Queen Anne's reign. Its chapters discuss the branches of army organization, the recruiting and treatment of soldiers, and the supplying of skills and materials. By supplementing authorities like Clode and Walton with material from the *Commons Journals* and the State, Treasury, and War Office Papers, Major Scouller has produced a thorough and valuable account of the regulations and establishments of the period. He is less thorough—but often interesting, especially in regard to recruiting and soldiers' living conditions—on the actual working of the regulations. Finance is not one of his strong points. His discussion of the paymaster, for example, deals largely with Ranelagh, who was dismissed in the first year of the Queen's reign; it does not even mention Brydges, who was paymaster abroad

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from 1705 to 1713. Scouller cannot be blamed for overlooking the chapter on paymasters in J. G. Sperling's Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, done in 1954, "Godolphin and the Organisation of Public Credit, 1702–10," but the letters printed in the Bakers' *Life* of Brydges should not have escaped his notice.

Finance, however, is a crucial matter because so many problems of army administration in this period hinged on the fact that the colonels were in reality government contractors for troops. Hence they played a key role in administration, one that they were often ill-situated to perform and that offered manifold temptations for illicit gain. Scouller misleads us when he speaks of "patient officers" betrayed by corrupt London officials. The officers were part of the problem. If their requests for additional allowances were handled clumsily, it was partly because they were mistrusted. The history of army administration is largely a story of the gradual modification of the contractual relationship, but this book does not treat systematically the relevant developments of Queen Anne's reign.

There is throughout a disturbing discrepancy between the author's general statements and his evidence. He begins by stating that the army, under Marlborough, was among the most "brilliantly successful British armies in history"; this is true, but the whole tendency of his book is to instill disbelief. Even at lower levels of organization, the book seems aimless. Topic sentences are sometimes refuted by what follows, and too many concluding remarks have the flavor of guesses. The book provides much that is thought provoking, but it scarcely avoids any of the pitfalls of administrative history.

Princeton University DANIEL A. BAUGH

THE COMPLETE LETTERS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU. Volume II, 1721–1751. Edited by *Robert Halsband*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xxv, 530. $13.45.)

PROFESSOR Halsband has already presented us with a full, authoritative, and admirably readable biography of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. He is now more than halfway through a complementary work: a three-volume edition of her correspondence, which is to contain all surviving letters of her own and at least a sampling of the letters addressed to her. As her correspondents included Pope, Addison, Arbuthnot, Young, Congreve, Bishop Burnet, Lord Hervey, and Montesquieu, even the briefest sampling will certainly interest scholars.

Lady Mary's letters have always been highly esteemed. Like her occasional verses, they were passed around freely among her contemporaries. One series of them, the so-called "Turkish Embassy Letters" (describing her life in Constantinople when her husband was British ambassador there), was published in 1763, less than a year after her death, and became the principal basis of her literary fame. More were published in both the nineteenth-century edition of her *Works* by James Dallaway (1803) and that by Lord Wharncliffe (1837), and still more emerged in the next 140 years. It was all but inevitable that some twentieth-century scholar should embark upon a complete series that would exploit the full value of so distinguished a collection.

It is hard to imagine a scholar better equipped for the task than Halsband.

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He edits *con amore*. His interest in Lady Mary's world must be nearly as great as her own. Yet he is never a mere enthusiast. He faces up to the dullest and most insistent of his editorial jobs: the endless identifications, the "spotting" of difficult quotes, the untangling of confused and thankless minor incidents. Best of all, he does those jobs with an appearance of ease. If he has any fault worth mentioning, perhaps it is connected with the apparent ease. He can be just a little too cavalier about his own conjectural datings. Sometimes they require an argument that is not supplied. It is an absurdly small fault in one of the greatest of modern editions.

University of Massachusetts THOMAS W. COPELAND

EDWARD GIBBON THE HISTORIAN. By *Joseph Ward Swain*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 161. $5.75.)

ON December 31, 1775, an English astrologer could have made himself immortal by predicting the advent of an *annus mirabilis*. Although no one was so prescient, we may be sure that those persons who live by anniversaries will not neglect their opportunity in 1976. If the historian *may* leave the Declaration of Independence to the politician, the *Wealth of Nations* to the economist, and the *Fragment on Government* to the lawyer, he *must* pay homage to the first volume of a history that could survive them. That damned thick book, whose author was to scribble, scribble, scribble for another dozen years, was wonderfully timed, a discourse on the fall of the greatest empire of antiquity, coinciding with the felicitous elegy of the greatest contemporary one. Gibbon knew that he had scored, and toward the end of his life he acknowledged that his *History* had given him a name, a rank, a character to which he would not otherwise have been entitled: he would be read with honor by those who never saw him and whom he would never see. Even though his prescience exceeded that of any astrologer, he could scarcely have anticipated that an early nineteenth-century etiquette book would recommend the *Decline and Fall* to young ladies. Had he done so, how great must be our regret at the loss of the bon mot that would have followed his discovery of the injunction that they must solemnly promise not to read the footnotes. We can actually see him opening his mouth as he arranges his epigram.

The present essay is well named. Without assuming an inevitable march toward the *Decline and Fall* Swain has accompanied Gibbon along the way imaginatively and learnedly, a journey made easier by Gibbon's own *Memoirs* and letters. No great historian has more freely written his historiographical autobiography, and Swain has taken full advantage of it. Apart from a chapter on the "lover," the whole essay concentrates on the Gibbon we wish to know, the historian. His debt to the captain of the Hampshire Grenadiers has perhaps too often been acknowledged, but the debt to his "cursed political life"—the offer of a parliamentary seat came just as he had destroyed an army of barbarians—has never been so fully set forth. Nor has the saunter of the littérateur: whatever his fulfillment, Gibbon was not born to be a historian. There can be no doubt, however, that he became one, one whose critical power matched his narrative genius. If this perceptive volume excites one regret above any other,

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it is its neglect of Gibbon's concern with recovering England's past. Had he lived out his Biblical span—he died at fifty-seven—he might have raised another arch no less worthy to be celebrated.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

MAKERS OF MODERN ENGLAND: THE FORCE OF INDIVIDUAL GENIUS IN HISTORY. By *Giovanni Costigan.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 334. $6.95.)

ALTHOUGH these essays were, I suspect, written with the general reader in mind, they can be read by professional historians with profit and enjoyment. Professor Costigan's eight or nine subjects (do Sidney and Beatrice Webb count as one or two?) are not only figures of major importance; most of them would come irresistibly to mind in discussions of the building of modern England. More than that, they are individuals whose careers raise tantalizing questions and whose personalities, with all their differences, were not lacking in color, though in the case of some, admittedly, it comes in muted shades. The members of the cast—Jeremy Bentham, J. S. Mill, John Henry Newman, Benjamin Disraeli, the Webbs, David Lloyd George, and Sir Winston Churchill—are united only by the fact that all have been, in one way or another, architects (or saviors) of the British way of life.

Costigan has relied chiefly on familiar printed works for his material. Biographies and special studies have been read carefully and thoughtfully, and they have yielded a series of well-written, discriminating biographical essays. The majestic abilities, political and intellectual, of his subjects give no warrant for concealing their shortcomings, and Costigan does not attempt to paint out the warts. Only Mill, whom the author obviously admires enormously, escapes this analysis. The final essays turn out to be absorbing sketches of the two great twentieth-century war leaders. In spite of the enormous disparities in background and mental habits, Lloyd George and Churchill reveal astonishing similarities in their defects, as in their virtues, and both were clearly indispensable.

The essays are, of course, uneven in merit. Some are more substantial, and some more sophisticated than others. One should not, by the way, take Costigan's introductory rationale for his studies of English leaders too seriously. His sketches have to do with the personalities of the great rather than their achievements, and they do not attempt to make a considered case for individual genius as against impersonal force in history. Yet, all that aside, this book can enlighten as well as entertain.

Harvard University DAVID OWEN

MERTHYR POLITICS: THE MAKING OF A WORKING-CLASS TRADITION. Four lectures originally delivered to the Merthyr branch of the W.E.A. during the winter session: 1964–5. By *Gwyn A. Williams et al.* Edited, with a foreword, by *Glanmor Williams.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1966. Pp. 109. 10*s.*6*d.*)

MERTHYR is an appropriate selection for these studies by four Welsh historians because, more than any other town, it has been central in the rise of a Welsh

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working-class political tradition. They deal with the emergence of a popular movement, the Liberal supremacy, the spread of socialism, and the recent decades of economic depression. The vivid portrayal puts life into some of the generalizations of British history. A bibliographical note follows each essay.

"The Merthyr of Dic Penderyn" by Gwyn A. Williams takes its title from the nickname of a young miner, unimportant except as a martyr in a rising that marked a turning point in South Wales. In Merthyr there had been radical workers, but no working-class movement. Within days of the rising of 1831, however, Owenite unions spread over the coal fields. "The Merthyr of Henry Richard" by Ieuan Gwynedd Jones deals with the period of the Second Reform Bill, when the middle class of Merthyr became effective politically and trade-unions improved their organization. After 1868 these forces combined to return Henry Richard, a radical Nonconformist, as a Liberal M.P. in six successive general elections. "The Merthyr of Keir Hardie" by Kenneth O. Morgan explains the hold this Scottish socialist secured on Merthyr. The decline of the iron industry brought depression, unemployment, and wage cuts, followed by stoppages which, in the case of the great coal strike of 1898, lasted for six months. The defeated miners turned to politics. It was then that Keir Hardie established his connection with Merthyr, where the miners responded to his identification of socialism with the ethics and ideals of Nonconformity. "The Merthyr of the Twentieth Century" by J. W. England deals with the vicissitudes of Merthyr when the mineral basis of the town's prosperity approached exhaustion and Merthyr became officially a distressed area. Merthyr was saved, however, by the policies of the postwar Labour government. Armed with the Distribution of Industry Act and the Town and Country Planning Act, it steered expanding firms away from the overcrowded regions and into the development areas with some dramatic results. The nineteenth-century growth of Merthyr was due to private enterprise, but the twentieth-century rehabilitation owed much to governmental action.

Stanford University CARL F. BRAND

THE RISE OF THE MIDLAND RAILWAY, 1844–1874. By *E. G. Barnes*. (New York: Hillary House. 1966. Pp. 317. $8.50.)

E. G. BARNES has written a labor of love: a descriptive history of the first thirty years of the Midland Railway. After a brief but useful introductory chapter on early canal and railroad activities in the Midlands area, the narrative takes up the story of the creation of the Midland amalgamation (1844) during the "Railway Mania"; its aggressive leadership by that prototype Victorian entrepreneur, George Hudson, the "Railway King"; Hudson's subsequent financial collapse in 1849, which reduced the company to near-bankruptcy; the emergence of John Ellis as the Midland's savior and the years of expansion that followed in the heyday of British prosperity—the 1850's and 1860's; and the extension of Midland lines to London, accompanied by the building of that startling showpiece, Saint Pancras station, in 1867–1868.

Barnes makes the death of Superintendent Matthew Kirtley in 1873 a final break with the railway's pioneer past (the days of personal dominance of great

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figures like Hudson and the Stephensons). Although 1874 also saw the first introduction of Pullman service, the author's case for breaking off his narrative at this point in time does not seem justifiable. Perhaps his second volume, planned to carry the story down to 1922, will show fuller support for 1874 as a significant year.

Concerned mainly with administrative history and, sketchily, with equipment changes, this book is built around personalities. Barnes is not helpful to business or social historians in making meaningful general statements based on the Midland as a case study. He eschews generalizations, ignores any question of revisionist reinterpretation of railway history in general, and makes no mention of secondary or interpretive sources in his rather quixotic, one-page bibliography. The skimped index, the poor illustrations, the illegible and cramped maps, and the complete absence of footnotes will not make his work easy to use. It is, nevertheless, a readable and interesting account, which contains much important factual material; it will be read by future railroad and transportation students.

Smith College PETER D'A. JONES

MANCHESTER MEN AND INDIAN COTTON, 1847–1872. By *Arthur W. Silver*. ([Manchester, Eng.:] Manchester University Press; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1966. Pp. xi, 349. $11.00.)

LANCASHIRE cotton manufacturers had long been concerned about their heavy dependence on the United States for raw material. If, some of them reasoned, the quality of Indian cotton could be improved and the supply increased, it would not only afford the security of an alternative source, but would bring down the price of the American product to a "normal" or "natural" level of 4*d*. a pound—really a dream price though Professor Silver refrains from saying so. In 1857 the more eager among them formed the Manchester Cotton Supply Association to pressure the government into action, and the cotton famine during the Civil War brought their campaign to a peak. Many of their proposals showed little knowledge of Indian conditions and were hardly compatible with the laissez-faire doctrines either of the Manchester school or of the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood. The latter could agree to promoting improvement in quality and to more vigorous building of railways and public works as fast as government finances would safely permit. He approved, too, an increase in the Indian tariff on cotton manufactures to provide additional revenue, a measure opposed by the Manchester Association. But he drew a line, often sharply, against anything involving compulsion of the ryots or reduction in Indian food production or otherwise against the welfare of the Indian people. In fact, government did much, and, if it was slow and cautious, it knew better the limits of Indian potentials and had no wish to repeat past mistakes, as Peter Harnetty has pointed out in a recent article, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," in the *Journal of British Studies,* VI (Nov. 1966), 70–96. How widely or wholeheartedly the association was supported among the cotton manufacturers is not clear. When the Manchester Cotton Company was organized in 1861 to buy cotton in India, only 7 per cent of the proposed capital was subscribed, and the company failed in 1863. Few mills were willing to adapt their machines to the

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short, coarse fibers or to derange their markets with lower quality products, and a considerable part of the increased supplies from India were re-exported. American supplies resumed slowly after 1864, and the importunities of the association correspondingly diminished; it disbanded in 1872.

This is an interesting story, told in detail from ample records. One could wish for more critical analysis, especially since the reader is not given many data with which to check the reiterated and often grossly exaggerated claims of the activists. The tables and charts are not, by modern standards, well designed, captioned, or defined. A potentially useful table showing annual price ranges and imports, but not re-exports, stops, curiously, at 1849. Two slips noticed are odd enough to mention. Lord William Bentinck is identified as "the first Governor General of India, 1833–5," without explanation, thus denying Warren Hastings his title and Bentinck his full dates (1828–1835). I cannot, as biographer, accept credit for the words attributed to me as a judgment on the India Bill of 1858. They were explicitly quoted as Lord Ellenborough's hopes for the bill. There are useful appendixes, a good bibliography, and a commendably detailed index.

Tufts University ALBERT H. IMLAH

BRITISH MEDIATION IN THE DANISH-GERMAN CONFLICT, 1848–1850. Part 2, FROM THE NOVEMBER CABINET UNTIL THE PEACE WITH PRUSSIA AND THE LONDON PROTOCOL (THE 2ND OF JULY AND THE 2ND OF AUGUST 1850). By *Holger Hjelholt.* [Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udgivet af det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Volume XLII, Number 1.] (Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1966. Pp. 251. D. kr. 40.)

THIS volume completes Mr. Hjelholt's study, which adds substantially to our knowledge of the Schleswig-Holstein question. It has often been assumed, because British public opinion was pro-Danish, that the British government also favored Denmark. The evidence in this work testifies exhaustively to Palmerston's impartiality. Writing from a Danish point of view, the author suggests that the British Foreign Minister was a bit pro-German. The effectiveness of British mediation was diminished by its refusal to consider even a naval demonstration, let alone the use of force. It was Russian pressure and the constitutional struggle with Austria that eventually impelled the Prussians to back down. One theme developed especially well is the conflict of interests involved in Bunsen's representation of both the Frankfurt and Berlin governments in the negotiations with Palmerston.

Such a study has long been needed to fill the gap prior to Lawrence D. Steefel's classic (*The Schleswig-Holstein Question* [1932]), but Hjelholt's work has serious deficiencies. His research was obviously carefully done, and the sources used were excellent. Unfortunately, however, he has cast his study in a restrictive mold. What purports to be an investigation of British mediation deals only in the most cursory way with British politics, public opinion, or differences of opinion within the cabinet. The general European situation, and its obvious impact on the developing mediation of the Danish-German conflict, is dealt with

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perfunctorily. Even such obviously central matters as the struggle about the structure of Germany and the growing pressures applied by Russia against Prussian policy are poorly developed. As a result, motives are seldom clear and often completely neglected. Masses of details pour forth with little analysis. Scarcely any references are made to the literature in the field, and even the original sources are quite narrowly selected, primarily from the correspondence of the Danish, German, and British diplomats. Despite a four-page conclusion, Hjelholt's views remain more implicit than explicit.

It is unfortunate that the index omitted all major personalities in the mediation and that the standard abbreviation for the British Parliamentary Papers (P.P.) was used to refer to the Palmerston Papers. This work will be useful to specialists in European diplomacy and their graduate students, but of very little value to anyone else.

Indiana University, South Bend PAUL H. SCHERER

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Volume I, YOUTH, 1874–1900. By *Randolph S. Churchill.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1966. Pp. xxxviii, 614. $10.00.)

THIS first of a projected five-volume biography deals with Churchill's youth. In addition, for each volume there will be one or more "independent appendix" volumes that will contain some of the "raw material" as well as fuller details on "subordinate" characters. Thus, we can look forward to a library shelf of ten or more volumes.

Indeed, the material at the disposal of the biographer seems almost unlimited, and he is faced with an embarrassment of riches. Many of the letters written by, to, or about Churchill even during his early childhood have been preserved. Some day, we are promised, the archives will be open to students. In the meantime, Randolph Churchill, aided by a team of researchers, will exploit the rich treasure trove.

Although the period covered in this first volume has already been dealt with by Winston Churchill in his *My Early Life* (1930), the present volume supplements, if it does not entirely supplant, that account. Randolph Churchill quotes liberally from *My Early Life,* but he enriches it with far more details. Nor is he inhibited in dealing with his grandparents. The picture of Lord Randolph Churchill that emerges differs from the far more flattering portrait painted by Winston Churchill in the biography of his father. Randolph Churchill also presents a savage indictment of Winston Churchill's parents for neglecting their children. The pleading requests of young Winston while at school for letters and visits and the cold replies of his mother are heart-rending to read even now.

Randolph Churchill also takes issue with the "legend partly fostered" by Sir Winston himself that he was a "preternaturally stupid little boy." On the contrary, the biographer contends that his father early showed "originality of mind." His "mutinous outlook" at school combined with his parents' neglect "early compelled him to stand on his own feet and to make his way by his own exertions and his own methods." The methods involved, among other things,

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unabashedly making the utmost use of family connections and friends. At the same time, possessed by a "daemon," Churchill was also prepared to risk his life in order to attain fame and success.

In 1932 Randolph Churchill had wanted to write a "filial and objective" biography of his father, but had been deterred by Winston Churchill's advice that "some day you will make thousands instead of hundreds." The present biography, which will most likely bring the author many thousands, is filial rather than detached. Filled with respect and admiration for his father's "genius and noble character" Randolph Churchill can find no warts to paint. While we look forward to the subsequent volumes of what promises to be a distinguished biography, it seems evident that it will be less than an objective evaluation. This first volume contains some excellent photographs, genealogical tables, short biographies of the principal characters, and a comprehensive index.

Brooklyn College SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

THE BRITISH AND THEIR SUCCESSORS: A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN THE NEW STATES. By *Richard Symonds*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 9–286. $8.00.)

IN searching for a term that would cover the process known in India as "Indianization" the Colonial Office settled upon "localization" as a word applicable to all situations and yet devoid of any racial overtone. It is this process that Richard Symonds has chosen to study in three areas of British rule: India and Ceylon, West Africa, and East Africa. Although he does not spell it out very explicitly, his theme is the dilemma that British liberalism posed for itself in the late nineteenth century: the creation of constitutional forms of government based on British parliamentary experience, yet at the same time the preservation of the political control that was the necessary function of imperial power.

In his longest section, Symonds examines the history of localization in India and Ceylon. The failure of the British to effect a compromise with the educated classes led to the formation of the Indian National Congress. But localization did take place in the civil service, and, although with great resistance, in the Indian Army, so that by 1947 a cadre of civil and military officers was available to staff the bureaucracies of the successor states.

In West Africa, British control began with Africans employed in almost all government posts; this was reversed from 1898 to 1940, when few Africans had senior posts. Finally, in the last days of British rule, there was a program of rapid Africanization. Symonds' explanation of these changes encompasses many factors: improvements in medicine that made it possible for Europeans to live in tropical Africa, new standards of efficiency, and, undoubtedly, social Darwinism, which replaced earlier views of Western religious and cultural superiority with ones based on race.

In an interesting chapter, Symonds makes a series of brief comparisons between British colonial institutions and those of the French in West and Equatorial Africa, the Belgians in the Congo, the Dutch in Indonesia, and the Ameri-

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cans in the Philippines. Differences of great importance for national development are noted. The French, for example, unlike the British, never encouraged education in the vernaculars; all education was in French. The fact that Africanization was less advanced in the civil services in the French colonies than it was in the British, but more so in the armies, has interesting implications.

Many of the issues raised in Symonds' book deserve fuller treatment, especially the influence of the Indian civil service tradition on Africa and the role of education in creating responses to pressures from the West. The principal merit of this work is that, with a graceful style and easy command of the history of the period, it provides one of the first synoptic views of a topic of absorbing interest.

Columbia University AINSLIE T. EMBREE

APPEASEMENT ON TRIAL: BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS CRITICS, 1938–1939. By *William R. Rock*. ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1966. Pp. xii, 365. $10.00.)

THIS book's main purpose is to disprove the "widely-held assumption" that there was "no significant opposition to appeasement in Britain aside from the prophetic warnings of Winston Churchill." This may well surprise English readers who had quite a surfeit at the time of popular front, Left Book Club, and similar propaganda, followed later by the machine-gun fire of the "Guilty Men" pamphlets with which the firm of Gollancz enlivened the wartime political truce. Dr. Rock makes no use of these sources, but he certainly proves, by ample quotation from Hansard and the London and provincial papers and reviews, that there was a steady flow of criticism other than Churchill's from February 1938 onward.

Whether this criticism decisively influenced policy would, however, be hard to prove without a more searching evaluation than Rock offers here of the other influences on Neville Chamberlain's mind. The book attempts a general assessment of the whole period but on the traditional lines that make Chamberlain the scapegoat for everyone else's hesitations and delinquencies. According to this view a boundless credulity on his part as to Hitler's good intentions ended abruptly with the occupation of Prague. If the change was owing to such disillusionment, the pressure of back bench and opposition criticism was presumably less important.

But, indeed, much other evidence ought to be considered. The book does not mention Chamberlain's strong denunciation of Germany's intentions as early as March 26, 1937, in his letter to Henry Morgenthau, or the efforts of both Chamberlain and Eden later in 1937 to persuade the United States to play a more active part in the Pacific. American influence on the crisis is almost entirely ignored, and the British government's preoccupation with Japan right down to September 1939 is omitted altogether. The French role, particularly in 1938, is seriously undervalued. Nor is the significance of the strong advice from the service departments against war before the spring of 1939 given proper attention.

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The rearmament program seems to me a much better guide to the fluctuations in British policy than any form of popular pressure. This, however, does not lessen the value of Rock's analysis of opinion, which is supported by a full survey of press affiliations in Appendix II.

London School of Economics W. N. MEDLICOTT

EXPLAINING MUNICH: THE SEARCH FOR MOTIVE IN BRITISH POLICY. By *Donald N. Lammers*. [Hoover Institution Studies, Number 16.] (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University. 1966. Pp. vii, 73. $2.00.)

THE title of this brief essay is misleading: Professor Lammers is not "explaining" Munich, though beyond this simple assertion it is difficult to describe exactly what he *is* doing. The essay is divided into two sections: In Part I, Lammers launches into a discussion of "bad" history, pointedly the "profoundly unhistorical" polemics that have been written about the motives of the British appeasers in the Munich crisis of 1938. The chief, though not the only, offenders here are the Marxist (or "Stalinist") historians whose interpretations of appeasement ("deductions from a rigid world-view") have been built on one foundation: the theory that it was the product of Western hostility to the Soviet Union, of the Western hope that a German "free hand" in Eastern Europe would obliterate Communism. Part II is Lammers' alternative case study, offered as an example of "Western" critical analysis; it is an attempt to come to grips with the "anti-Red hypothesis," to subject it to the dispassionate examination of one searching only for "historical truth."

Thus the task that Lammers undertakes is the mostly negative one of disproving or at least qualifying the "anti-Red hypothesis," a project that develops, unsurprisingly, into very much the kind of history he deplores. For in presenting his case he commits his own scholarly sins of deduction and supportive selectivity. On the point, for example, that the appeasers might have gone to war during the May crisis of 1938 (thus joining the hated Soviets in alliance against Hitler, their supposed "bulwark against Communism"), Lammers concentrates on the hard line coming out of the British Foreign Office; that is, he neglects altogether the reaction of the key figure, Neville Chamberlain, who was so appalled at this rare and reckless initiative of the Foreign Secretary (Halifax) that he completely took over the direction of foreign policy. Or, in arguing that Chamberlain was not blinded to the barbarities of Nazism by his anti-Communism, Lammers uses an item from Anthony Eden, which finds Chamberlain "deeply impressed" with a current exposé of Hitler's Germany; had he gone to Feiling, Chamberlain's biographer, Lammers would have found a postscript on the matter: Chamberlain saying, "if I accepted the author's conclusions, I should despair, but I don't and won't." Omissions and misreadings, which dot the text, may be simply unfamiliarity with the sources, but they create something less than confidence in Lammers' professed "meticulous regard for truth."

University of Illinois, Chicago MARGARET GEORGE

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THE PASSING OF THE IRISH ACT OF UNION: A STUDY IN PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS. By *G. C. Bolton*. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 239. $6.10.)

THE Revolution of 1798 in Ireland, inadequately and belatedly supported by the French, was a failure, but it convinced the British Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger, that a union between Ireland and Britain was essential to the security of the latter. A faction-torn Irish Parliament seemed to lack sufficient public support or financial resources to pacify or defend the country against a possible French invasion. A number of Irish Protestants, frightened by Jacobinism and popery, endorsed the idea of union. Other Protestants were convinced that an Irish Parliament was a more certain guarantee of Protestant ascendancy and Irish prosperity than a single legislature for the two kingdoms. Catholic opinion, just emerging as a force in Irish affairs, inclined to the view that Catholic emancipation would get a more sympathetic hearing at Westminster than in Dublin, and British leaders encouraged this opinion. In 1799 the union was frustrated in the Irish Parliament, but the next year it won majority support, and in 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland became a reality. This union would fail because Britain delayed settlement of Catholic claims and Parliament subordinated the interests of agrarian Ireland to those of industrial Britain.

Bolton attacks the traditional thesis that the union was a product of corrupt practices: the use of patronage and the gift of peerages to win a unionist parliamentary majority. He insists that the alleged corruption was accepted practice in Irish politics, and he offers evidence to show that few antiunionists were persuaded to change sides in 1800. For the most part, the unionist majority came from the ranks of the 1799 neutrals. He argues that most Irish M.P.'s voted their opinions in 1800 and that there is no reason to believe that the antiunionists as a group were more patriotic or less selfish than the unionists.

Bolton's writing style is not exciting, but his research is exact, and his thesis is provocative and well defended. The importance of the act of union, the quality of Bolton's research and his original thesis, the careful analysis of Irish opinion on the union by class, religion, and area, and the description of late eighteenth-century Irish political life make this book a significant contribution to both Irish and British historical literature and to an understanding of the relationship between the two countries.

Marquette University LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY

LES COMPAGNONNAGES EN FRANCE: DU MOYEN ÂGE À NOS JOURS. By *Émile Coornaert*. ([Paris:] Éditions Ouvrières. 1966. Pp. 435. 39 fr.)

THIS study provides valuable information for a student of any aspect of artisanal life since the late Middle Ages. It sums up most of the known material on the *compagnonnages* and adds consideration of newly released documents on organization and ritual, portions of which are published in the lengthy appendix.

M. Coornaert writes as a sympathetic outsider to the *compagnonnage* movement. His most interesting chapters seek to convey the spirit of the *compagnons,*

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their attitudes to their own organizations, to the Church, and to the state. The structures and evolution of the *compagnonnages* are treated clearly, but the central concern is always with the *mystique* and the mystery of the movement.

For all its value, however, the book as a whole is disappointing. The documentation comes mainly from within the movement, and many sections simply reproduce the studies of Perdiguier; relevant police and provincial records are inadequately used or not used at all, and the list of secondary materials is shockingly limited. Partly as a result, the relations of the *compagnonnages* to the broader society are barely suggested. The agitation of the *compagnons* is sketched, though too briefly for most periods, but its importance is not assessed; the economic significance of *compagnonnage* operations is not fully evaluated. Also, the nature of the documentation leads to a very limited treatment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, precisely the period about which we need to know more.

The other main fault of the book is organizational. A first large section outlines the chronological narrative, mainly in terms of state policies toward the *compagnonnages*. But after this the groups are treated as constants, without a steady sense of historical change. In thematic chapters such as that on the *compagnonnages* and the Church, examples for the sixteenth and late nineteenth centuries are bewilderingly juxtaposed, leading to repetition and lack of clarity. Information on the size of the *compagnonnages,* inadequate in any event, is presented in two separate sections.

The result, then, is a book that collects a variety of useful information and is animated by a perceptive sympathy for its subject. It is a book, also, that must be reorganized and re-evaluated by any historian seeking to use it, even on topics central to the study of the *compagnonnages*.

University of Chicago PETER N. STEARNS

BORDEAUX DE 1453 À 1715. Under the direction of *Robert Boutruche*. With the collaboration of *J. Bernard et al.* [Histoire de Bordeaux, Volume IV.] (Bordeaux: [Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest.] 1966. Pp. 562.)

AMONG the many studies that the current vogue of local history has produced in France, this work is one of the more successful. Under the editorship of Robert Boutruche, a group of specialists have pooled their knowledge of the history of Bordeaux and have published a volume of studies on all major phases of the city's development from 1453 to 1715. The quality of the contributions inevitably varies, but is sufficiently expert throughout to command the attention of any reader who seeks information regarding the urban growth of Bordeaux and its significance in the age. Although Boutruche admits that this period was not as dramatic or productive as those that preceded and followed it, he and his collaborators have succeeded in presenting a series of well-delineated analyses of the social, intellectual, institutional, religious, artistic, and, above all, the commercial life of the city, both from the standpoint of local developments and their place in the life of the French people.

In the introductory section Boutruche treats the condition of the city from 1453 to 1483, the generation after its reconquest by the French monarchy, with

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emphasis upon commercial problems that resulted from the shifting policies of the French and English kings. The body of the work is divided into topical treatments of the various phases of urban growth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Economic and social developments in the sixteenth century are ably treated by Jacques Bernard who stresses the importance of the wine trade, the basis of local prosperity, and analyzes the structure of local society. The same general areas are examined in the seventeenth century by Françoise Giteau who shows the continuing struggle for commercial success and the evolution of social classes. Francis Loirette and Louis Desgraves analyze intellectual and religious developments during both centuries, showing in detail the impact of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations upon the life of the city. The authors note that its specific contributions to the intellectual life of the age were minimal unless one includes Montaigne, but he belonged to humanity generally rather than Bordeaux. On the other hand, they carefully note the intellectual situation in which Montaigne produced his famous works. Loirette also analyzes in considerable detail the political and institutional evolution of the city during both centuries. To me, these appear to be the ablest portions of the book. Paul Roudié examines the artistic life of Bordeaux, showing how it benefited from contemporary achievements in the field, but made few original contributions.

In a work that is both as narrow and as broad as this, the problem of originality is understandably acute. The method of the contributors has been to build upon well-known secondary sources with additional information of varying significance from manuscript materials in local archives. The resulting analyses are never entirely original, and the reader often finds himself wishing for more complete treatment of key developments. The book will, however, be a valuable contribution to knowledge of a major French city and the vicissitudes of provincial life.

Brown University WILLIAM F. CHURCH

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN FRANCE, 1500–1850. By *Frederick B. Artz*. [Monograph Series, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Society for the History of Technology and the M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1966. Pp. x, 274. $7.95.)

THE appearance of this work is doubly welcome. It is first a pleasure to see still another volume emanating from Professor Artz. It is equally satisfying to know that an often neglected side of intellectual history is receiving some of the attention that it merits. For too long historians have failed to render a cogent interpretation of the role played by science and technology.

Artz has written one chapter of a much-needed story. He has turned his attention to technical education in France for a period of 350 years. He has not concerned himself greatly with science, as distinguished from technology; nor has he devoted much attention to scientific training within university confines. For each period within the 350 years (1500–1700; 1715–1789; 1789–1815; 1815–1848) he has described the development of technical education at the elementary and secondary levels and within specialized institutions, of technical training administered for the army and technical instruction directed by the navy. Some-

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one now needs to do this for other European areas, to add an accurate account of university contributions, and to tie the description of technological education more carefully to the general development of the sciences during this period.

The reader will better understand the Enlightenment, the Revolution, the reforms of Napoleon, and the early nineteenth-century monarchy after completing this volume. The empirical, practical interests of the eighteenth century, the material emphasis of the Revolution, the persistent thrust of nineteenth-century technology—all these become clearer. The period 1500–1700 is not quite so satisfactorily handled. Although Artz is less concerned with university science, he is a little too willing to subscribe to the thesis that "the universities were hostile or indifferent to science." There is now much evidence to suggest that historians have erred in insisting that university education, especially in the seventeenth century, was designed solely for the theologian, the lawyer, and the physician. Artz suggests in both text and footnotes that such earlier scholars as Preserved Smith, G. N. Clark, M. Caullery, and Martha Ornstein were correct in their assessment of seventeenth-century university science. Citations for the period 1715–1848 are quite current, whereas the documentation for the period 1500–1700 does not include references to the scholarship of the past two decades.

Anyone interested in the history of science and technology will want to read this work. We await its companion volumes.

University of Missouri, St. Louis GLEN R. DRISCOLL

CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES DES PAROISSES DU BAILLIAGE DE TROYES POUR LES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DE 1614. Published with a presentation and notes by *Yves Durand*. Preface by *Roland Mousnier*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris—Sorbonne. Series "Textes et Documents," Number 13. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe moderne, Number 4.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. viii, 361. 35 fr.)

THIS book reflects the continuing interest of Professor Mousnier's *Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe moderne* in the social stratification of the old regime. Following on the heels of his publication of two *cahiers* of the nobility for the Estates-General of 1651, Yves Durand now gives us sixty-six parish *cahiers* and *procès-verbaux d'assemblées* of the *bailliage* of Troyes for the Estates-General of 1614. Only one of this number has been previously published, and that somewhat imperfectly. The original documents were uncovered by Durand in the communal archives of Troyes. In view of the rarity of such basic *cahiers* for all the Estates-General, but especially for that of 1614, it is to be hoped that this publication will start a trend. But as Durand notes, historians able to make use of the *cahiers* of the *bailliage* of Troyes are particularly well off, since a large number of preliminary *cahiers* for this region dating from the Middle Ages to 1789 have already been printed. It would be fruitful, however, to have the *cahiers* for the same villages printed in chronological order over the centuries to facilitate comparison.

Over-all, these *cahiers* reflect a very conservative society. Not a hint is to be

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found of any demand for fundamental social or political reform. Probably the most consistent grievance found in these documents, alongside the inevitable complaints about taxes, crop failures, and vagabonds, concerns the deplorable state of the clergy. One can only hope that the budding Catholic revival mitigated clerical abuses in Champagne because the picture of the rural clergy presented herein is indeed a dismal one. As Durand observes in a lengthy and scholarly introduction, these complaints about the clergy contrast strikingly with those of the *cahiers* of 1789. In the first instance, they emanate from people who appear genuinely interested in worshiping God and are highly resentful of the numerous obstructions placed in their way; in the other, the main concern appears to be the reform of an institution only incidentally religious in nature. The editor has done an excellent job of introducing the documents, modernizing their language where necessary, and providing the necessary appendixes, glossaries, and other scholarly apparatus necessary for their appreciation.

University of Notre Dame LEON BERNARD

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF MALESHERBES AS *DIRECTEUR DE LA LIBRAIRIE* IN FRANCE (1750–1763). By *Edward P. Shaw.* ([Albany:] State University of New York; distrib. by Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio. 1966. Pp. x, 164. $6.00.)

ONE must take the title of this small book literally. Professor Shaw has focused sharply on Malesherbes's dual responsibilities as director of the book trade and chief of royal censors, serving under his father, the chancellor. An account of even the most rudimentary facts about Malesherbes, or about the book trade in general, outside the narrow compass of this volume will have to be sought elsewhere. While much interesting information is presented on the devious ways of publishers and censors at a critical period in French intellectual history, nothing really new emerges from this study. The attitude of Malesherbes and most other censors of his time toward the writers of the Enlightenment is well known, particularly in so far as it made possible the circulation of the *Encyclopédie*. The author solidly shores up traditional beliefs about the happy inadequacy of French censors and literary supervision around the middle of the eighteenth century. His perusal of the Collection Anisson of the Bibliothèque Nationale has yielded much hitherto unpublished material testifying to the inability or unwillingness of a society to defend itself from the attacks of the philosophes. No one, either among writers or government officials, seemed to know precisely what the law intended, and they cared less. The author concludes that Malesherbes was "prone to forget, to forgive, to tolerate, rather than to punish." No book was supposed to be printed without his permission, but he persistently obliged questionable authors with *permissions tacites* and, in truly delicate cases, with *permissions très tacites*. He would permit a few copies of works of the latter category to be published simply to judge the reaction. If it were not too strong, authorization for full-fledged publication would ensue. Widespread book sales *sous le manteau* met mainly with official winks.

While Shaw's book could hardly qualify as a pioneering effort, it is an interesting and illuminating monograph. The author, however, might well have

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organized his material more carefully. His 150-odd pages are divided into 16 chapters ranging in length from 3 to 25 pages. Even more disconcerting than this lack of symmetry is the use of chapter titles as verbose (often several lines of print) as some of those eighteenth-century tomes that passed across Malesherbes's desk.

University of Notre Dame LEON BERNARD

ROLAND DE LA PLATIÈRE: A PUBLIC SERVANT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Charles A. Le Guin.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVI, Part 6.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1966. Pp. 129. $2.50.)

THIS study traces the career of a provincial civil servant who worked for thirty-five years to modernize French textile production before becoming entangled in the revolutionary drama. In describing Roland's prerevolutionary activities, as inspector of manufactures, author, and savant, Le Guin covers new ground and displays his subject to advantage. Later sections of the book, where Roland's fate merges with that of other Girondists, seem less successful on both counts. More competent as technician than politician, more at home in the provinces than in Paris, Roland was better suited for the posts he held under the old order than under the new. In portraying the Girondist minister, Le Guin tends to underrate the incapacity for high office of a man who handled production charts more skillfully than people. That Roland has been unfairly caricatured, first by political rivals and then by later romancers, is well demonstrated, however.

Le Guin's treatment is sufficiently dispassionate to leave Roland's disagreeable personality intact. He shows that this tactless, smug, pompous man was also an energetic, civic-minded public servant with the courage of convictions that were enlightened and humane. On behalf of workers as well as new manufacturers, he fought local merchant magnates and superior officials. An ambitious careerist, he risked his chances for promotion by adopting an uncompromising stance.

Throughout, the author provides detailed coverage, but does not probe in depth. Few clues are offered as to why Roland adopted views that were foreign to his family and milieu, or, later, aligned himself with the "popular" Lyonese faction. The analysis of Roland's ministerial performance contrasts unfavorably with M. J. Sydenham's more acute and succinct account in *The Girondins*. Le Guin's failure to exploit this relevant work is unfortunate. His attempt to set the stage for Roland's ministry is clumsier than need be, while the chance to question some of Sydenham's views has been missed. Finally, this study is gracelessly written and poorly organized. It does not draw to a conclusion, but simply peters out. An epilogue serves as a catchall for assorted leftover topics.

In sum, this is a typical scholarly monograph, densely packed with raw data that can be used in other monographs, but cannot get assimilated into broader syntheses or surveys. By sticking closely to the evidence, Le Guin has demolished a stereotype and undermined many clichés. But news of his findings will not travel far.

American University ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN

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HISTOIRE DE LA MAISON ROTHSCHILD. Volume I, DES ORIGINES À 1848. By *Bertrand Gille*. [Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques, Number 39.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 493. 36 fr. S.)

PROBABLY no business enterprise has been the object of so much attention, popular and scholarly, as the House of Rothschild. It was already a legend in the lifetime of its founder, Meyer Amschel. From the middle of the nineteenth century its wealth and power made it a favorite target of anti-Semitic polemicists; and, beginning with an anonymous two-volume history in Leipzig in 1857, histories of the bank have come forth in a thin but steady stream that shows no evidence of drying up. Most of these publications have been composed largely of anecdote, for the Rothschilds have been systematically hostile to any outside scrutiny of their personal or business records. But anecdotes are the stuff of popular mythology, and the Rothschilds have more often than not been the kind of people anecdotes are made of.

Pioneer exceptions to this anecdotal tradition include Christian Wilhelm Berghoeffer's biography of Meyer Amschel Rothschild and Egon Corti's two-volume history of the *Rise* and *Reign* of the House of Rothschild. More recently (1960) Jean Bouvier did a little-known history of the Rothschilds, which is particularly informative on their role in the payment of the French indemnity of 1871. Bouvier did not have access to any Rothschild records, though he did make good use of the papers of the Crédit Lyonnais. By this time, however, the French house had broken with tradition and invited a professional historian, Bertrand Gille, to classify their records, and had given him permission to use these to write a history of the bank. This was not an easy decision, and the uneasiness of the house is evidenced by the conditions imposed: the first fruits of Gille's research gave no source references. Eventually, however, the bank gave Gille permission to announce his good fortune to the world of scholarship, and the announcement took the form of two substantial volumes of letters to the Paris house from its agents in Belgium during the years 1838–1853 (1961, 1963).

In the meantime, Gille began writing his history, this first volume of which takes the story to the threshold of the great crisis of 1848. It is an extraordinarily rich and detailed story, based not only on the records of the firm but also on public and private archives in a half-dozen countries. Even so, the author has been handicapped by destruction of early records in some areas and, most serious of all, the unwillingness of London to open its doors. What we have is a history of the first half century as seen from Paris, just as Corti's was a history as seen from Vienna.

Within the limitations imposed by the evidence, Gille's study is a revelation. For the first time we have details of the finances of the bank, if only at widely spaced intervals. These confirm the general impression of a firm that rose with astonishing rapidity. We can now follow in detail the history of state finance and international capital in the first half of the nineteenth century. And a new dimension has been added to our understanding of the business crises of these years.

In spite of its abundance of documentation and detail, however, Gille's study

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is far from definitive or complete, even within the scope of the Paris house and its records. The most astonishing thing about the Rothschilds was the range of their interests and relations. Much of this material can be read with profit by political and social historians, since the Rothschilds' financial operations illuminate certain aspects of European political and diplomatic history—aspects that Gille necessarily subordinates to the banking side.

In the meantime, the importance of this first volume makes one impatient for those to follow, the more so as the quality of the documentation improves after the 1840's. I, for one, should like to read relatively less direct quotation, however, and more of Gille's enlightening analyses and comments, which are indispensable to an understanding of the kind of elliptical letter that business intimates could afford to send one another. One more wish: the presentation could well be improved by the introduction of iconographical material—drawings, photocopies of key documents, and the like.

Harvard University DAVID S. LANDES

VICHY: ANNÉE 40. By *Henri Michel.* ["L'histoire que nous vivons."] (Paris: Robert Laffont. 1966. Pp. 451. 24 fr.)

HENRI Michel, author of nine books on the resistance movements during the Second World War, has now turned his attention to the other side of bifurcated France. His meticulous study of the Vichy regime in its formative months is an important contribution, for it confronts a number of highly controversial questions that have been badly distorted by partisan accounts. Since the Vichy government's archives are still closed, Michel has had to rely primarily on published documents and memoirs, though he has made some interesting discoveries in the files of German military intelligence in France. His analysis, organized in topical fashion, is the most thorough and dependable study of men, motives, and policies now in print.

This is not to say that Michel's view of the subject is bloodlessly objective. As a resistance historian and a former underground activist, he views the ex post facto excuses of Vichyites with a natural skepticism. He is particularly concerned to demythologize Pétain by demonstrating that the marshal was profoundly committed to the will-o'-the-wisp of collaboration. The famous Montoire conference with Hitler, Michel contends, was the fruit of Pétain's rather than Laval's efforts, and the dramatic dismissal of Laval in December 1940 was in no way intended as a repudiation of Laval's collaborationist schemes. As for the legend that Pétain sought a secret understanding with London, Michel demonstrates that it was the British who sought such an understanding and that they were consistently rebuffed by Pétain. Michel believes that collaboration, far from being necessary or useful for a defeated France, was a misconceived policy and that Vichy might have dealt much more effectively with Hitler by threatening to turn anti-Axis. The empire was a particularly valuable hole card that was wasted.

Michel's book is replete with piquant details about the men around Pétain, about the structure and doctrine of the emergent regime, and about the aims and conduct of the Germans in occupied France. A remarkable amount of in-

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formation, half-forgotten and often hard to find, is contained in these crowded pages. One topic might perhaps have deserved more precise attention: the process and extent of German economic penetration of France.

Stanford University GORDON WRIGHT

THE MARRANOS OF SPAIN, FROM THE LATE XIVTH TO THE EARLY XVITH CENTURY: ACCORDING TO CONTEMPORARY HEBREW SOURCES. By *B. Netanyahu.* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research. 1966. Pp. vii, 254. $6.00.)

IT is generally assumed that the Marranos were cryptic Jews, that is, secret adherents of Judaism, even though they professed loyalty to the Church. The evidence for this assumption is almost exclusively drawn from inquisitional sources, even though the procedures of the Inquisition were devised to extract confessions of guilt and not to determine the truth or falsity of the charges. The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1480 to eradicate an assumed crypto-Judaism, not to investigate whether such a phenomenon existed. Although the workings of the Inquisition reveal that it operated so as to humiliate, pauperize, and destroy a prestigious and elevated class and that it fashioned instruments of exquisite cruelty to demoralize and break its victims, both Christian and Jewish scholars have condemned the inquisitorial procedures, even as they have acknowledged that the Marranos were covert followers of Judaism.

Professor Netanyahu's *Marranos of Spain* represents a healthy corrective to the prevailing notion. He argues that crypto-Judaism was the exception rather than the rule and that it would have disappeared altogether had not the Inquisition itself stirred a temporary resurgence. For evidence, Netanyahu turns to the legal, philosophic, polemical, homiletic, and exegetic literature written by professing Jews who either lived in Spain during the heyday of alleged crypto-Judaism or had some direct knowledge of what was transpiring. The findings, as far as I am concerned (see my article, "The Utilization of Non-Jewish Sources for the Reconstruction of Jewish History," *Jewish Quarterly Review,* XLVIII [Oct. 1957], 183–203) are decisive: the overwhelming majority of the Marranos were indeed "New Christians" or "Conversos" who abandoned Judaism and sought complete assimilation within the Christian community. Even those who may at first have contemplated a covert loyalty to Judaism were unable to withstand the assimilative pressures. When, therefore, the Inquisition was launched to eradicate the alleged menace of crypto–Judaism, their victims were thoroughly assimilated Christians. Netanyahu's quotation from the Spanish-Jewish statesman and scholar, Don Isaac Abravanel, underlines the tragedy of the Marranos: "although they and their descendents . . . *endeavored to be like complete gentiles,* they did not achieve this aim. For the native peoples of the land will always call them Jews, mark them as Israelites *against their will,* consider them as Jews and *falsely accuse them of Judaizing* in secret. [Indeed,] they will burn them for this in fire. . . [Netanyahu's italics]."

Netanyahu's study deserves careful consideration, for it is grounded in sources that do not suffer from the taint of inquisitional procedures. It thus points to the possibility that the Inquisition, in seeking to destroy the prestige,

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power, and wealth of a class of Christians, falsely accused them of Judaizing in secret.

Hebrew Union College ELLIS RIVKIN

DE KRIMPENDE HORIZON VAN DE HOLLANDSE KOOPLIEDEN: HOLLANDS WELVAREN IN HET CARIBISCH ZEEGEBIED (1780–1830). By *Theo P. M. de Jong*. With a foreword by *H. Baudet*. [Anjerpublikaties, Number 9.] (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V. 1966. Pp. 352. Cloth H. fl. 28.50, paper H. fl. 25.00.)

FROM about 1780 to the middle of the nineteenth century the economic life of the Netherlands was stagnant. Britain and France had pushed the Dutch into the background as world traders. With the establishment of the kingdom, King William I labored desperately to restore the old staple trades and revive Dutch shipping, but to little avail.

In this study, *The Shrinking Horizon of the Dutch Traders,* a Netherlands scholar seeks to find the reason for the inability of the Dutch to revive their trading activities and thus improve their welfare. Dr. de Jong examines this problem with respect to the Caribbean region. The study is divided into two parts: first, he examines the changing views in England and Europe on colonial welfare and the economic conditions, political movements, and international rivalries in the region; second, he traces and discusses Dutch policy in the Caribbean region in promoting commercial development during the half century under review. King William, who hoped to restore his country to the level of the glorious days of the seventeenth century, established the Netherlands Trading Company in 1824, and he hoped that by making Curaçao a free port, it would become the general trading center of the Caribbean region. The company sent commercial agents and the government diplomatic and consular agents to key points in the area, but without significant results.

De Jong concludes that the chief cause of the slow economic recovery of the Netherlands was the lethargy and negativism of its traders. The Dutch nation, and especially its traders, as a result of their eighteenth-century experience, was "fettered to the demon, 'Poor Holland,'" as other Dutch historians have similarly concluded. De Jong's study is based on intensive research in Dutch archives, and the book contains an excellent bibliographical essay.

University of Kentucky AMRY VANDENBOSCH

BESCHEIDEN BETREFFENDE DE BUITENLANDSE POLITIEK VAN NEDERLAND, 1848–1919. Second Period, 1871–1898. Volume II, 1874–1880. Edited by *J. Woltring*. [Rijks geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Number 118.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 918.)

BEGUN a decade ago, a scholarly project aimed at furnishing full documentary coverage of Netherlands foreign policy from 1848 to 1919 has been making rapid progress. For the twenty years before the end of the First World War, five fat volumes are now available, and a second series on the later nineteenth century is well under way. With a companion volume published in 1962, this present

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work deals with the 1870's. Like its predecessors, it is massive, excellently footnoted, and edited in nearly impeccable fashion. The documents are given in chronological order, but full indexes are provided, for quick location of any items dealing with, say, Bismarck, or the Sultan of Brunei, the King of Dahomey, or any other personage referred to. The project's exhaustive documentation is making available a mass of data that will undoubtedly result in numerous minor revisions in accounts of Dutch foreign policy, even though its general outlines are fairly clear (as in Amry Vandenbosch, *Dutch Foreign Policy since 1815* [1959]).

In Europe in the 1870's, as befitted the policy of a small neutral nation, the Department of Foreign Affairs kept a close and anxious watch on any threat to the peace; thus, many dispatches and reports deal with the Russo-Turkish War, the sudden rise of German power, and other sources of anxiety. Elsewhere, a more independent course of action was possible. When Venezuela protested against smugglers and political exiles operating from Curaçao, the irritated department finally broke diplomatic relations in 1875. In the East Indies, where conflicts of interest with the British in the straits area had been settled not long before, the Dutch sent a punitive expedition against the sultanate of Achin (Atjeh). Several dispatches to and from the department relate to this affair. To calm uneasy opinion in the homeland (a group of "doves," including the rising anti-Liberal leader A. Kuyper, questioned the government's course), the generals on the scene promised a "speedy conclusion" to the war. It was to drag on for thirty years and will turn up many times again in later volumes of this fine series.

Calvin College DIRK W. JELLEMA

TURKU KAUPPAKAUPUNKINA RUOTSIN VALLAN LOPPUKAUTENA. Volume II, ULKO- JA KOTIMAANKAUPPA. By *Aimo Wuorinen*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume L, Part 2.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1966. Pp. 626.)

DURING the last half century of Swedish rule, the approximate period Wuorinen's study covers, the city of Turku was Finland's most important commercial center. An expanding economy, a flourishing shipbuilding industry, good connections with foreign commercial establishments, and a favorable location (these and other factors were the subject of Volume I) made possible the attainment of a truly extensive foreign trade. To Turku merchantmen "the trade routes of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean were as familiar as the Baltic." Leading commodity imports were salt, tobacco, sugar, and coffee; suppliers were located in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain. Exports, destined chiefly for Italy, France, Portugal, and Spain, included forest products, tar and pitch, foodstuffs, and handicrafts. Turku's internal trade with coastal settlements, offshore islands, and the rural hinterland was likewise brisk; its own fairs and markets were well developed and subjected to much regulation.

The scope of Wuorinen's book is encyclopedic: virtually every commodity, every channel of trade, even the names of leading merchants, appear in its pages, where there are 144 tables of trade data and nearly 1,400 footnotes. Even such

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matters as smuggling and market place thievery and fraud are discussed. It appears, at least to me, that Wuorinen has provided answers to any questions one might ever raise about Turku's trade in the late eighteenth century.

Heidelberg College JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

J. C. H. FISCHERS POLITISKE DAGBØGER, 1852–56, 1872–75. Edited by *Ib Gejl*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Number 15.] (Århus: Universitetsforlaget. 1966. Pp. xvi, 283.)

JOHAN Christian Henrik Fischer, who for some three decades participated modestly in Danish political life, left a diary covering narrow portions of his experience during the years indicated. This is now published with a modest scholarly apparatus that includes a helpful index of persons and thirty-six pages of notes. It will make no great splash in scholarly circles. Those historians sufficiently steeped in Danish political history to profit substantially from the diary have long had access to the manuscript. For all others, even the printed book will be heavy going.

An intellectual and former schoolteacher, Fischer was an acute and realistic, as well as a principled, observer of the political scene he participated in. He also fancied himself something of a literary talent and studded his manuscript with little gems of Dickensian-type description. He may have intended to enlighten his countrymen some day with a polished exposition of what actually happened in their political history. In this diary, however, we have only cryptic, fragmentary, and often almost shorthand notes for such a history. Fischer kept a rich, often very nuanced, record of "cloakroom" politics as he observed them in the Danish *Rigsdags,* of which he was a member. Factional meetings, private conversations, planted newspaper articles, parliamentary tactics, informal arrangements, and the deals that moved the political machinery are set down in much detail. But even with the thirty-six pages of notes nothing very coherent comes through. The big issues with which parliament struggled (such as the royal succession and the Schleswig-Holstein complexities) are illuminated only in the way one blind man might describe his particular part of the elephant. Elections and electioneering receive no attention. The extrapolitical "life and times" is also virtually ignored. Fischer was no Pepys. His diary is a valuable but narrow source of historical material.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

DANSK HISTORISK BIBLIOGRAFI, 1913–1942. Volume I, INDLEDNING, POLITISK HISTORIE SAMT STATS- OG KULTURFORHOLD TIL OG MED ERHVERVSLIV, NR. 1–11830. Edited by *Henry Bruun*. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger. 1966. Pp. xvi, 641. 45 D.kr.)

ONLY a small country could attempt such bibliographical thoroughness, and probably only the Danes could produce the quantity of publications represented here. The first volume of 11,830 titles will grow to six volumes and 52,000 titles, and it will span the three-decade gap between Erichsen and Krarup's three-volume *Dansk Historisk Bibliografi* (1929), which covered through 1912, and

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the already published first of the projected five-year volumes (*DHB 1943–47* [1956]). All are issued under the auspices of *Den Danske Historiske Forening* and subsidized by one or another of Denmark's generous funds from beer or lotteries. While following the basic organization of its predecessors, this volume now has a section on archaeology; also, in this first volume, there are bibliographies on general and political and cultural history, and the economy (40 per cent of the total).

Dr. Bruun has succeeded admirably in his vast task, but the accumulations of thirty years are large, and sometimes the editor has wearied. While the long section on individual crafts and industries is well divided into alphabetized subgroups, and elsewhere sections are small and well defined as with nine items on stenography, other sections list seventy to one hundred titles with no attempt at grouping either topically or chronologically. In one section a dozen items on social democracy are scattered among a variety of other works (4353–4398). Treatments of the constitution of 1915 appear in two separate places (4362–4363 and 5843–5856), and the meager number makes one doubt the completeness of listings in this case. Book reviews are mentioned occasionally, not consistently.

Anyone who has tried to be a bibliographer knows the difficulties in mustering his materials to fit the minds of varied researchers. Here the parallel pattern of the whole series facilitates handling, occasional cross references are helpful, and both the thoroughness and the typography are a delight. Even so, as Bruun wisely remarks in his foreword, any such work requires a dose of "thought and imagination."

Northwestern University FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

DIE DEUTSCHEN REICHSTAGE IN DER STAATSLEHRE DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT. By *Friedrich Hermann Schubert.* [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Number 7.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 625. DM 74.)

THERE has been a long-standing need for a history of the German *Reichstag,* the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. This is not such a history. Instead, it is the best introduction presently available to the contemporary political literature of the period from about 1450 to about 1650 that was primarily concerned with the *Reichstag.*

With commendable thoroughness, Dr. Schubert has included all the significant sources: over 170 individual authors, ranging from Nicholas of Cusa to Samuel Pufendorf, plus three dozen or more anonymous and collective works. These bibliographical analyses are preceded by general discussions of the political problems of the time, which so often found concrete expression through the *Reichstag.* Among these may be mentioned the repeated, albeit unsuccessful, attempts by both emperors and Estates to change the *Reischstag* into a more effective instrument of government and the tragically divisive impact of the Reformation. Sometimes the author gets carried away by his enthusiasm for his subject. For example, it may be doubted that the *Reichstag* "upheld the unity of the Empire" (what unity?) or that it served as a significant counterbalance between the particularism of the princes on the one hand and the power of the emperors on the other. The book would also have benefited by some tighter

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editing. The lengthy quotations from the original sources are rarely justified. Nor are the frequently interspersed analogies of the *Reichstag* with other contemporary assemblies, such as the Spanish Cortes, the French Estates-General, the Swedish, Hungarian, and Swiss Diets, or the English Parliament, which, perhaps because of their brevity, often lead to questionable generalizations (in the case of the English Parliament, for example, particularly in the seventeenth century, the dissimilarities far outweigh the similarities).

Yet these shortcomings should not detract from a singular achievement. It is to be hoped that the author, with his extensive knowledge of the sources, will now proceed to write the long-needed history of the *Reichstag*.

University of Missouri, Kansas City HERMAN N. WEILL

KLEINE GESCHICHTE PREUSSENS. By *Richard Dietrich*. (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1966. Pp. 303. DM 19.80.)

PROFESSOR Dietrich of the Friedrich-Meinecke-Institute of the Free University of Berlin presents in this book a concise scholarly survey of the development of the Prussian state from the fifteenth century to its *de facto* disappearance in the twentieth century. After a cursory exposition of the early centuries before 1600, he broadens his narrative from the rule of the Great Elector onward, recognizing that Prussia is "das Werk der Hohenzollern."

Dietrich's objective is to delineate not wars and battles but the salient internal developments—the constitution, the administration, the economy and society—since these are so intimately connected with the process of the phenomenal rise of Prussia, a process that to Dietrich seems to have taken place continuously under a law of dualism, of conflict and rivalry, with neighbors for leadership. This dualistic conflict, a basic structural component of the narrative, is evident first in the case of Prussia versus Saxony, then in the case of Prussia versus Austria from Frederick the Great through the nineteenth century to unification, then in the case of Prussia versus the *Reich* in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic, where the law of dualism appears in a different form, and, finally, in the case of the disappearance of the law and Prussia under National Socialism.

Within each of these periods of dualism the author analyzes and elaborates the developments not only of Prussia but of a number of other German states as well, sketches succinctly the necessary external relationships of each, explains briefly the reasons for various significant developments, illuminates controversial points objectively, assesses fairly the positive and negative sides of Prussia as well as of its neighbors, and criticizes and corrects other misinterpretations and misunderstandings of Prussian and German history.

Excerpts from primary sources are incorporated in the narrative with great skill, giving the whole a special flavor and the reader a sense of the historical reality. Charts of the Prussian, Saxon, and Austrian rulers, of elections to the Prussian *Landtag* in the Weimar Republic, and of the territorial acquisitions of Prussia, as well as an excellent bibliography and index, enhance the value of this well-written book, a first-class contribution to Prussian and German history.

University of California, Santa Barbara H. M. ADAMS

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CORPUS EVANGELICORUM UND CORPUS CATHOLICORUM AUF DEM WESTFÄLISCHEN FRIEDENSKONGRESS: DIE EINFÜGUNG DER KONFESSIONELLEN STÄNDEVERBINDUNGEN IN DIE REICHSVERFASSUNG. By *Fritz Wolff*. [Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der neueren Geschichte E.V., Number 2.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1966. Pp. xx, 231. DM 42.)

It is well known that the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 contained provisions such as the *Reservatum Ecclesiasticum,* which were to the disadvantage of the Protestants. Enjoying a strong majority in the house of princes at the Imperial Diet, the Catholics successfully resisted all Protestant demands to abolish or modify these provisions. Therefore, in 1598 an aggressive Protestant party under the leadership of the Palatinate began to reject sentences passed by the courts and majority decisions of the Imperial Diet in religious disputes, insisting on a settlement through mutual agreement between the two parties. It was not until the end of the Thirty Years' War that this procedure was adopted. At the peace negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück, the imperial estates were represented, not in the traditional form of three houses, but along confessional lines by two assemblies, the *Corpus Evanglicorum* and the *Corpus Catholicorum*. More than that, Article V, Paragraph 52 of the peace settlement enjoined the *itio in partes,* as it was called, in all future quarrels of a religious nature. The principle of majority decisions in religious matters had been discarded.

Mr. Wolff is the first modern historian to investigate this momentous development. Having traced the effect of the emerging confessional blocs on the institutions of the Empire up to 1618, he discusses the organization of the Catholic and Protestant corpora during the time of the peace negotiations, their functioning, their legal incorporation into the imperial constitution, and the position of the emperor versus the new institutions. A final chapter, which should have been more detailed, relates the working of the corpora during the latter part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Strangely enough, it was not until the early eighteenth century that the role of these new assemblies was analyzed in the constitutional literature.

Wolff's study is largely based on unpublished transcripts, reports, and diaries in the archives of Vienna, Düsseldorf, and Cologne. Though it deals with a difficult matter, the presentation is lucid and clear. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the Peace of Westphalia and the constitutional history of the Empire in the seventeenth century.

University of California, Los Angeles Claus-Peter Clasen

NUREMBERG IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Gerald Strauss*. [New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1966. Pp. vi, 305. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.95.)

Because of growing interest in the role townsmen played in the important events of the sixteenth century, historians will welcome Professor Strauss's excellent study of Nuremberg. He wrote the book for the "New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities" series, edited by Norman F. Cantor, with the purpose of providing as complete and accurate a picture as possible of the life of this

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important free imperial city during its golden age, hoping thereby to stimulate an interest in the richness and fertility of its history. Having familiarized himself with the vast literature concerning virtually every aspect of life in the city and having probed the sources preserved in the city and state archives, he has produced a fascinating account in which he depicts the spirit of the city's inhabitants living in an important center of significant world events.

After tracing the history of Nuremberg and explaining its unique position in the Holy Roman Empire and in Europe in the sixteenth century, Strauss provides a lucid description of the political organization and the way it functioned under a strong, conservative patrician leadership; discusses the various social groups and their respective roles in the political and the economic life of the city, showing the wide extent of their commerce and the special skills of the artisans; adds a well-reasoned chapter on ecclesiastical and religious developments, explaining the role of the city council in the introduction of the Reformation; gives us a fascinating account of the everyday life and work of the people; and concludes with a chapter on learning and the arts.

The author is correct in portraying the Nuremberg patricians as industrious and successful in building up their family fortunes, paternalistically conscientious in managing political affairs, faithful in providing for the well-being of the people under their care, and sincere in introducing Luther's Reformation emphases upon a simple, readily grasped Christianity. Although he occasionally seems to underestimate their intellectual and cultural originality, he credits some of them with noteworthy achievements along these lines. The book contains a few well-selected maps, city plans, and illustrations, an unusually good bibliography, and an index.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

PREUSSEN: GESCHICHTE EINES STAATES. By *Hans-Joachim Schoeps.* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag. 1966. Pp. 422. DM 19.80.)

PROFESSOR Schoeps once again advances the thesis that he has been propounding in most of his other works. German history, so the argument runs, has been enriched for more than five hundred years by the Prussian spirit. The virtues of sobriety, obedience, hard work, and devotion to duty exalted by that spirit arose out of the experiences of the Teutonic and the Cistercian Orders in the Middle Ages. They made the Hohenzollern state a model of efficient administration and religious toleration. Not blind to the shortcomings of his latter-day Sparta, the author acknowledges its tendency toward provincialism and authoritarianism, for example. But these weaknesses are in his mind outweighed by an idealistic selflessness that he feels has been sadly lacking in his country since 1871. While recognizing that he is the champion of a lost cause, he seeks consolation in the thought that it is at least a noble cause. Those who share this view of the Prussian state will find a source of comfort in the book.

Except for its unusual approach, the account is straightforward and undistinguished. It is a textbook of the sort that was popular in Germany prior to the First World War. Schoeps devotes two-thirds of his work to the years between the accession of Frederick the Great and the establishment of the German

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Empire—the heroic era of Prussian history. What came before merely prepared the way for the fulfillment of a historic mission; what came after was only the disintegration of a proud tradition. The author is too good a scholar to swallow uncritically the line of the Hohenzollern court historiographers. His political tastes are, as a matter of fact, rather unorthodox. He prefers Frederick William IV to William I, the Gerlachs to Bismarck, Stahl to Treitschke. He admires the fundamentalist piety and legitimist statecraft of the 1850's more than the military victories of the 1860's and 1870's. There was indeed a rugged honesty about the defenders of the old order lacking in the idolaters of success who displaced them. Yet the Prussian tradition even at its best failed to prepare the nation for the crucial problems of industrialization, urbanization, and democratization. The passing of the Hohenzollern kingdom was more than a tragic accident of history; it was the nemesis of an abstemious but narrow civic outlook that could not cope with the complexities of modern society.

University of Wisconsin THEODORE S. HAMEROW

DIE REVOLUTIONÄRE BEWEGUNG IM RHEINLAND AM ENDE DES ACHTZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERTS. Volume I, DIE ANFÄNGE DER REVOLUTIONÄREN BEWEGUNG VON ETWA 1770 BIS ZUM BEGINN DER REVOLUTIONSKRIEGE. By *Kyösti Julku*. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, Number 136.] (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. 1965. Pp. 326. 16 F. Mk.)

THE basic thesis of this book is that the Rhenish revolutionary movements at the end of the eighteenth century, while belonging to the general movement of the "World Revolution of the West" described by Godechot and Palmer, were responses of specific persons to local problems and not merely the result of the expansion of the French Revolution. This seems clear enough, and not particularly new. Julku has, however, provided a healthy corrective to the interpretations of those who write from a standpoint that emphasizes the primacy of foreign affairs.

This first volume of a projected larger work stands as a complete unit and may be criticized as such. The author writes that the ideal of the Rhenish, as of all other contemporaneous, revolutions was the establishment of political freedom. He argues for the influence of the Enlightenment on the movement, but he also recognizes the role of a complex socioeconomic situation in leading to revolution. Early in the book he suggests that the Enlightenment became truly revolutionary when it lost its aristocratic and pseudoaristocratic followers to pre-Romanticism and gained the allegiance of a more popular segment of the population. This he calls a *Vulgäraufklärung*. Similarly, in his conclusions he writes that a desire to return to the old traditions and laws of the medieval *Reich* or to play the game of enlightened despotism were *Vorformen der Revolution*. These are fascinating insights that ought to be, but are not, developed. The trouble lies in the author's failure to analyze in a rigorous manner the social situation of the Rhenish states. He devotes a total of fifteen pages to these matters, and that is grossly inadequate. Without more information gathered from archival sources, the use of which is sparse, it is difficult to accept or to reject some of the author's assertions. One example will suffice: he writes that the basic social

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problems of the Rhineland resulted from the fact that a feudal structure had been allowed to subsist while feudal nobles had been deprived by absolute princes of the reality of power. In the light of our knowledge of the old regime in other countries, this is not a radical statement. It may even provide a key to interpretation, but we cannot use it, for lack of its being sufficiently developed.

Julku has begun to study seriously a series of often neglected episodes in German history. There is much in his work that is informative and useful. In the end, however, I find the whole unsatisfactory, because it is impossible to explain a revolutionary movement by concentrating four-fifths or more of one's attention on ideology alone.

Columbia University JEFFRY KAPLOW

THE GENESIS OF GERMAN CONSERVATISM. By *Klaus Epstein*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 733. $17.50.)

KLAUS Epstein's volume is only the first part of an ambitiously planned history of German conservatism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that is social history in the broadest sense. Elaborately researched, it is designed to be a work of synthesis. Mr. Epstein may have found it impossible to write a mere monograph on his subject because conservatism before the French Revolution remained somewhat short of clear definition and self-consciousness, and indeed before 1830 it had not crystallized into a specific party. He therefore had to deal with what he calls the "preliminary history" of conservatism, entailing an elaborate investigation of the challenge of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that brought about the manifold conservative responses. At the same time, given the disunity of Germany, Epstein had to work his way through the elaborate labyrinth of German politics and society. The result is a remarkable, monumental work, almost overwhelming in its inclusiveness and encyclopedic range.

In terms of a thesis, then, Epstein largely accepts and builds upon Fritz Valjavec's pioneering work, *Die Entstehung der politischen Strömungen in Deutschland, 1770–1815* (1951), which saw conservatism arising in answer to the Enlightenment well before 1789. His method is singularly impressive: he traces the major political developments of the late eighteenth century in magisterial fashion; he draws expert portraits of the major representatives of early German conservatism; and he also has been able to tap "public opinion" by making extensive use of a pamphlet and periodical collection at the University of Cologne. The cumulative effect of this quantitative information is staggering. The author has managed to overcome the absence of statistical information and of public information surveys and has wedded, successfully, the "old" interpretive and the "new" quantitative history.

Considering the amorphous character of conservative thought and action in the late eighteenth century, however, is he justified in his consistent use of the capital *C*? After all, not even the very word and concept "conservatism" were used in the Germanies before the 1830's. Furthermore, the pattern of the (conservative) response to the (progressive) challenge, while on the whole fitting, is somewhat too rigid.

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The one criticism of this work is its excessive length. The scholarly equivalent of the *res judicata* simply does not exist for Epstein. He unearths arguments on every conceivable issue, thoughtfully and judiciously. But the art of foreshortening would have served his convenience as well as it would have enhanced the reader's pleasure. It might, moreover, have freed him for further synthesis, such as a chapter on the sociology of German conservatism. It might be premature to raise this dimension now, since such a chapter will, no doubt, appear in the concluding volume.

The greater the book, the more the comments; hence, the above remarks. Epstein has succeeded in writing a worthy counterpart to Leonard Krieger's *The German Idea of Freedom* (1957). *The Genesis of German Conservatism* is a rare scholarly achievement that will serve as challenge and inspiration to his fellow scholars.

Smith College KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

DIE GEISTLICHEN STAATEN UND IHRE AUFLÖSUNG IM URTEIL DER ZEITGENÖSSISCHEN PUBLIZISTIK. By *Peter Wende*. [Historische Studien, Number 396.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1966. Pp. 102. DM 11.20.)

PETER Wende has written an exemplary, but very concise, account of the publicist debate over the secularization of the German ecclesiastical states (1785–1803). The Holy Roman Empire dissolved when the clerical estates were secularized. In actual fact this seemed to be the result of French demands made at the Rastatt peace congress in 1798 and realized in 1803 as a consequence of the Peace of Lunéville (1801). In reality, however, the continued existence of the ecclesiastical states had ceased being acceptable to German public opinion so that their dissolution remained a formality.

In order to demonstrate the validity of this argument Wende analyzes in detail two main groups of pamphleteers who wrote on the problems of the clerical states between 1785 and 1803. The first includes a small number of writers who participated in a famous prize essay competition of 1785. It had been suggested by Herr von Bibra, a high councilor of the bishop of Fulda, and resulted in open criticism of the administration of such states. Informed public opinion came to agree that the economic and administrative backwardness of the clerical territories was such that their future viability as states seemed precluded.

The second group of writers appeared between the Rastatt congress and 1803. The chief defenders of the ecclesiastical states were a group of publicists in the service of the bishop of Würzburg. Wende finds it significant that they used philosophical rationalism (ingredients of the social contract theory, sovereignty of the people, and so forth) to defend states and interests later identified with Restoration conservatism. The ecclesiastical territories, however, also had their historically minded, traditionalist defenders. The case of those who favored secularization proved easier to make and was more popularly received. Here the influence of the Enlightenment and of Kant was obvious. A state lost its reason for being when the ideas that justified its existence ceased being generally accepted.

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Since the willingness to dissolve the clerical territories arose mainly after 1785 and did not find widespread support until 1800, one wonders whether intervening influences should not also have been considered. Nothing is said about the possible influence of Josephinism which certainly enjoyed considerable popularity among German publicists between about 1787 and 1793. Wende has demonstrated effectively, nonetheless, that neither the French Revolution nor the might of French arms was primarily responsible for the secularization of the ecclesiastical states and, with that, for the fall of the Empire. The ideas within Germany were not as predominantly conservative as is usually believed. Informed opinion had already adjusted to the idea of a more modern confederation of secular states.

University of Alberta HELEN P. LIEBEL

DEMOKRATISCHE STRÖMUNGEN IN HAMBURG UND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN ZUR ZEIT DER ERSTEN FRANZÖSISCHEN REPUBLIK. By *Walter Grab*. [Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte, Number 21.] (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag. 1966. Pp. 275.)

THIS workmanlike study, based largely on hitherto unused material, traces the activities of a small group of democratic publicists in and near Hamburg during the 1790's and also analyzes local unrest in this connection. Grab makes extensive use not only of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein records, but relies also on Austrian, Danish, and former Prussian archives and on a large number of little-known pamphlets and journals. He has welded this mass of material into an informative account, which will serve as a major contribution to our knowledge of this period, especially since he spares no pains in establishing the large body of facts on which this study rests.

Grab's general approach is, however, sufficiently limited to raise serious questions about his over-all contribution. He omits several democrats, such as Voss, because they have been treated before. He shows that some of the leading democratic publicists were under French protection or in French pay, yet he fails to evaluate them in terms of French policy objectives on the basis of French records. By concluding, moreover, that democratic publicists were frequently motivated by economic interests, he tends to impeach the sincerity of this movement. Grab is also inclined to minimize liberal and other reformist programs and policies.

Altogether, however, the work makes a welcome addition to other recent efforts to extend our view of modern German political developments into the eighteenth century.

Library of Congress ARNOLD H. PRICE

DIE DEUTSCHEN LANDESKIRCHEN IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Karl Kupisch*. [Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, Volume IV, Section R, Part 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 50–176. DM 13.80.)

GERMAN church and secular history is so intricately interlaced that it poses considerable problems for the historian to select the "church" strands of the fabric

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and weave out of them a coherent narrative. Thus the Wartburg Festival of 1817, while marking an anniversary of the Reformation, turned into a demonstration of political protest. It is a tribute to the skill and scholarship of Mr. Kupisch that, despite this inherent problem, his handbook, with its excellent source listings, is a lucid history of the state churches in Germany from the time of Napoleon, when the Protestant churches emerged as limited entities, to the struggle of the Confessional Church against submergence in the totalitarianism of Hitler.

The restorative efforts of the Vienna Congress did not attempt to re-create the defunct church states. Otherwise, according to the author, the churches were rather effectively harnessed to restored absolutism. In Prussia especially they became increasingly orthodox and conservative. The revived Pietism, while distinctly nationalistic, also supported restoration. Its nationalism was channeled into social work, the founding of delinquent homes, and nurses' centers. The politically liberal element in turn became indifferent to religion, but had its brief day in 1848 when the Frankfurt Assembly declared itself in favor of separation of state and church.

German unification and the *Kulturkampf* appeared to some as harbingers of a new day for Protestantism. On the whole Protestantism remained conservative, increasingly so with the advent of Wilhelm II. The author quotes Friedrich Naumann and describes the attitude of the churches as a blend of "Bethlehem and Potsdam."

A third of the book is devoted to the struggle of the Protestant churches during the Third *Reich,* which was also a bitter interchurch contest. The reader discovers that Hitler's Minister of Church Affairs, Hanns Kerrl, may have been sincere in attempting to bridge the differences between party ideology and church doctrine, but neither Hitler nor the party heads were inclined to pursue a policy of conciliation. This is an excellent handbook but not without shortcomings. The latter part abounds with abbreviations that have little meaning to the reader unless he grew up with them. Another weakness, so common to German works, is the absence of an index.

Moorhead State College VICTOR PETERS

STAATSSEKRETÄR GRAF HERBERT VON BISMARCK: AUS SEINER POLITISCHEN PRIVATKORRESPONDENZ. Edited with an introduction by *Walter Bussmann*. With the assistance of *Klaus-Peter Hoepke*. [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Number 44.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 598. DM 54.)

As the only major published collection of documents from the private papers of Herbert von Bismarck, the older son and heir apparent of the Iron Chancellor, this book is an important source. The editor has contributed a long summary introduction, and the editing itself has been competently done, with all documents arranged chronologically. There is a name index but no subject index, so that scholars searching for information about any limited problem will have to go through considerable material.

Much of the volume consists of correspondence between Herbert and the

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three men who served most often as his father's private secretary: his brother Bill, his brother-in-law Count Rantzau, and Holstein. There is also an extensive correspondence with Bernhard von Bülow, later Chancellor, but almost nothing from Chancellor Bismarck himself. Whether the editor omitted documents of historical importance or otherwise deleted compromising material is impossible to determine. It is more likely that the Bismarcks themselves removed anything they did not want published from the archives before any historian was allowed to work in them. The documents in this collection contain no revelations that could lead to a substantial re-evaluation of any aspect of the Bismarck era. "Yet," as the editor remarks in his introduction, "they are of interest because they frequently reveal the motives and tendencies of German policy in a more candid, direct and occasionally also less discreet manner [than official documents]." They are of interest for other reasons as well. Like all collections of letters, they convey a sense of immediacy, of personal contact with personalities and problems of the period, and, in their description of daily routine, they transmit a fascinating picture of how the Bismarck family conducted politics. Letters also generally reveal much about the men who write them, and in this case the historian is given added insight into the personalities of the future William II, Bülow, Holstein, and the rest of the cast of characters.

In one critical respect the volume is disappointing, for even this collection of his personal papers fails to provide a firm basis for evaluating Herbert Bismarck's own qualities as a diplomat and statesman. His father, although represented directly by only a few documents and marginal comments, once again dominates the scene.

Michigan State University NORMAN RICH

DER KAMPF UM DIE PREUSSISCHE WAHLREFORM IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Reinhard Patemann*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 26.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1964. Pp. 275.)

OF all the odious consequences of the unsuccessful Prussian Revolution of 1848, none was probably more bitterly resented or more detrimental to the development of a healthy political life in that state than the imposition of the three-class system of voting. First decreed by Frederick William IV in May 1849, after successive *Landtage* (though elected by indirect vote) had proved too liberal for that conservative monarch's taste, the three-class system was formally incorporated into the Prussian Constitution of 1850, and, despite a number of efforts to reform the system, it remained in effect, with slight and unimportant modifications, until the collapse of the Hohenzollern state in November 1918.

Following a brief introductory chapter that, perhaps because of its brevity, fails to convey the great bitterness engendered by the system before 1914, Dr. Patemann's dispassionate volume plunges straight into the thicket of parliamentary debate and the maze of behind-the-scenes maneuvering that served as the stage for the increasingly frenzied efforts to maintain, abolish, or reform the system. Based on important new material, including the records of the Prussian Ministries of State and Justice, the papers of Max Bauer and Adolf Heinrichs,

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the files of the National Liberal party, and upon a thorough study of newspapers and other contemporary literature, Patemann's account takes us considerably beyond the revealing study of Ludwig Bergsträsser, *Die Preussische Wahlrechtsfrage im Kriege und die Entstehung der Osterbotschaft 1917* (1929).

Most of Patemann's volume is devoted to the period from July 1917 to November 1918, and what he has to say about the role of William II and Bethmann Hollweg and especially the *Oberste Heeresleitung* is not likely to increase their reputations. For anyone interested in the tortured course of Prussian politics in the last years of the Empire, and especially the doctrinaire unwillingness of the privileged parties (including the National Liberals and the Center) to make substantial concessions before it was too late, this book will be invaluable.

Much has been written recently about some of the wildly expansionist schemes that were discussed, and that apparently found increasing favor in influential circles in Berlin, at the beginning of the First World War. It is not too much to suggest that this new radicalism in foreign policy may well have been a partial reflection of the increasing deadlock, tension, and frustration that marked German domestic politics in those years; and nothing contributed more to this unhappy and dangerous state of affairs, perhaps, than the continued existence of the electoral system imposed upon Germany's largest, most liberal and dynamic state in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Rice University FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

DIE DEUTSCHE ZENTRUMSPARTEI, 1917–1923. By *Rudolf Morsey*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 32.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1966. Pp. 651.)

PUBLICATIONS of the *Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien* in Bonn are known for the significance of their subjects and the high caliber of their research. This study is no exception. Its author is already known from several earlier works published by the *Kommission*. With careful attention to important, and some unimportant, detail, Professor Morsey takes us step by step through the crucial years of the Center party's transition from empire to republic. His task was made difficult by the almost total lack of official party records. He has overcome this handicap, however, by diligent and imaginative research in a wide range of other sources, many of them unpublished, and the result is an impressive book that substantially deepens and in many respects changes our views of the Center party.

Among all the parties of the Empire, the "tower of the Center" (*Zentrumsturm*) is generally considered the one edifice that survived the Revolution virtually unscathed and unchanged. But this impression is only superficially correct. Already before 1918, the *Zentrumspartei* was beset by inner tensions which, if anything, increased under the republic. Most of these were inherent in the party's transition from Confessional to political party, a process never satisfactorily completed. Whenever the Center's unity was threatened, the Confessional bond helped avoid an open break. The only serious defection from the ranks was the separation of the Bavarian People's party in 1920. Efforts to broaden the

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Center party's basis by appealing to Protestant as well as Catholic voters never got very far. On the whole its electorate remained remarkably stable, although some voters, dissatisfied with the party's coalition with the Social Democrats, wandered off to the Right. The Center party was loyal to the republic, of course, but its younger members were more enthusiastically so than their elders.

The majority of the Center party, led by "men of the old Reich," carried "the old flag into the new age." Given its own internal differences on almost every major issue, the keynote of its political behavior, if it wanted to survive, had to be compromise. More than ever the Center now was the "party of the middle." This key position gave it a disproportionate influence in national affairs. A larger and more unified party might have used this influence to provide leadership and direction, but the most the Center could offer was a measure of stability. Its policy often was pragmatic rather than creative, opportunist rather than consistent. Yet to have helped preserve the existence of the republic when it was threatened from within and without was no mean contribution for the Center party to have made.

Yale University HANS W. GATZKE

DER DEUTSCHE INDUSTRIE- UND HANDELSTAG ALS POLITISCHES FORUM DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK: EINE HISTORISCHE STUDIE ZUM VERHÄLTNIS VON POLITIK UND WIRTSCHAFT. By *Dieter Schäfer*. [Veröffentlichungen des Hamburgischen Welt-Wirtschafts-Archivs.] (Hamburg: Verlag Weltarchiv GmbH. 1966. Pp. 76. DM 14.50.)

MR. Schäfer has written a study of the political role of the *Deutsche Industrie- und Handelstag* (DIHT) in its relation to national and international problems from 1918 to 1933, including a useful survey of its origins and history from 1861 to 1918. Intended from the beginning to function as a political organization, the DIHT had as members more than 120 chambers of commerce, industrial and retail branch organizations, and industry and trade chambers. Its president from 1919 to 1932 was Felix von Mendelssohn, and Schäfer emphasizes his role almost to the point of the biographical approach.

Schäfer did a considerable amount of sound research for his book. It is unfortunate that his conclusions at least partially negate his initial premise anent the need for such a study. He says the influence of the DIHT on the Weimar Republic rested primarily on the personal influence of Mendelssohn, competent staff work in the organization, and zealous development of politically effective techniques of work and organization. If we eliminate the verbiage, we have only the influence of Mendelssohn. Schäfer has told us little more than that there was a close consultative relationship between the state and the representatives of commerce. While he admits the role of the *Reichsband der Deutschen Industrie*, he leaves the impression that the DIHT was a comparable power. Few scholars will agree with him, even after reading his book.

The organization is weak, and the writing suffers from lack of transitional sentences. Much is made of various kinds of organizational ties, but the relation of these ties to public and private economic policy too often is not shown. Unless it

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stimulates the production of other works on this and similar topics, Schäfer's book will add little to our understanding of the role of commercial organizations in the Weimar Republic. Although he has added to our general knowledge of the topic, his conclusion implies that the DIHT followed rather than formulated policy.

University of Southwestern Louisiana AMOS E. SIMPSON

THE REICHSWEHR AND POLITICS, 1918 TO 1933. By *F. L. Carsten.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 427. $8.00.)

F. L. CARSTEN, whose important contributions to earlier periods of German history are well known, has now provided us with a splendid study of the political activities of the *Reichswehr* from 1918 to 1933. The author has assembled and assessed the significant findings of previous scholarship, but his judgments are supported primarily by extensive research in the archives. The book contains important new information, particularly on the *Reichswehr* under Seeckt's first successor, Heye, on the *Reichswehr*'s Russian policy, and on the frequently neglected developments in Weimar's virulently reactionary navy.

The first section of the book deals with the period between the Revolution and the defeat of the Kapp *Putsch* when, Carsten contends, the prorepublican forces missed their opportunity to create a republican army. Instead of playing upon the divisions within the *Reichswehr* and promoting the small but important group of officers led by General Reinhardt, the Socialists turned the army over to Seeckt who, in contrast to Reinhardt, was unwilling to use the army against Right-wing putschists. Unfortunately, Carsten does not really explain why the opportunity was lost, and the exploration of his suggestive thesis must await the publication of sorely needed studies on the military policies of the prorepublican parties.

Carsten's chief emphasis is upon the fateful role played by the political generals: Groener, Seeckt, and Schleicher. The section devoted to Seeckt's leadership of the *Reichswehr* is a convincing refutation of Harold J. Gordon's contention that Seeckt was a positive force in the republic. Seeckt's neutrality in the Kapp *Putsch,* his intrigues against Stresemann in 1923, and his frequent toying with dictatorship schemes were conducive neither to the stability of the republic nor to the discipline of the restive *Reichswehr.* In his interesting discussion of the post-Seeckt period, Carsten shows that many military leaders, including Schleicher, were aware of the need for a more positive and honest relationship between *Reichswehr* and republic. Efforts to reform recruitment, enforce minimal respect for republican symbols, and keep the civil authorities informed about rearmament activities failed because of resistance within the *Reichswehr* and Socialist suspicions, and were brought to an abrupt halt by the Great Depression.

The story of how Schleicher's effort to preserve the "unpolitical" character of the *Reichswehr* compelled him to play an increasingly open and disastrous political role is familiar enough thanks to the works of Thilo Vogelsang and Wolfgang Sauer. Carsten's most important contribution is to show Schleicher's effort to find " 'a solution which took account of the enormous growth' of the National Socialists" as a logical consequence of the policies pursued by the *Reichswehr* since 1918. Carsten does not share J. W. Wheeler-Bennett's proclivity to exaggerate the *Reichswehr*'s responsibility for Hitler's success, but he does insist that "If the Re-

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public after 1918 had possessed an army entirely loyal to it, the great crisis would have taken a different course."

University of California, Berkeley GERALD D. FELDMAN

HITLERS MEIN KAMPF: ENTSTEHUNG, AUFBAU, STIL, ÄNDERUNGEN, QUELLEN, QUELLENWERT, KOMMENTIERTE AUSZÜGE. By *Werner Maser*. (2d ed.; [Munich:] Bechtle Verlag. 1966. Pp. 345.)

THIS much-needed study will interest the specialist in modern German history rather than the general student. It is not an easy book to read, but no future student of the *Führer* will be able to ignore it.

The importance of *Mein Kampf* was recognized early. Now, forty years after its appearance, Maser reminds us that Hitler adhered to his political philosophy consistently and tenaciously from 1925 to 1945, that he was able to achieve and extend his powers on the basis of his philosophy, and that he was further able, despite his well-publicized views, to lead the German people into the abyss. This seems to Maser to be adequate proof of the influence of *Mein Kampf*.

The value of the study is threefold: first, the author compares Hitler's statements in *Mein Kampf*, particularly those concerning his early life, with the documentary evidence in the party and governmental archives. In so doing, he uncovers several myths that have been perpetuated by biographers and historians alike. Next, Maser traces Hitler's views, and the influence that shaped these views, on government, propaganda, religion, race, domestic, foreign, and military affairs, and compares them to his policies from 1933 to 1945. On some issues—race, religion, and propaganda—Hitler's statements in *Mein Kampf* and his policies as *Führer* and *Reich* Chancellor coincided to a very large degree. In others, particularly in foreign affairs, his early views and later policies differed. The treaty with Great Britain and the avoidance of a two-front war, for instance, were not realized, but the anti-French policies and the alliance with Italy were carried out, by and large, as originally envisaged. Finally, through textual and stylistic comparison, Maser notes the many changes and variations in the numerous editions of *Mein Kampf*.

Some of this has been known, in a general way, for a long time. What is new is the detailed and scholarly treatment, the careful comparison of documents and text, and the wide knowledge of the author. Revisionists will not be encouraged by this study.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

ENTSCHEIDUNGSJAHR 1932: ZUR JUDENFRAGE IN DER ENDPHASE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. Edited by *Werner E. Mosse*. With the assistance of *Arnold Paucker*. [Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, Number 13.] (2d rev. ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1966. Pp. xx, 615. Cloth DM 48, paper DM 43.)

THIS formidable book contains fourteen essays, each a thesis and several anchored in inaccessible sources. The subject is the Jewish situation in Germany at

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the "turning point" in 1932. It is thus a description of beleaguerment, the threats perceived by the Jews, the alliances they attempted to form, the defenses they erected down to the last feeble gestures before the "curtain" fell.

Although massive, *Entscheidungsjahr* is not exhaustive. There is a recapitulation of the Jewish economic position in detailed figures, but no article to tell the story of individual enterprises. There are accounts of feelings toward Jewry in the political Left and the political Right, but no separate treatment of attitudes in the bureaucracy and the army. The essays are therefore actualized fragments floating out of a theoretical whole. Fortunately, some of these fragments are large chunks —powerful reflectors of the period, complete with fact and flavor.

Karl Thieme's contribution is such a pictorialization. Exploring the Catholic encyclopedias, he finds in the *Staatslexikon* of the late 1920's statements about Jewry's "domination of economic life" and its "restless, upsetting, revolutionary" spirit in literature. George Mosse tells of a classroom in a German university in 1907 where the students applauded when they heard that a Jewish jurist had been murdered. Hans-Helmuth Knütter emphasizes the nationalist strain in the Communist movement when he reminds us that in 1930 a Communist leader rejected "fratricidal war with the National Socialists" while the *Red Flag* promised that the "people's revolution will finish off the Jewish exploiters just as much as the Christian ones." Finally, Arnold Paucker reveals how German Jewry prepared for battle, its *Abwehrkampf,* according to the rules. In that long essay, a book within a book, he shows how the *Central-Verein,* German Jewry's principal organization, distributed tons of literature opposing anti-Semitism through its local network, the *Ortsgruppen;* how it went to court against Streicher; how it instructed Jewish students to fight duels in answer to anti-Semitic insults. He describes the listing by the Jewish war veterans of the names of 10,623 fallen comrades. The list, in book form, was the ultimate argument presented to the German people in 1932. Hindenburg received a copy on his eighty-fifth birthday and, expressing his thanks, put it on his shelf.

Entscheidungsjahr is an indispensable source for historians of Jewry and of Germany. No well-equipped library should be without it.

University of Vermont RAUL HILBERG

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918–1945. Series C (1933–1937). THE THIRD REICH: FIRST PHASE. Volume V, MARCH 5–OCTOBER 31, 1936. [Department of State Publication 8083.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1966. Pp. lxxxi, 1208. $4.75.)

POSTWAR Anglo-American publication of captured German documents in translation was initially projected to cover the period 1918–1945 in some twenty volumes. It was soon found that more extensive coverage would be necessary. Therefore publication in English was limited to nineteen volumes covering 1933–1941. The thirteen volumes of "Series D" on the later years of this period have all appeared and, with this volume, five out of the six volumes of "Series C" on the years 1933–1937. "Series D" is being published in German and "Series C" is to be, as well as "Series A" and "Series B" on Weimar, and "Series E" on 1942–1945.

The current publication opens on the eve of Hitler's march into the Rhine-

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land and closes shortly after the signing of the secret German-Italian Protocol and the initialing of the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan. Documents on Austria and Spain since July 1936 are excluded, having previously been published in the first and third volumes of "Series D," but there is interesting material on the Austro-German *détente* and on the domestic deterioration of Spain during the spring and early summer of 1936. The analytical list of documents shows that in addition to documents on relations with individual countries ranging from Great Britain and Italy, with over ninety each, to Denmark and Luxembourg, with one apiece, there is extensive coverage of the occupation of the Rhineland in over forty documents and naval negotiations in thirty. Under the three headings of "Economic," "General," and "Military Policy" are listed several documents of considerable importance, including comprehensive assessments of Germany's political and economic situation and goals as of August 1936. The usefulness of the volume is enhanced by the generous use of editors' notes to explain references in the documents; thus one six-page note reproduces articles of the League Covenant and the Versailles and Locarno Treaties relevant to the Rhineland crisis. With its competent translation into mid-Atlantic (something between British and American) English, its judicious footnotes, and its useful appendixes, the volume will be invaluable for students of the period until eventually the German edition supplants it for scholarly use. Even then it will be most helpful for reference and pedagogical purposes.

Southern Illinois University DONALD S. DETWILER

A CATALOG OF FILES AND MICROFILMS OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ARCHIVES, 1920–1945. Volume III. Compiled and edited by *George O. Kent.* [Published as joint project of the United States Department of State and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution, Stanford University. 1966. Pp. 807.)

GEORGE Kent is maintaining the two-year interval between the volumes of his painstaking and invaluable *Catalog* of the files and films of the German Foreign Ministry Archives. The first volume appeared in 1962 (*AHR,* LXVIII [Apr. 1963], 741); the second, in 1964 (*AHR,* LXX [Oct. 1964], 142). At this pace the *Catalog* should be completed in 1968 with a volume including files of German missions and consulates for the years 1920–1945.

The present volume centers on the years 1936–1945. What might be expected to be the most important file, that of the Foreign Minister's secretariat, requires less than two of the more than five hundred pages of the *Catalog,* and the entries are obviously fragments. In other words, much of the Foreign Minister's file was not among the documents captured by the Allied armies.

Kent makes no reference to some ten thousand pages of documents from this file, which survive in the form of microfilm prepared by Ribbentrop's secretariat in 1943 as insurance against the destruction by bombing of the records in his file. This "F" series of films presents serious problems to the cataloguer. The short strips of captured German film were spliced together to make reels of conventional length, and duplicate films were run off in the Air Ministry in London.

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The operation was done hastily because the originals were deteriorating from dampness and were already partly illegible. As a result of this splicing job, closely related documents, indeed parts of the same document, may be on different reels.

To describe this jumble in the laconic language of the cataloguer is impossible. A detailed description of the "F" series, however, should be included in Kent's fourth volume. These ten thousand frames of microfilm contain the only surviving documentation for some of the most important transactions of Hitler's diplomacy.

There are other oddities about the Foreign Ministry Archives. The manuscript of Erich Brandenburg's biography of Brockdorff-Rantzau was confiscated and remains unpublished in the archives. The inventory of Brockdorff-Rantzau's papers given by Kent is excellent. These papers are invaluable for the study of the Treaty of Versailles and for the history of German relations with Russia in the 1920's. Another rich personal file is that of Mackensen, the German ambassador in Italy from 1938 to 1944. Mackensen's official dispatches were factual and colorless. His personal correspondence, particularly with his trusted friend Weizsäcker, gives many vivid pictures of life in Fascist Italy, and of the resentment, even of many Fascists, at the increasing subordination of Italy to Germany.

A few party files, and some miscellaneous files (notably those of Albert Speer), which for some reason found their way into the captured Foreign Ministry materials, are catalogued in this volume.

Occasionally, the necessity for brevity is misleading. There should be separate index entries for Ambassador Maltzan and Secretary of Legation Maltzan. Students will be perplexed to find that the entry for the State Secretary's file on Anglo-German relations begins with Volume II, with documents dating from May 1939, although most country files begin earlier. Actually, the first volume in this series is entitled "Halifax Visit and Its Results" containing documents from November 1937 to April 1939. Here, as so often, the secretariat began to keep copies of documents for use in connection with a particular episode; once begun, the file was continued and expanded.

These are details. What is important is that with each volume scholars are more deeply indebted to Kent for the uniform excellence of his *Catalog*.

University of California, Berkeley RAYMOND J. SONTAG

CLAUS GRAF STAUFFENBERG, 15. NOVEMBER 1907–20. JULI 1944: DAS LEBEN EINES OFFIZIERS. By *Joachim Kramarz*. (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe Verlag für Wehrwesen. 1965. Pp. 245. DM 24.80.)

TECHNIK UND MORAL EINER VERSCHWÖRUNG: 20. JULI 1944. By *Dieter Ehlers*. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag. 1964. Pp. 250. DM 9.80.)

THE officers' revolt of July 20, 1944, against Hitler has been treated in numerous books and articles, but a full-length biography of its leading spirit, Count Claus von Stauffenberg, has so far been lacking. Partly this is owing, no doubt, to the paucity of sources, for the Gestapo seized and apparently destroyed all of Stauffenberg's documents it could find. It is gratifying, therefore, that a young West Berlin scholar has undertaken the difficult task of gathering the shreds of evidence

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from published and unpublished sources to reconstruct the life of the young General Staff officer who perished in his thirty-seventh year on the very day he placed the bomb in the *Führer*'s bunker in East Prussia. Among the unpublished materials used by the author are microfilmed German Army documents, chiefly war diaries, from the National Archives in Washington, D. C., and interviews and letters from surviving fellow officers, friends, and relatives. The author meticulously traces the influences that formed Stauffenberg's character and that eventually led him to identify himself with the active anti-Hitler resistance.

Kramarz has written a carefully researched, balanced, and detached biography, free from sensationalism and hero worship. The book conveys an authentic and convincing picture of the leading actors of July 20 and of the great difficulties they encountered in organizing a large-scale plot to overthrow the regime they had come to regard as anti-Christian and evil. An English translation of this fine biography would be welcome.

Dieter Ehlers' book also deals with the events of July 20, but it follows a different approach. It attempts to contribute to the nature and problem of resistance in a totalitarian state by analyzing the methods and moral attitudes of the opponents of Hitler's regime. The study is divided into two main parts that deal with the methods of passive and active resistance, respectively, and is further subdivided into topical sections in which the various methods available to or actually employed by the resistance leaders are analyzed in a detailed, penetrating fashion. After disposing of the various forms of passive resistance as being relatively ineffective in view of the very nature of a totalitarian regime, the study leads to the inevitable conclusion that only active resistance—physical destruction of the dictator and open, military revolt—could succeed. But the obstacles for an army revolt were almost insuperable. To oppose a regime of violence like Hitler's, violent methods were necessary. But the leaders of the officers' revolt were inhibited by moral scruples and conflicting loyalties. They lacked the brutal determination and the material strength necessary to overcome the tremendous power of the Nazi regime. Conceived as a military *Putsch* that was to lead to the establishment of a temporary military dictatorship after the assassination of Hitler, the plot never had a chance to develop because a trivial technical mishap saved Hitler from the full impact of the explosion. Although none of the army commanders joined forces with the rebels on July 20, none of them denounced the plotters to the Gestapo when they had been approached to join the resistance.

This work is exhaustively researched and copiously annotated and should contribute to a better understanding of the true nature of the revolt of July 20 and of the regime against which it was launched.

American University CARL G. ANTHON

FOREIGN LABOR IN NAZI GERMANY. By *Edward L. Homze.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 350. $8.50.)

EDWARD Homze has written a workmanlike monograph on the Nazi foreign labor program during World War II. Most of his research was based on Nuremberg Trials materials and films of captured German records deposited with the National Archives. The author shares the views of others who have researched these

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collections: Hitler's political planning was aimed at war, and he was willing to risk a major one, but his understanding of the economic side of modern warfare was amateurish to say the least.

Homze's work deals primarily with the administrative history of the recruitment and allocation of labor for German war industry. He argues that the Nazi leadership was so convinced that total and instant victory would be theirs that they were reluctant to approve total economic mobilization for war. War production actually declined, and it was not until Speer's appointment as Minister for Munitions and War Production in February 1942 that any real effort was made to put the economy on a wartime footing. Homze's work makes clear, however, that even during the "Speer era" the level of organization Speer thought necessary could not be achieved because allocation of labor had been put into the hands of a "political" appointment, Fritz Sauckel. Sauckel and the Nazi stalwarts believed that the Nazi party would enjoy the confidence of the German people, despite the war, if some semblance of a peacetime economy could be maintained. They viewed Speer's demands for a greater war effort with suspicion, believing them to be inspired by motives of personal gain.

Sauckel had Hitler's ear as long as he succeeded in filling the requisite labor quotas. During 1942 and early 1943 he was brilliantly successful, primarily because he used force to recruit over a million Eastern European workers. His brutal methods increased active resistance to the German occupation, however, and during 1943 when the Russian armies swept back the Germans, Sauckel's chief source of supply vanished, and his power crumbled. Recruitment in Western Europe had been more voluntary, and treatment of Western European workers was considerably more humane than that of *Ostarbeiter* (a term that permeates the documents, but one that Homze neglected to use). Conscription also occurred in the West, and heavy pressures were put on Vichy France to yield its most skilled workers.

Although Homze describes the poor housing, food shortages, and low social status of the foreign workers rather well, one is surprised to find him doubting that the term "slave laborer" applied, even to the *Ostarbeiter*. The author is unaware that some Jewish labor was also used toward the end of the war and seems rather naïve in supposing that 750,000 foreign laborers refused to return home because they had in some way been assimilated to German conditions, rather than because the Russian armies had occupied their native countries!

On balance, Homze's work provides useful information on the economic history of the war, a still relatively unexplored subject. The bibliographical essay is excellent.

University of Alberta HELEN P. LIEBEL

LES RESCAPÉS DE NUREMBERG: LES "SEIGNEURS DE LA GUERRE" APRÈS LE VERDICT. By *Michel C. Vercel.* With the documentary collaboration of *Laurence Bastit.* [Histoire du xx^{e} siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1966. Pp. 250. 18 fr.)

THIS is an account of the lives of the ten survivors of the Nuremberg Trials in the period since those trials. It is concerned with the seven defendants who were con-

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victed and sentenced to terms of imprisonment in Spandau Prison—Dönitz, Hess, Schirach, Raeder, Neurath, Funk, and Speer—and the three defendants who were acquitted at Nuremberg, but spent terms of confinement as a result of de-Nazification procedures—Papen, Schacht, and Fritsche.

Written in journalistic style, the work is based on considerable research, both through interviews with several of the survivors or their relatives and through use of archival material. Appendixes contain lists of the archives consulted (the Berlin Document Center is not listed) and brief biographical sketches of the survivors.

The author presents a generally sympathetic view of the former prisoners, though noting that public sentiment toward them has altered somewhat in the course of the last twenty years. Considerable detail has been assembled regarding the conditions of life of the prisoners, their relations with families and friends, and the circumstances surrounding the release of certain of the prisoners. The author was able on one occasion to visit the interior of the prison, which he describes, and he contributes some interesting details on prison administration and routine.

The accounts given of the reflections of Schacht, Papen, and Dönitz are especially noteworthy. The last, the former naval head and *Reich* Chancellor, when asked if he regretted anything about his wartime conduct, replied that, in looking back at 1944 with the same degree of knowledge he possessed then, he would act as he had at the time, but that if, as in the cases of many of those who prepared the events of July 20, he had had knowledge of the crimes that had been committed, he would assuredly not have remained passive.

The author notes also that the joint administration of Spandau Prison has provided one of the few remaining regular means of contact between the four occupying powers in Berlin.

Westminster College, Pennsylvania JAMES S. BEDDIE

DIE IDEE DER EUROPÄISCHEN INTEGRATION IN DER WESTDEUTSCHEN BÜRGERLICHEN GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG. By Gy. *Mérei*. [Studia Historica, Number 57.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. 206. $7.00.)

AT first glance Professor Mérei's monograph appears to present three disconnected essays, the first two of which, on postwar economic integration and the crisis in recent German historiography, seem to be mere oversized introductions to his subject. After reading the volume from cover to cover, however, one concludes that they constitute a cohesive polemic whose components mesh effortlessly.

The first chapter propounds that postwar Western capitalism has merely donned the new mask of integration to hide its unchanging imperialist nature. The same holds for Mérei when he next considers German historiography after 1945. His villains here are the "old Prussian and Burckhardtian counterrevolutionary historical concepts" whose salvaging he considers to be the major objective of West German historiography. After World War II "the American concept of

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equality, and integration" becomes the tool with which bourgeois historians attempt to preserve their society from the onslaught of socialist truth.

The third chapter attempts to show how this spurious negation of the national state is applied to specific historical problems by historians such as Rassow, Ritter, Rothfels, and Schieder. Mérei concludes that these scholars reject reunion with the DDR because their society can only be preserved as part of a supranational order, not in a united Germany.

In the course of his 205-page brief, the author does not fail to touch sensitive spots. In the last chapter he properly ridicules the overeager "Europeans" who claim such diverse and dubious precursors as Charlemagne and Stresemann.

But Mérei has his weak moments, too. German power politics are sinful, Soviet power politics nonexistent. His volume presents the astounding spectacle of a Hungarian denying that the USSR will ever "enter the path of subjection and exploitation of other peoples." He is not above associating his opponents with views to which they nowhere subscribe. His attack on the Austrian Socialist Otto Bauer likewise indicates that his chief concern is the manhandling of straw men, whether their presence be relevant to his subject or not.

The fact remains, however, that the views presented in this volume sway much of the world. If we are to oppose them effectively, we must become acquainted with their factual and dialectic content. It is not enough to tell Communist historians at international congresses that they should know better. We must learn what makes them tick. Reading Mérei's book makes an interesting contribution to this pursuit.

Tulane University HANS A. SCHMITT

PARLIAMENT IN THE GERMAN POLITICAL SYSTEM. By *Gerhard Loewenberg*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 463. $10.00.)

WELL-DOCUMENTED and comprehensive, this treatment of the German *Bundestag* is a major contribution to the study of German *Zeitgeschichte*. Loewenberg set himself a dual and difficult task: to analyze the lower house of the West German parliament both as an institution with certain constitutional powers and formal procedures and as a body of individuals who singly and collectively constitute major components of the German political culture. The result is an institutional analysis of the *Bundestag* that is effectively fused with a description of how this framework molds and is molded by the *Bundestag* members. The sections on membership recruitment, organization of parliamentary groups, and particularly on the relationship between the *Bundestag* and the cabinet are singularly well done.

Unfortunately, space considerations seem to have precluded an equally comprehensive analysis of the actual passage of legislation. Loewenberg illustrates the interaction of men and procedures in this area by tracing the course of five representative bills through parliament; the treatments are too brief, however, to utilize effectively the wealth of material presented earlier. There are some minor flaws as well, notably a large number of members' names not always accom-

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panied by sufficient characterizations, and, once or twice, the jarring use of the CDU-approved "Soviet Zone of Germany" for East Germany.

Although the author focuses his analysis on the *Bundestag* as it functions today, his approach throughout the book is valuable to the historian. Not only does he delineate the evolution of various personnel and procedural trends since 1945; he often cites Bismarckian or Weimar precedents as well. In addition, Loewenberg raises and intermittently deals with a major historical problem that transcends the *Bundestag* itself: the cross-generational transfer of values in a modern political culture. He finds the incidence of such transfer extremely high. Despite the rapid succession of governmental forms in Germany since 1870, the attitudes of most Germans toward parliamentary politics have not changed significantly since the times of Bismarck. Elected politicians still have a relatively low social status, parties remain composed largely of representatives sent to parliament by various interest groups, and somehow a *Herr Abgeordneter* changes into a superior being when he becomes *Herr Minister*. Neither Weimar, Hitler, nor the Allies were able to tarnish the tremendous prestige that the "apolitical" German civil servant enjoys. Since 1945 these attitudes have undergone some change, but Germany will obviously need a far longer period of political stability if the *Bundestag* is really to become the central focus of German democracy.

Syracuse University DIETRICH ORLOW

DIE NATIONALE FRAGE IN DER ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN MONARCHIE 1900–1918. Edited by *Péter Hanák*. With the assistance of *Zoltán Szász*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. 358. $8.50.)

THIS volume consists of five main reports on various aspects of the national problems in the Habsburg monarchy, with emphasis on social problems in Hungary. Added to the papers are the interventions in the subsequent discussion. The reports were read by East Central European scholars who adhere to a Marxian-Leninist philosophy, though with varying emphasis. Western discussants viewed the problems from different angles. Not all papers are of equal quality. Zwitter (Yugoslavia), a knowledgeable student of the over-all topic, contributes a stimulating account of basic concepts. Unfortunately it is somewhat impaired by a misunderstanding of the position of Western scholars on the issue of nations with and without history, and an overrating of the strength of the German position in Austria. Less distinguished is the study presented by the Rumanian team headed by Constantinescu. It combines a doctrinaire party-line approach with Rumanian national tendencies. Of great interest, on the other hand, are the data of Katus (Hungary) on the socioeconomic foundations of the national problem in Hungary. Valuable also is the essay by Gross (Yugoslavia) on the national crisis in Croatia and that by Dolmányos (Hungary) on the intransigent Magyar educational policy in 1907. These three essays, like that of Zwitter, are genuine contributions to the subject.

The statement of Turok (USSR) that a major sector of Western public opinion glorifies the uncritical handling of the national problem in the Habsburg Empire is highly questionable. In regard to the weight of scholarly contributions in

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the West, this statement is certainly doubtful. Neither is it correct that Western historical opinion widely perceives the nationality policy of the USSR as complete failure. What Turok and others fail to note is that the ethnic and geopolitical structure of the USSR offers possibilities for solutions that never existed in the Habsburg realms. Yet Turok deserves credit for correcting unwarranted attacks launched by the Rumanian team against the Austrian Social Democrats and for his skeptical evaluation of the concept of an Austrian nation. Of other particularly interesting interventions in the discussion, the ones by Hanák (Hungary), Mommsen (Federal Republic of Germany), and Valiani (Italy) should be mentioned.

I disagree with the ideological premises in the over-all interpretation of this interesting and important volume. Yet I welcome the fact that it moves closer to a pluralistic approach to the subject than previous publications in the same setting.

Rutgers University ROBERT A. KANN

LA DISSOLUZIONE DELL'AUSTRIA UNGHERIA. By *Leo Valiani*. [La cultura. Biblioteca di storia contemporanea, Number 8.] (Milan: Casa editrice Il Saggiatore. 1966. Pp. 505. L. 2,700.)

VALIANI's analysis of the breakup of the Habsburg monarchy emphasizes the tremendous impact of World War I. After a relatively brief survey of centrifugal nationalistic forces between 1907 and 1914, he utilizes his brilliant command of languages and of sources to recount the diplomatic exchanges between Vienna and Rome in 1914–1915 and the consequent development of the various committees working for self-determination through the "Congress of Rome" of April 1918. Quite sure that there was a minimum of sentiment aimed at destroying the venerable Empire during the first stages of the war, whether in *Entente* circles or among the non-Germans of the multinational state, he carefully delineates the factors that increasingly worked against its survival.

The author's most important conclusions center upon the Treaty of London of 1915 and Sonnino's refusal to consider modifications of its terms through a compromise peace in 1916–1917. The Italian Foreign Minister dreaded the disappearance of a power that would bring the German Empire to the Brenner and the Russians to the Adriatic, yet he insisted upon cessions in Istria, Dalmatia, and the Tirol that no Habsburg ruler could make and still survive. Such territorial amputations would have stripped the dynasty of strategic mountain positions and of Pola. Inevitably the irate Magyars would have secured a purely personal union, with complete military and financial independence. The Austro-Germans would have gravitated toward Berlin, and, far more dangerous, the Slovenes and Croats to a future Yugoslavia. If Italy had been satisfied with the Trentino, Gorizia, Trieste, and the Istrian Italian towns save for Pola and if Serbia had received Bosnia-Herzegovina and a port on the Dalmatian coast, Austria-Hungary could have lived on as a democratic and peaceful federation or confederation of its peoples, he concludes. The war was virtually lost when the Italians intervened, and, despite Emperor Charles's dabbling with mediators, the government actually expected salvation only through the success of the German Empire's armies.

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Every student of the Dual Monarchy's collapse faces almost unmanageable materials. Valiani's notes indicate a superb knowledge of archival, documentary, and monographic sources as well as of significant newspaper items. He devotes more space to Italian, Rumanian, and Yugoslav affairs than to events in Polish and Czech circles. At times one vaguely senses the miseries of civilian life and of the battlefield and the management of Cisleithania's internal affairs. Arthur J. May's *The Passing of the Hapsburg Monarchy* is more attuned to such considerations, and it is good fortune indeed to have such masterful and complementary treatments appearing almost simultaneously.

Washington and Lee University WILLIAM A. JENKS

PROTOKOLLE DES GEMEINSAMEN MINISTERRATES DER ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN MONARCHIE (1914–1918). Compiled with an introduction by *Miklós Komjáthy*. [Publikationen des Ungarischen Staatsarchivs, Second Series. Quellenpublikationen, Number 10.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. xi, 723. $15.40.)

EXCELLENTLY annotated, this documentary collection is preceded by a long introduction on the government of the Dual Monarchy and the problems of political decision making. Mr. Komjáthy is an archivist; his interest is institutional history, and he is fascinated by this extraconstitutional institution that was the Common Council of Ministers. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 did not provide for a common Austro-Hungarian government, and it defined the functions of the three Common Ministers only negatively by legislating on what they ought not do. In practice, the Dual Monarchy could not subsist without a central executive, nor the monarch without a group of advisers; therefore the establishment of a Common Council of Ministers as supreme government became inevitable. Furthermore, as the parliamentary "Delegations," this supreme constitutional supervisory agency, were doomed to impotence because the Hungarian framers of the Compromise Agreement were reluctant to relinquish Hungarian power, the Common Council had virtually free rein in major foreign political decisions. Thus in 1878 and 1908 the Delegations were circumvented by the Council and the Foreign Minister. By 1914, however, even the Council proved to be too unwieldy, and all important steps against Serbia were undertaken by Berchtold and Conrad and not by the Council of Ministers. For instance, while Prime Minister Tisza's objections to a war against Serbia at the July 7 meeting of the Council were far from being categorical—one cannot therefore talk about Tisza's later "conversion"—Tisza wished to soften the ultimatum to Serbia. His reservations were ignored by Berchtold who subsequently presented Tisza with a *fait accompli* to which the latter could only add a few belated remarks. The constitutional irresponsibility of this government made it inevitable, Komjáthy rightly argues, that major decisions be made by individuals.

Because of the frequency of the Council's meetings—forty-one conferences between July 7, 1914, and October 22, 1918—and the multiplicity of the topics debated, the *Protokolle* provide a continuous and colorful history. They show, among other things, the passivity of Francis Joseph, who presided over only two

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meetings during the war, and the commanding position occupied by Emperor Charles. They also show the Dual Monarchy's complete economic and political dependence on Germany and, finally, the inability of the government to appreciate the immensity of the disaster the monarchy was facing.

Columbia University ISTVAN DEAK

CARTEGGI DI FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI. Volume XI (1 DICEMBRE 1526–15 GENNAIO 1527). Edited by *Pier Giorgio Ricci.* [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1965. Pp. 340. L. 4,000.)

THE correspondence of Francesco Guicciardini was vast and as circumspect but forceful as the man himself; it remains a sea of information on Italian politics in the first half of the sixteenth century and a monument to a formidable statesman, political thinker, and perhaps the greatest historian between Tacitus and Gibbon.

Not surprisingly, the publicaton of Guicciardini's *Carteggi,* far from complete after nearly thirty years and more than 2,500 letters, has posed difficult problems for its editors. Roberto Palmarocchi (Volumes I–IV, 1938–51) and Pier Giorgio Ricci (since Volume V, 1954) agreed in principle that all surviving letters written by or to Guicciardini should be printed *in extenso.* This was a justifiable, if perhaps unrealistic, reaction to the haphazard and often defective form in which Guicciardini's letters had been edited previously. But how could such a goal be achieved when Guicciardini's own epistles, not to mention those of his correspondents, were widely dispersed, difficult to trace, and often extant in more than one version? Palmarocchi attempted, unfortunately without adequate preparation or critical framework, the most ambitious solution: a unitary edition of preliminary drafts, original missives, letters received, and so forth. In his seven volumes Ricci has confined himself quite reasonably to the copious autograph minutes preserved in the Guicciardini archive in Florence; the appropriate missives, responses, and indexes are evidently to follow the completion of this series. Moreover, while Palmarocchi modernized orthography and seldom indicated changes or variants, Ricci has wisely adhered to the manuscripts and has listed significant corrections and changes in notes. Both editors, however, have shared an essentially archivistic conception of their task, leaving philological and historical commentary to others.

Within the framework described, Volume XI brings the *Carteggi* to the hectic days in Modena and Parma when, as papal lieutenant, Guicciardini attempted in vain to rouse the forces of the League of Cognac against the *Landesknechte* who would sack Rome in May 1527. These letters were an integral part of this crucial moment in Italian history, one of the last opportunities for effective resistance to foreign domination. And, in one of Guicciardini's favorite phrases, *Magistratus ostendit virum.*

University of California, Berkeley RANDOLPH STARN

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INDUSTRIA E COMMERCIO DELLA REPUBBLICA VENETA NEL XVIII SECOLO. By *Bruno Caizzi.* [Studi e ricerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1965. Pp. 284.)

L'ECONOMIA DELLA PROVINCIA DI SALERNO NELL'OPERA DELLA CAMERA DI COMMERCIO, 1862–1962. Edited by *Giuseppe Santoro.* (Salerno: Camera di Commercio Industria e Agricoltura di Salerno. 1966. Pp. xii, 362.)

PRIVATELY supported publications, like commissioned biographies, often reflect the biases of their sponsors. Fortunately, these two studies show that private support is compatible with scholarly achievement. Professor Caizzi's publication is the sixth in a series sponsored by the *Banca Commerciale Italiana* to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary (1940) and to support research in the economic history of the *Risorgimento.* Caizzi contends that the commercial decline of the Venetian Republic could have been arrested by encouraging manufacturing on the mainland. Thus, the republic could have sustained its own commerce at a time when it could no longer play its traditional role as middleman between Europe and the East. As it was, the considerable economic potential of the mainland was repressed to preserve the hegemony of the capital city and of its nobiliar oligarchy.

Since the author believes that economic stagnation and administrative paralysis might have been averted by the adoption of economic laissez faire, a close study of the political and social context in which economic decisions were made would have been rewarding. The author states that there was a definite relationship between the desire to preserve the political *status quo* and the failure to adopt laissez-faire policies, but the characteristics of this relationship are not made clear. The loss of economic dynamism on the part of a noble class which in the past had displayed a strong entrepreneurial vocation remains an unresolved puzzle in this otherwise enlightening study.

The second book is a detailed account of the efforts made by the Chamber of Commerce to promote the economic development of the province of Salerno in southern Italy. This carefully documented study reveals, among other things, how a well-articulated network of local associations capable of collecting and transmitting statistical information can provide strong leverage on the formulation of national policies. A definite institutional slant seems to be present. The condition of labor in the province falls into the background, and little is said about the closely related problem of emigration. I would also have preferred a more forthright effort to deal with such national problems of local relevance as the plight of the southern manufacturer after the unification of Italy and the growing economic gap between North and South. But, perhaps, given the deliberately limited scope of this work, it would be unfair to criticize it for not being more inclusive. Anyone interested in Italian economic developments will find here a means of checking their repercussions at the local level.

Ohio State University ROLAND SARTI

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LA CALABRIA: ECONOMIA E SOCIETÀ. REGGIO DINANZI ALLA PESTE DEL 1743; GLI UOMINI E LA TERRA DOPO L'UNITÀ. By *Domenico Demarco*. [Università degli Studi di Napoli, Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 9.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. 106. L. 1,200.)

TIPICHE OPERAZIONI DEL BANCO DELLA PIETÀ IN ALCUNI ATTI NOTARILI DEI SECOLI XVI–XIX. Edited by *Antonio Allocati*. [Università degli Studi di Napoli, Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 10.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. 223. L. 2,500.)

THESE two volumes have little in common except that they deal with one or another aspect of the economic problem of the Mezzogiorno, or southern Italy, which has been a depressed or underdeveloped area not only in recent years but for many centuries. One cause is misgovernment, which began under Spanish rule, if not earlier, and continued under that of the Bourbons; the unification of Italy did little to alleviate the problem and sometimes made matters worse. Of course, misrule is not the only cause; others, including climate, topography, soil, geographical location, malaria, land tenure, and social structure, have all conspired, and still do, to prevent normal development.

Professor Demarco of the University of Naples is one of the experts on the historical roots of this major problem, and he edits a series that deals mainly with the subject. The first volume comes from his pen and contains two essays on Calabria: one on the pestilence that hit Messina and Reggio in 1743 and the other on the economic conditions of this region during the first twenty years after unification. The epidemic in 1743 was severe, and, if it had been allowed to spread, it might have been as disastrous for Europe as the Black Death of 1348. Fortunately, the Neapolitan government took drastic measures by isolating the infected region and ringing it with a sanitary cordon. The cost, however, proved to be as high as that of a war and put a severe strain on the meager resources of the realm of Naples. The second essay, on agrarian conditions from 1860 to 1880, shows that Calabrian agriculture suffered from many ills, all of which compounded the evil of inadequate and badly allocated resources. For example, the unequal distribution of landed property and the iniquitous tax system fell on the poor and spared the rich. The suppression of many monasteries and the sale of their land holdings did nothing to increase productivity. Wages were as low as one lira or twenty cents a day for an agricultural worker.

Mr. Allocati's work is a detailed calendar of notarial contracts. He apparently has done a conscientious job, but his introduction is too brief to be significant. There are a useful glossary and an index of persons and places. The volume will be of use for research on the credit policy of the *Monte di Pietà*, a pawnbroking establishment that transformed itself into a deposit bank and, after many vicissitudes, still survives today as part of the *Banco di Napoli*.

Brooklyn College RAYMOND DE ROOVER

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IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA NEL 1848–1849 NEI CARTEGGI DI DOMENICO BUFFA. Volume I (28 SETTEMBRE 1847–18 DICEMBRE 1848). Edited by *Emilio Costa.* [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LIV.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1966. Pp. 437.)

ATTI DEL XLII CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (RAVENNA, 2–5 OTTOBRE 1965). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica, Atti dei Congressi, Volume X.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1966. Pp. 189.)

THE Italian encyclopedia gives only thirteen lines to Domenico Buffa, Piedmontese journalist, politician, and administrator. On the basis of this initial sample from his correspondence, he can properly demand more. Buffa, born in 1818, contributed to the *Antologia* review, wrote on Giambattista Vico, ran a Genoese paper during the heady days of 1848, organized national guards, sat as deputy, and served as royal commissioner. He died at the age of forty. What is important is that he knew virtually everyone of consequence in northern Italian affairs. Included in the collection are frank reports to relatives, proclamations, minutes, and letters from Giovanni Berchet, Luigi Carlo Farini, and Giampietro Vieusseux, a virtual thesaurus of *Risorgimento* sources. A picture of a moderate Catholic advocate of Italian federal unity and freedom who was anxious to reconcile social progress with spiritual tradition emerges from these letters. Yet Buffa was an engaging person. Once he sought to borrow a watch for a trip rather than use public money, and another time he lamented: "Here in Turin minds are so sordid that I truly hide in shame. . . . " Editor Emilio Costa previously signaled the importance of the Buffa materials (*Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* LI [Oct.–Dec. 1964], 551–66). His useful eighty-five-page introduction gives proper background and guidance to the selections.

Coupled with the above are the proceedings of the Congress of History of the *Risorgimento,* gathered at Ravenna in 1965 to hear papers on "a narrow period," from the Villafranca armistice to the March plebiscites. Noteworthy were Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves's report on Piedmontese policy, Adam Wandruszka's on Austria after Villafranca, and Harry Hearder's on English policy and public opinion. Emilia Morelli covered the revolutionary Left, Augusto Torre, the Italian League, and Louis Girard, French policy. Among these, Hearder was perhaps most interesting to Americans. With the clarity he would shortly exhibit in his *Europe in the Nineteenth Century,* he showed how Lord Palmerston summarized British public opinion, how Queen Victoria's influence in this instance was unusually strong. He used unpublished sources to reaffirm points made by Derek Beales in *England and Italy, 1859–60* (1961). This matched the consensus of the congress: the far-reaching character of the *Risorgimento,* the duty of the young toward its review, and the need for recapturing the spirit of those times.

The *Risorgimento* specialist in the United States is likely to be a lonely scholar, meeting those he can properly talk with only on trips to Italy or at the annual sessions of the Society for Italian Historical Studies. If he finds his budget straitened, he should buy *Buffa* for his own shelves and make his college library order the Ravenna transactions.

University of Miami DUANE KOENIG

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L'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA VISTA DAI DIPLOMATICI STATUNITENSI. Volume II (1848–1853). Edited by *Howard R. Marraro.* [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LI.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1964. Pp. 369.)

THIS second volume of Professor Marraro's collection of American diplomatic dispatches from Turin to Washington during the *Risorgimento* covers the period from January 1848 to October 1853. The documents reveal more perhaps about the attitudes of the American diplomatic observers than about the dramatic events they were sent to observe. Very evident is American sympathy with the development of Italian constitutionalism, especially of that conservative brand which, in American terms, would be labeled Federalist or Whig. American approval of the movement for Italian national independence and constitutionalism is tied to a concern lest representative government under Italian conditions lead first to radicalism and then back again to absolutism, as in neighboring France.

As a preventive measure, Minister Nathaniel Niles, in a dispatch of June 24, 1849, urged the immediate construction by the European governments of a canal joining the Atlantic and Pacific "to divert the excited and distempered popular mind of Europe from the pursuit of those visionary and impractical political theories, so dangerous to the whole fabric of society now so prevalent in this part of the world." In a later dispatch Niles proposed instead massive emigration to the United States as the best "remedy for the social evils of continental Europe."

It is interesting in the light of more recent attitudes to see how Lombardy was viewed from Turin in 1848. In a dispatch of July 2, 1848, to Secretary of State James Buchanan, Niles wrote of the fears that "the civil, military and religious virtues of the Savoyards and Piedmontese might be lost in the perponderating [*sic*] influence of the passionate unbridled ignorance and social conceptions of the whole Lombardo Venetian population." Lombardy is seen as degraded and illiterate, a Naples before the fact, while "the population of Venetia is said to be still more depraved, effeminate, and less enlightened still." In contrast, Niles was almost lyrical in his praise for the Piedmontese: "The people of Sardinia are the Yankees of the Italian race, and the puritans of the Catholic faith. . . . Constitutional freedom may therefore work well here and yet fail in Tuscany, Rome and Naples."

University of California, Los Angeles ROBERT C. FRIED

PROBLEMI DELL'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA. By *Carlo Pischedda.* [Collezione storica del Risorgimento e dell'unità d'Italia, Volume LIX, Series 4.] (Mucchi, Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modenese. [1963.] Pp. 338. L. 2,000.)

OF these four studies centering on problems of Italy's unification, the first two are the most important, for they deal acutely and interestingly with significant subjects.

Professor Pischedda first presents a fine study of the reform of the Piedmontese army under Alfonso La Marmora after its disastrous performance in 1848–1849. He is primarily concerned with the social effects of these reforms: whether, as La Marmora purported, they put into practice the juridical equality granted all

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citizens of the state by the *Statuto* of 1848. He answers decisively in the negative. La Marmora chose to model the new army on the French system of a small, long-term professional army rather than on the Prussian system of a mass, short-term citizen army. Pischedda convincingly demonstrates that he and the established classes adopted the French system for selfish as well as military reasons. Not only did it allow many exemptions because of its low manpower needs; it also allowed the sons of the well to do, particularly of the wealthy bourgeoisie, to avoid military service by hiring substitutes. Many of those most interested in the liberal national cause did not thus bear arms for it, while to the peasant, on whom the brunt of conscription fell, the national war was bound in large measure to remain a war of the *signori*. Pischedda also demonstrates that La Marmora, and Cavour as well, refused from fear of lower-class social revolution, to establish a popular reserve army with, as the democrats desired, its own units and officers. All this, Pischedda shows, had serious consequences in the war of 1859. Only sixty thousand regulars could be put in the field, while the reserves, inadequately trained and equipped, could not be mobilized in time to count in the campaign. Louis Napoleon became suspicious of his ally, Cavour became alarmed over the political consequences of so meager an effort, and Victor Emmanuel well knew that he could not, as Cavour demanded, continue the war alone after Villafranca.

In his second study, on Cavour from his resignation after Villafranca to his reassumption of the premiership in early 1860, Pischedda unravels the intricacies of the King's intrigues to prevent Cavour's return to power in order to be free finally to follow a personal policy. The "king's secret" this time seems to have been the acquisition of Venetia. For this old objective of his dynasty he was apparently willing to renounce Tuscany and the central states. Quickly realizing after Villafranca that the central states were the critical issue and could be renounced only at the risk of losing the initiative to Mazzini, Cavour made the reopening of Parliament the hinge of his countercampaign. As Pischedda puts it, a decade of experience had shown him that only through Parliament could he bridle the King.

Pischedda's third study, "Tuscany and Savoy," while a useful reconstruction of the crisis over the annexation of the central states, goes to perhaps excessive lengths to affirm that Louis Napoleon, seeking Nice and above all Savoy in exchange for his approval of the annexations, did not favor Italian unification nor waver from his objective of aggrandizing France. The last essay explores Baron Ricasoli's activities as a Tuscan commercial or nascent capitalist farmer in the 1850's and follows his political evolution after 1849, when he became an early convert to unity under the Savoy monarchy and one of the moderates most ready to sacrifice liberty to unity and authority for good social order.

University of California, Santa Barbara DONALD A. LIMOLI

ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND THE ORIGINS OF ITALIAN COMMUNISM. By *John M. Cammett*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 306. $8.50.)

HUNCHBACKED and the son of a poor family of Sardinian peasants, Antonio Gramsci was one of several founders of the Italian Communist party at the Con-

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gress of Leghorn in 1921. Supported by the Comintern, Gramsci emerged during the next few years as the acknowledged leader of the PCI, only to be arrested in 1926 by Mussolini's police. The remaining eleven years of Gramsci's tubercular life were spent in a Fascist prison, where he skillfully managed to fill numerous notebooks with reflections on the works of Marx, Croce, and Machiavelli, as well as discussions of the *Risorgimento,* the formation of an intellectual class, and other subjects. Since the posthumous publication of these notebooks, Gramsci has come increasingly to be regarded as one of this century's most important Marxist theoreticians.

Professor Cammett researched his subject at the *Istituto Gramsci* in Rome. His book is not intended to be a full-scale biography; instead, the author has tried "to expound and analyze Gramsci's chief ideas in the fields of politics and history during the two periods of his greatest creativity: first, as the leader in 1919–20 of the *Ordine Nuovo* movement in Turin; second, as the principal figure of Italian Communism, beginning with his rise to leadership in the Italian Communist Party in 1923 and ending with the composition of his 'Prison Notebooks,' written for the most part from 1929 to 1934."

Even with these limitations, Cammett must grapple with numerous important problems. Thus in the first section, "Early Years," he evaluates the extent to which Gramsci's mature ideas were influenced by the impact of his Sardinian boyhood and his youthful experiences in Turin. In my opinion, this is one of the author's most perceptive sections. In Part II, *"Ordine Nuovo,"* Cammett selects and organizes the most important ideas from the more than two hundred articles that Gramsci wrote for *Ordine Nuovo* in 1919–1920. He devotes special attention to Gramsci's advocacy of *consigli di fabbrica* (factory councils) as the Italian counterpart of the Russian Soviets. Part III traces Gramsci's rise to a dominant position in the PCI. Cammett shows how Gramsci tried to steer an ideological course of his own between Amadeo Bordiga's Left-wing extremism and the Moscow-centered predications of the Comintern. Perhaps the most difficult task for Cammett was presented in Part IV, in which he seeks to plumb the broad range of material contained in the prison notebooks. Here the author finally decided to restrict his discussion to Gramsci's views on two major problems: the nature and tasks of the political party and the historical role of Italian intellectuals. An appendix contains a lucid analysis of Gramsci's interpretation of the *Risorgimento* as an opportunity that was missed for recruiting the peasantry into a Jacobinic revolutionary movement and a rebuttal by Cammett of Professor Rosario Romeo's recent liberal critique of this Gramsci thesis.

Though Cammett is obviously a sincere admirer of Gramsci, he has scrupulously kept his bias in check. The result is a well-balanced appraisal that illumines those aspects of Gramsci's dialectical materialism that were shaped by his humanistic education and Crocean background and that tended to deviate from the dogmas of Moscow.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

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DEATH IN ROME. By *Robert Katz*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xvii, 334. $6.95.)

On the afternoon of March 23, 1944, a group of Communist partisans attacked a marching column of 156 German SS police on the Via Rasella in the heart of German-occupied Rome. The partisans inflicted severe casualties among the Germans and escaped unharmed. As soon as they were informed of the attack, Hitler and Himmler decided to wreak Draconian punishment on Rome, as they feared that the city was preparing to rise in insurrection. Orders were handed down that within twenty-four hours ten Italians must be shot for every German killed. The victims were to be taken from those prisoners in jail who were awaiting the death penalty. Himmler wanted to go further and deport the entire adult male population of Rome.

What occurred hour by hour during March 23 and 24 is recounted in crisp, cinematic fashion by Robert Katz, a young American journalist and film maker who presently lives in Rome. Led by SS *Obersturmbannführer* Herbert Kappler, the Rome Gestapo worked frantically to carry out the *Führer*'s orders. Meanwhile, other German commands in Rome, for reasons of their own, tried to stay Hitler's hand, calling on the highest levels of the Vatican for help. Still others sought to block Himmler's scheme for mass deportations from Rome. The victims of the bloodbath that soon took place in the Ardeatine Caves on the south edge of Rome were not restricted just to prisoners awaiting the death penalty; they covered the entire political and occupational spectrum, numbering both Jews and Christians—even a priest. When another German died, Kappler, acting on his own initiative, extrapolated ten more Italians for his list. In the general confusion, five additional Italians were erroneously herded into the cave, so that the cumulative total who were shot in the back of the head mounted to 335.

The violent, tragic event resulted in several important war crimes trials and gave rise to much passionate argument in Italy. Katz, whose sympathies are frankly on the side of the partisans, has gone farther than any previous writer in using all documentary material thus far available. He has also personally interviewed many surviving participants and witnesses, both Italians and Germans, though his attempts to elicit statements from key Vatican officials failed. Katz carefully footnotes his sources and includes an annotated bibliography. Although numerous Germans and Italians are sharply criticized, Pope Pius XII is Katz's major target. Like Rolf Hochhuth, the author feels that the bishop of Rome, who took pride in being acclaimed after the war as the *defensor civitatis,* could have done much more to prevent this and other atrocities. Katz argues that since various German officials in Rome during the course of March 23 and 24 were managing to pigeonhole Himmler's orders for the mass evacuation of the city, a strong intervention by the Vatican might well have led either to postponement or to attenuation of the reprisals. He contends that the Vatican declined to act because it preferred to have the Germans keep order in the city pending the arrival of the Allies. Recent newspaper dispatches from Rome indicate that the Vatican may be preparing a reply to Katz's charges.

Vanderbilt University Charles F. Delzell

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POLAND & CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By *Frederick G. Heymann.* [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1966. Pp. viii, 181. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

THIS book and other volumes in this collection are presumably intended to give students of modern history a deeper background and adequate information on the causes of current frictions and conflicts. That is why Dr. Heymann does not deal, in the opening chapter, with the rise and organization of the two west Slavic nations, but covers the two decades since the Yalta Conference. His sketch of recent events in East Central Europe is concise and instructive, written without emotional involvement in the problems discussed. Chapters devoted to the earlier history have been written with the same care and detachment as the summary of postwar developments. The author has been careful in distributing space and emphasis; he not only put the stories of the Poles and the Czechs into their proper perspective, but also includes the Slovaks in his discussion whenever they played an active part in either political or cultural history.

It takes little time to realize that Heymann is well acquainted with the numerous controversies pertaining both to the early and modern history of the two countries. The size of the book and its purpose did not permit detailed analysis of any of the perplexing problems. Most of them are lightly touched upon so that the narrative has correct proportions and regular rhythm. Not more than a sentence was needed to reject the so-called Bretholz theory concerning the coming of the German settlers to Bohemia and Moravia. In about the same manner the author refuted the idea that the Moravian Empire of the ninth century was exclusively "the old kingdom of the Slovaks." There is, indeed, very little in this succinct outline that calls for either correction or more precise formulation. A brief account of the activities of the Czech and Slovak volunteers fighting on the side of the Russians would have gained in precision if chronological order had been observed and if the Brusilov offensive (1916) had been clearly separated from similar operations launched by Alexander Kerensky a year later, in the early summer of 1917.

Heymann has gained reputation as an author of two comprehensive monographs on problems of late medieval Bohemia. But he is just as familiar with Polish history as with that of the Czechs and Slovaks. When referring to sources of tension that marred the attempts to coordinate the foreign policies of Poland and Czechoslovakia between 1918 and 1938, he writes with discretion to balance conflicting points of view. His brief description of Poland under the Nazi heel and his sympathetic comment on Polish revival and reconstruction can be counted among the finest passages of this book.

University of Pennsylvania OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

LODZ: EINE HISTORISCH-GEOGRAPHISCHE ANALYSE. By *Oskar Kossmann.* [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 25.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1966. Pp. xv, 176.)

LODZ, situated in the watershed of the Oder and Vistula Rivers, was a village as late as 1820. Two generations later it had burgeoned as the "Polish Manchester" —an uncommon example of East European industrialization. This phenomenal

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rise started when a post-Napoleonic depression afflicted Central Europe while the new Congress Kingdom introduced measures for attracting immigrant skills and enterprises. Privileges and immunities spurred an immigration of 35,000 by 1830, the majority being urban Germans from Prussia, Saxony, and Bohemia. Some with weaving crafts and entrepreneurial experience established textile works in the Lodz region, and subsequent developments stimulated continued expansion. Protectionism, mechanization, the abolition of customs with Russia proper, railroads, and the rural influx of new labor combined to push Lodz to the fore as a major textile complex before World War I, with a population exceeding 500,000 and production representing about 1 per cent of world textiles.

Kossmann's monograph, a refinement of a dissertation written in 1932, is inaccurately titled in so far as his primary focus is upon the role of the *Lodzer Deutsch* in this *polnische Wirtschaftswunder*. Three opening, short, and uneven chapters present some geographic and historical background prior to industrialization, something of a preface to the two central chapters in which he weaves together the origins of the German influx and their initiative in the formation of new industrial suburbs. Three additional chapters give truncated attention to architectural styles, transport, and the commercial sector developed in the nineteenth century, while the concluding chapter contains demographic analyses.

The specialist will regard Kossmann's study as having some limited value because he has meticulously illustrated the significance of the *Lodzer Deutsch* in the industrialization process. These elements constituted two-thirds of Lodz's population of more than 33,000 in 1864. Thereafter, as Polish rural elements and Jewish commercial activity were drawn into further expansion, the German preponderance faded into a minority of less than 20 per cent of the population by 1911. Although the data, illustrations, and excellent maps are of high quality, the narrow focus leaves a warped perspective of Lodz's industrialization, the nature of which the book's jacket erroneously describes as a striking example of class and ethnic harmony.

University of Kentucky STANLEY J. ZYZNIEWSKI

EREIGNISSE IN DER UKRAINE, 1914–1922: DEREN BEDEUTUNG UND HISTORISCHE HINTERGRÜNDE. Volume I, STAND DER UKRAINISCHEN FRAGE IN DER ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN MONARCHIE WÄHREND DES I. WELTKRIEGES—GRÜNDUNG EINES UNABHÄNGIGEN UKRAINISCHEN STAATES—DIE ZEIT DER ZENTRALRADA. By *Theophil Hornykiewicz*. [Publications of the W. K. Lypynsky East European Research Institute, Series I–IV, Volume I.] (Philadelphia: [the Institute.] 1966. Pp. xxxvi, 450. $12.00.)

BECAUSE Ukrainian national aspirations conflicted with Russian and Polish interests and ambitions before World War I, "the Ukrainian problem" became one of the most controversial issues in Eastern Europe. Its real nature was complicated and obscured by the paucity of scholarly works and by the abundance of misleading literature. The Russians simply dismissed "the Ukrainian idea" as an Austrian or a German conspiracy to weaken the tsarist state, while the Poles in-

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terpreted Ukrainian demands for greater autonomy in Galicia as machination by authorities in Vienna to keep Polish influence there in check.

In recent years a number of significant works on the problem have been published, and today no serious student of Eastern Europe subscribes to the simple deductions of earlier years. Much more, however, will have to be written to delineate the real nature of the Ukrainian national movement. The present work is a major step in that direction. This first of a projected four-volume series aims to present "the status of the Ukrainian question in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy during World War I" through "documents which for the most part have hitherto been unavailable." That task is fulfilled admirably.

The documents of this collection, which come from the Staatsarchiv in Vienna and appear in the language in which they were originally written, consist of official reports, memorandums, instructions, and letters. Many of them were written for "official consumption," that is, by and for high Austrian military or political officials. Many, however, were written by Ukrainians—leaders of the "Union for the Freeing of Ukraine"—and were intended to arouse interest in the Ukrainian cause among Austrian officials.

Perhaps because some thirty thousand Ukrainians volunteered to fight the advancing tsarist armies, Austrian military men were receptive to Ukrainian approaches. Austrian political leaders, however, were not so enthusiastic, probably because spokesmen for the "Union" envisaged an independent Ukraine as including large areas of the Dual Monarchy (Bucovina, Galicia, and the Chełm district). Support of the Ukrainian cause, therefore, implied endorsement of the idea of territorial dismemberment of Austria-Hungary.

The material of this collection does not provide all the answers to the Ukrainian problem in the Dual Monarchy during the First World War. It does, however, fill a significant gap, and Professor Hornykiewicz deserves gratitude for a task well done.

Portland State College BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

MAGYARORSZÁG GAZDASÁGA AZ ELSÖ VILÁGHÁBORÚ UTÁN, 1919–1929 [Hungary's Economy after the First World War, 1919–1929]. By *Iván T. Berend* and *György Ránki*. [Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem Gazdaságtörténeti Tanszék és Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, Gazdaságtörténeti Értekezések, Number 4.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. 498. Ft. 65.)

THIS attempt to describe the economic history of Hungary from the end of World War I until the advent of the Great Depression has five parts. The first part is a discussion of the unfavorable economic conditions in the country between the defeat of the Communist regime of Béla Kun in 1919 and the beginning of the period of rehabilitation in 1921. The second part analyzes the unsuccessful efforts of the Bethlen government in 1921–1924 to halt inflation and to balance the budget through monetary and fiscal policy measures. The third part is an account of the recovery brought about by the loan extended by the League of Nations in 1924 and by the private capital inflow that followed until the eve of the world financial crisis in 1929. The fourth part contains rather detailed

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coverage of Hungary's economic development in the 1920's as reflected by national income statistics and their breakdown into sectoral shares. The final part treats changes in the social structure of the country in reference to the ten-year period.

In their examination of the dismal economic conditions of the postwar years the authors invariably blame the landholding and capitalist classes for creating such conditions, under the protection of the "counterrevolutionary" government. Only passing reference is made to the economic imbalance and the loss of sources of industrial raw materials and of formerly held markets for agricultural products, owing to the country's postwar dismemberment, as potential factors behind the predicament of the early 1920's. Further, they ignore altogether that soaring unemployment and decline in productivity may have been caused by the flight of about 95 per cent of the nation's private capital under the threat of the Kun regime.

Clearly, in their interpretation of historical data, the authors have a vested interest in ascribing all economic and social evils to the dialectics of class warfare, which thus becomes the central theme of their work. While it is undeniable that in postwar Hungary social problems had remained largely unsolved, its over-all economic performance was primarily contingent upon conditions abroad. This view has been amply confirmed by the stabilization and expansion that occurred only after the League's loan, as well as by the relapse that began in 1929 as a result of the Wall Street crash and the fall in the world price of wheat (Hungary's main export).

It is unfortunate that the objectivity and the documentation of the fourth part in appraising the sectoral development of the economy did not carry over to the rest of the book, which suffers from indiscriminate attachment to Marxian method and ideology.

Georgetown University GEORGE KOPITS

WOJSKOWE ASPEKTY KRYZYSU CZECHOSŁOWACKIEGO 1938 ROKU [Military Aspects of the 1938 Czechoslovak Crisis]. By *Marian Zgórniak*. [Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Volume CXXIII. Prace Historyczne, Part 14.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 1966. Pp. 163. Zł. 28.)

THIS is a typical doctoral dissertation of the prewar German kind. The introduction in the form of a bibliographical essay and a brief chapter on Nazi Germany's plans of aggression are followed by six sketchy chapters on the military preparedness of the Axis Powers (Germany and Italy) and the "would-be coalition" (Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union) in 1938. Strangely enough, Poland, Hungary, and Rumania are omitted. The author visited no archives outside of Poland; he confined himself to the reports of the Polish military intelligence and to secondary sources. The result is very unsatisfactory. Except for one insignificant reference to the first volume of *La marina italiana nella seconda guerra mondiale,* the eight-page chapter on Italy bears evidence of the use of only one Italian work (G. Santoro, *L'aeronautica italiana nella seconda guerra mondiale*). The chapter on Czechoslovakia is based on

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Polish intelligence reports, General Faucher's testimony before the special French parliamentary commission, and a *Denkschrift* of the German OKH. There is a three-page summary in very poor English.

This study concludes that in 1938 Germany was in a less advantageous military position than in 1939, that the West's policy of concessions to Hitler was not justified, and that some strengthening of the British and French Air Forces was not compensation for the loss of the well-armed Czechoslovak ally and of the powerful Red Army.

University of Hawaii ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

JOHN LEDYARD'S JOURNEY THROUGH RUSSIA AND SIBERIA, 1787–1788: THE JOURNAL AND SELECTED LETTERS. Edited with an introduction by *Stephen D. Watrous*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 293. $6.50.)

JOHN Ledyard's *passion dominante* was travel. Jefferson remarked on the singularity of his character, his fearlessness, enterprise, extravagant imagination. He himself spoke of the "irregularity of my genius." "I never saw such a medley as in me." Desirous of fame, he died, tragically, at the age of thirty-seven, in Cairo, following a fit of anger. Without a vocation, anxious to see the world, he was a "habitual wanderer and walker." He walked in winter from Stockholm through Finland to St. Petersburg; he participated in Captain Cook's voyages; he was "the first American" in Siberia. Jefferson, hoping for Ledyard's continuing across the Pacific and hiking back across the American continent, furthered his plans. Catherine II objected and had him arrested in Irkutsk, perhaps as a security risk, and sent back.

Ledyard's account of Siberia was "too incomplete to answer public expectation." "I write without knowing whether it is of Importance or not." Thousands of miles he covered in a few pages; only during an involuntary stay at Yakutsk did he take time to investigate. Professing "interesting new views about the history of man," he concentrated his attention, unscientifically, on the natives' physiognomy, color, and facial features. He broad-mindedly related these to race, character, and civilization, and he drew analogies between Siberians, American Indians, and Negroes. He had nothing to say about Siberia's institutions, life, and countryside, except for the weather. He was prejudiced: "inhospitable Denmark," "honest Sweden," "churlish Finland." The Russians had "few virtues," "no particle of honesty or honour"; they were "arrant idolaters" and "thieves." Poland had "the poorest Peasantry . . . the poorest men I ever saw." Their domestic animals were "equally wretched." On the other hand, the Jews were "all handsome," especially the Jewesses. And in Prussia, "the Breath of Frederic [is] like a Dew of Heaven." When arriving there from the East with its "Servility, Indolence, Filth, . . . Knavery, Ignorance," he met "Industry, . . . Neatness, . . . good manners, Intelligence, . . . and above all Honesty."

The editor, desirous to make the publication worth while—we have many writings on Ledyard, among them two volumes by Jared Sparks (1828)—includes not only the *Journal* but also letters, correspondence, and reports pertaining

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to Ledyard's Siberian trip. He provides a scholarly introduction and needed annotations; some additional identifying footnotes would have been desirable. Occasionally an error slipped in, and a few statements can be challenged, but the account holds our attention and provides interesting side lights on American and Siberian affairs, as well as on a remarkable personality.

University of Delaware WALTHER KIRCHNER

CENTRAL ASIANS UNDER RUSSIAN RULE: A STUDY IN CULTURE CHANGE. By *Elizabeth E. Bacon.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 273. $6.50.)

UNLIKE several scholars who have previously written books on Soviet Central Asia, Miss Bacon studies the indigenous cultures, Turkic-speaking except for the Iranian Tajiks, and how they have responded to Russian rule. She herself observed them for a time in 1934; she also uses reports of other observers and scholarly studies in Russian, French, German, and English. No Turkic materials are cited, but she explains a number of Turkic terms and comments on linguistic problems that have arisen out of relationships with Persian, Arabic, and Russian languages and cultures.

Much of the book deals with the pastoral nomads (Kazaks, Kirghiz, Kara-Kalpaks, and Turkomans) and settled oasis peoples ("Sarts," or Tajiks and Uzbeks) in turn by periods: prior to the Russian conquest in the mid-nineteenth century, under tsarist rule, and after 1917. The closing chapters treat "Russian Influence on Central Asian Languages" and "Central Asian Cultures as of 1965." There are notes, bibliography, index, twelve illustrations, and two maps.

Her story is full of ironies and curiosities. The Kazaks were converted to Islam as the result of a misapprehension by Catherine the Great that they were Muslims already; by their abolition of slavery the Russians nearly ruined the Turkomans, in whose culture it had played an important role; the Soviet policy of treating pre-Islamic religious elements as part of Islam has had a tendency to strengthen Islam as well as Central Asian resistance to Sovietization. The tsars did not seek to destroy the traditional cultures. Bacon is far too categorical when she writes that tsarism's "ultimate goal was Russianization." The Russian impact was not, however, always the same as the intention. For example, the Kara-Kalpaks were classified as nomads in order to protect them, but they still suffered through inability to share in new property rights. Since 1917 the Soviets have fought hard against Islam and pastoral nomadism; thus far they have been defeated by both. In Central Asia as elsewhere, what a government wants is one thing, and what happens is another. The book is chiefly useful for understanding what has happened during the last century, especially to the customs and habits of daily living. The author has made scant effort to use analytical categories to characterize the process of culture change she has studied, but she has organized much detailed information clearly and well.

University of Washington DONALD W. TREADGOLD

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MIKHAIL N. KATKOV: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY, 1818–1887. By *Martin Katz.* [Studies in European History, Number 6.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 195. 24 gls.)

WITHIN limits imposed by Russia's social and political circumstances, Mikhail N. Katkov played a role similar to that of Girardin, Bennett, and Lord Northcliffe: he helped to create the mass circulation press in Russia and won for it a new social and political role. As a political journalist Katkov is best remembered for his intense nationalism, especially his virulent Polonophobia, his advocacy of the Franco-Russian alliance, his shrill demand for curbing the autonomy of universities and the teaching of natural sciences in schools, and for his strident reactions to most social and administrative problems of the reign of Alexander II. Katkov, like his more recent American counterparts Hearst and Luce, did not arrive at political ideas, social programs, and moral judgments through reflection and discursive analysis even though he had had formal philosophical training and began his career as a university lecturer; they were rather visceral reactions to specific events and emotional assessments of the cultural and moral condition of his times.

For this reason Mr. Katz's concentration, in spite of the subtitle, on an analysis of the basic ideas of Katkov seems misguided; it isolates Katkov's political attitudes and involvements from their historical context and fails to clarify them. True, even the limited task of cataloguing Katkov's notions might have been rewarding had Katz displayed greater analytical sophistication and historical understanding. But he merely juggles about with poorly defined and arbitrary categories, trying to fit his ill-shaped stones into prefabricated structures, as in his contradictory and confusing treatment of Katkov's "romanticism," "Westernism," liberalism, conservatism, and the useless conclusion that Katkov was a forerunner of Stolypin. In his vain efforts at finding in Katkov's writings a concrete and reasonably consistent system of ideas, Katz does not realize that he is dealing with emotions and not ideas. He succeeds best when treating Katkov's anti-Polish campaign, for here a visceral chauvinism that became an all-encompassing attack on Russian progressive and radical public opinion is recognized.

We learn nothing about the truly significant activities of Katkov as editor, publisher, journalist, molder of public opinion and of culture. The book is also poorly organized. The uninitiated is not given adequate background explanation, while the specialist looks in vain for clear analysis, coherent story, or new information. Katkov's biography, political and intellectual, remains to be written.

Columbia University MARC RAEFF

POLITISCHE SOZIOLOGIE IM ZARISTISCHEN RUSSLAND. By *Klaus von Beyme.* [Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Series 4. Frankfurter Abhandlungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, Number 1.] (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1965. Pp. 166. DM 20.)

BY the middle of the nineteenth century European thought had synthesized the analytical methodology of eighteenth-century rationalism with a genetic mode to create a philosophical outlook that could claim the objective sciences as its model while explaining human history in normative terms. Russian intellectual develop-

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ment followed this pattern and drew upon it, and in the later years of the nineteenth century the social sciences, with their immediate applicability to the political world, became the center of the new approach.

Klaus von Beyme has elected to study political sociology as one major theme in the new intellectual order, but he presents his work as something more than a dissection of academic political theory. "Die Bedeutung der russischer Soziologie für diese Arbeit," he writes in his prefatory statement, "liegt nicht nur im Eigenwert der Theorien, sondern auch in ihrem Einfluss auf die Bildung eines demokratischen Consensus." This does not mean that Russian political sociology developed an internally consistent ideology, but rather that over a period of more than half a century a common core of democratizing attitudes and conclusions emerged from contradictory theses. Two major philosophical orientations succeeded one another. The first, shaped in the positivist tradition, showed as well the direct influence of evolutionary thought, while the second marked a return to philosophical idealism and was epitomized in the Neo-Kantian movement. Neither orientation was monolithic, however, and Positivism penetrated the new idealism, while a continuing commitment to the mir as well as the religious interpretation of social ethics revealed the persistence of indigenous ideas. The political consensus that resulted formed a middle position between revolutionary totalitarianism and autocracy, a position that emphasized the rule of law and controlled or limited popular participation in governmental affairs, though stopping short of a republic. Von Beyme builds his arguments on a thorough analysis of individual thinkers ranging from Kovalevskii, Chicherin, Kistiakovskii, and Kareev to Roberty, P. B. Struve, Berdyaev, and Miliukov. The result is a rich fabric of ideas in which particular contributions may be seen in context, while the over-all pattern remains clear and consistent. This is not to say that this book will stand unchallenged, but rather to affirm that the author has produced a solid, provocative, and carefully reasoned contribution to the history of Russian thought and politics.

University of Missouri RODERICK E. MCGREW

THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC. By *Oleh Semenovych Pidhainy*. Preface by *M. Mladenovic*. [The Ukrainian Republic in the Great East-European Revolution, Volume I.] (Toronto: New Review Books. 1966. Pp. 685. $10.75.)

IN this work the author describes how the Ukrainian nation became a state in 1917–1918, how its leaders created a central government, declared its sovereign independence, and received recognition of this new status from France, Great Britain, the Central Powers, and, eventually, from Lenin's Bolsheviks.

Proving that the Ukrainian National Republic did receive recognition as a sovereign nation is Pidhainy's main interest. This issue has profound significance for millions of *émigré* Ukrainian nationalists scattered around the world who argue today that the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine is a captive nation held within the Soviet Union by force despite persuasive historical evidence that it should be free. While Professor Pidhainy scrupulously avoids enmeshing himself in the political overtones of this issue, he concludes his book with the statement that by early 1918 the Ukrainian National Republic had "consolidated its

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sovereignty, had completed its period of formation and entered as an equal into the world community of states." The fallacy of this conclusion lies in its legalistic failure to give adequate attention to the realities of the Ukrainian situation in 1918. In February, driven from all the great Ukrainian cities by Russian Bolshevik troops, the government of the National Republic signed a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk and returned to Kiev supported by German military authority. In other words, even as Pidhainy's "equality" was achieved, the sovereign state became what would be called, in other countries and times, a puppet government. And though the fortunes of the National Republic rose and fell repeatedly thereafter, the Ukraine soon became a dependent part of a Soviet federation organized by Moscow. Recognition, whether *de facto* or *de jure,* does not make a nation an equal in the community of nations; there must also be the ability and the good luck to survive as an independent state. The National Republic lacked this ability, and it had no luck at all.

Pidhainy's work is exhaustive, detailed, and carefully documented. In some sections he employs hitherto unused German archives; in others he has usefully re-examined well-known sources. New and valuable detail is provided by his analyses of the processes of recognition, the Ukrainians' negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and the brutal regime established at Kiev by Mikhail Muraviov, the Social Revolutionary commander of Bolshevik forces. It is unfortunate that this work is marred throughout by careless and ungrammatical writing.

Michigan State University ARTHUR E. ADAMS

ISTORIIA VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINY SOVETSKOGO SOIUZA, 1941–1945 [The History of the Great Fatherland War of the Soviet Union, 1941–1945]. Volume VI, ITOGI VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINY [The Results of the Great Fatherland War]. (Moscow: Military Publishing House of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR. 1965. Pp. 615.)

THIS sixth and final volume of the official Soviet history of the war resembles a political tract more than a work of scholarship. Characterized by a high level of generalization and abstraction, the study summarizes most of what has been written about the war in the Soviet Union over the past decade. The result is terribly dull and amazingly uninformative. The nation, the party, and the army share the laurels, but few leading individuals are singled out. Stalin and Beria are blamed for all the mistakes including extensive damage to Soviet industry caused by the purges of the late 1930's. Molotov and Malenkov are nowhere mentioned, despite their membership in GOKO. Military victories, organization of the defense of Leningrad, and so forth are attributed to leading party cadres and the general staff. Occasionally we catch a glimpse of administrative problems, the relation of GOKO to the general staff, or the reorganization of tactical units, but the broader implications of these relationships are never made explicit. A long chapter on the partisans de-emphasizes the spontaneous and nationalist character of the early bands and virtually ignores anti-Soviet and anarchistic movements. In one breath the Western Powers are denounced for having sought to prolong the agony of the Russian people, and in another they are reluctantly

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credited with having provided 12 per cent of all Soviet aircraft, 10 per cent of the tanks, over 400,000 vehicles, and 2,500,000 tons of oil products.

More than two hundred pages are devoted to bibliography, the most useful part of the book, but the sections on American and French scholarship are woefully incomplete. The entire six-volume collection represents a much more blatantly nationalistic and uncritical attitude than some of the more important monographs on separate aspects of the conflict written by Soviet scholars.

University of Pennsylvania ALFRED J. RIEBER

Africa

BOSTON UNIVERSITY PAPERS ON AFRICA. Volume II, AFRICAN HISTORY. Edited by *Jeffrey Butler*. (Boston: Boston University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 337. $7.25.)

THIS volume is the second product of the Boston University Seminars on African History, and, despite an occasional petty slip, the editor has put the collection of disparate papers together with thoughtful care and greater precision than characterized Volume I.

Substantively, the essays are well researched, well written, and well worth the consideration of all historians of Africa. Creighton Gabel's "Prehistoric Populations of Africa" is refreshing reading for historians often needlessly confused by the pedantic, racial typologies bantered about by their colleagues in the social sciences. By tough, perceptive examination Gabel refreshingly lays before the historian what is and what is not known about early man in Africa and what is myth and what is reality. Of the two essays by Ronald Cohen that follow, the first, "The Bornu King Lists," will remain an indispensable guide to present and future historians of that kingdom. In analyzing what was fragmentary, questionable, and confusing, Cohen has provided not only useful comparisons of king-lists but a demonstration of the sophisticated analytical techniques now employed in the search for the African past. Although Cohen's second essay, "The Dynamics of Feudalism in Bornu," attempts to prove that "fragmentation or centralization in feudal government is related to the manner in which succession disputes can be settled," he actually demonstrates the difficulties of using European models to discuss African "feudalism." Norman Bennett follows with another of his vignettes on East African history, and John D. Hargreaves' "The Tokolor Empire of Ségou and Its Relations with the French" raises questions rather than probing for answers. Hollis R. Lynch writes with verve and style in an excellent review of Pan-Negro nationalism in the New World and its failure, a subject already familiar to specialists. An Ethiopian trilogy is next, composed of two well-researched essays by Richard Pankhurst on foreigners in Ethiopia, useful to students of Ethiopia but with few wider conclusions, and a history of Anglo-Ethiopian negotiations, 1897–1914, over Ethiopia's southern frontier, which Harold Marcus offers as an example of Menelik's expansionist policies. Roger Louis' excellent analysis of the Congo Reform Movement of 1905–1908 should have included a brief reference to Charles Diamond, Morel's most formidable journalist opponent, and to the importance of the Bahr el Ghazal dispute in

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Britain's Congo policy. Wolfe W. Schmokel concludes the volume with a hard-headed assessment of the Liberian independence crisis of 1929–1934, in a country that all agree has not and will probably never receive "its fair share of attention."

The African Studies Program at Boston University is to be complimented for its support of the seminars on African history and the publication of their papers. It is to be hoped that the alteration of the title of Volume I (*Boston University Papers in African History*) to *Boston University Papers on Africa,* Volume II, *African History,* is not the prelude to the partition of African history among the imperialist social sciences.

University of California, Santa Barbara ROBERT O. COLLINS

FRANCE AND ALGERIA: THE PROBLEM OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL REFORM, 1870–1920. By *Vincent Confer.* ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 148. $5.00.)

THE history of the French colonial effort in Algeria is rather drab. A military beginning and a military ending seem only to be separated by decades of hesitation, confusion, and ineffective compromise. Yet the French were conscious of the shortcomings of their Algerian policy and not infrequently considered feasible alternatives before nationalism became an ineluctable force. In the years clustered around 1900 debate was particularly lively, solutions proposed, numerous. This debate and its significance provide the theme of Professor Confer's short and straightforward study.

With painstaking care Confer reviews and criticizes the arguments offered by the Algerian reformers of the period, reformers who were divisible into two groups: those proposing social and economic reform, and those also proposing somewhat radical political reform in the sense of greater Algerian participation in the French-established electoral processes. In truth, much was said, much was proposed, but actual reform was minimal. The intransigent opposition of the *colons* in Algeria greatly confounded and vitiated the results, and the vacillations of the French governments added to this condition. The outstanding reform, that embodied in the Jonnart Law of 1919, introduced the dubious principle of a double electoral college, an institution that further bifurcated the Franco-Algerian community.

One concludes from Confer's analysis that the years of the second decade of the new century, particularly 1919, were something of a turning point when history failed to turn. The French might have effected changes that would have inspired confidence in the new generation of Algerians coming into their political maturity, and a more forceful government at home might ably have handled the obstreperous *colons*. In short, there was an opportunity for the French to compensate for weaknesses and disadvantages of previous policy.

France and Algeria has the value of sharply focusing our attention on the wordy debate over the Algerian question in these years of transition and indecision, years too often forgotten in light of the more dramatic decades that were to follow.

Grinnell College RAYMOND F. BETTS

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ALGERIA: A REVOLUTION THAT FAILED. By *Arslan Humbaraci.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. xiii, 308. $7.50.)

No people struggled more desperately for their independence in the post-1945 world than the Algerians. The intelligence and the courage of Algerian revolutionaries, ranging from the elite French *lycée* and university graduates to the young freedom fighters of the ALN, commanded the respect of practically everyone, including the many French scholars and journalists who observed them. When independence came, after the impressive self-control of the Muslim population faced with the wanton dead-end violence of the Secret Army, hope ran high that the new state would transfer its revolutionary devotion to the more prosaic task of development. Events soon proved this hope to be unrealistic.

The enormous gap between the objectives of the revolution and the ability of the new leadership to move toward these targets is the theme of Arslan Humbaraci's outstanding book. Humbaraci covered the North African area for *The Economist* and *The Observer* with utter devotion, and both his research and insights bear the imprint of the professional. There is no account in English or French that shows more clearly or more precisely how the Algerian revolution has thus far failed to advance much beyond that dearly bought independence. Algeria's failure must be the failure of leadership. No one expected a miracle from a people whose illiteracy was above 90 per cent in 1954.

Ben Bella surely captivated the imagination of many Algerians, but he lacked the talents necessary to launch his poorly educated nation toward the high goals enunciated at Soummam Valley or later in Tripoli. Obviously those goals were an extremely hard target for the people to shoot at, as were the goals of the American Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, or the Atlantic Charter. Friendly observers like Humbaraci know that such revolutionary aims are impossible to realize in a generation. What they object to is the inaction in even starting toward these goals, or, put another way, to their sacrifice upon the altar of political expediency or downright stupidity. Ben Bella finally succumbed politically to his own incompetence and to the obvious fact that he owed his presidency to the army whose chieftain, Boumedienne, he no longer satisfied.

This excellent, fair-minded book should prove helpful to students of revolution, to persons interested in the third world, and even to policy makers in world capitals, because the author relates Algeria to Cuba and Vietnam.

Oakland University RICHARD M. BRACE

THE REVOLUTION IN EGYPT'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM: FROM PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TO SOCIALISM, 1952–1965. By *Patrick O'Brien.* [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 354. $8.80.)

ACCORDING to most contemporary accounts, Egypt's revolutionary spirit is on the wane. Its goal of rapid economic development remains distant; its ruling elite has done little to share political authority with the people. Disillusionment with the regime has begun to appear and has caused certain individuals, mainly Left-wing Egyptians, to question the nature of the revolution itself. A new and important study of the changes in the Egyptian economic system since 1952 by Patrick

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O'Brien will undoubtedly lend weight to this growing body of revisionist literature. The author questions both the socialist aspirations of the Nasser regime and the social content of its reforms. In arriving at these conclusions, O'Brien distinguishes three phases in the development of Egypt's economic system. From 1952 to 1956 the Free Officers allowed major aspects of the economy to run much as before the political revolution of 1952. A system of free enterprise with some governmental regulation prevailed. The regime's concern at the time was with political goals, most notably terminating Britain's presence in Egypt. The leaders generally lacked preconceived ideas of economic organization, although they did initiate the well-known land expropriation and redistribution scheme. Following the Suez crisis of 1956 the military government turned its attention more fully to economic matters. A phase of guided capitalism ensued, but was followed in 1960 by the third stage, which O'Brien calls "the demise of private enterprise" and the establishment of a socialist economic system.

The author particularly tries to explain why these changes were engineered in the economic system. They did not occur, he argues, for ideological reasons. The military rulers were not full-blown socialists at the time they came to power. Rather they were pragmatists who keenly wanted rapid economic growth, with emphasis upon industrialization, and found that the only effective way to move in this direction was through state controls and planning. Pursuing this argument, the author questions the social content of Egyptian economic changes. Although great disparities in wealth have been removed, the masses have been little affected by economic and social legislation. The beneficiaries have been a minority: landowning peasants, employees of large industrial firms, and the urban middle class.

It is unfortunate to have to conclude this review by noting that the book is exceedingly repetitious. Faulty organization is largely responsible. The author has tried to divide the book into chronological and analytical sections, but the material in both sections overlaps far too frequently.

Princeton University ROBERT L. TIGNOR

ITALIAN COLONIALISM IN SOMALIA. By *Robert L. Hess.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 234. $7.95.)

PROFESSOR Hess's well-organized and tightly written monograph closes one of the historiographical gaps in the study of European imperialisms and colonialisms in Africa. In the narrow sense, the book provides an excellent descriptive exegesis of Italian imperial activities along the Somali coast from the mid-nineteenth century until the recent independence of Somalia. In a broader sense, however, the author does not use the opportunity to speculate about the nature of Somali reactions to the different faces of Italian colonialism; nor does he completely assess the Italian legacy in government and culture. Hess's caution in these areas is, however, reasonable; his analysis is perforce limited by the official nature of much of his original materials. Furthermore, Italian colonial policies were almost always vague because Rome never really knew what to do with Somalia; the segmentary nature of Somali pastoral society mitigated against effective Italian administration; missionary interest in Somalia was limited; relatively few Europeans lived

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in the dreary colony; few social scientists have worked in Somalia; and much of the available research has inevitably been biased.

Italian imperialism in Somalia seems to have been based on a scheme by Pasquale Mancini, the Foreign Minister in 1885, whose ideas centered around the possession of Massawah. "Once established in that port, the Italians would bar further French advances along the Red Sea coast and control that Ethiopian outlet to the sea. Occupation of the Eritrean coast would then enable Italy to join with Britain in the troubled Sudan. To the East and the South, the occupation of Harrar and Somalia would complete a pincer movement that would enclose Ethiopia and permit its peaceful penetration." Ethiopia was, therefore, the Italian Canaan, but no amount of wandering in the deserts of Somalia would, in the last analysis, bring the Italians to the promised land. Their visions were always unreal, and their Moses was a rogue. Dogged by the dream of the wealth of Ethiopia, Italian Somalia suffered from a lack of funds and poor administration, and, from Mancini to Mussolini, there was practically no progress in education and social development. The Italians did little to undermine traditional tribal institutions or to encourage political awareness.

When, however, Italy was given a ten-year colonial reprieve in 1950 by the United Nations, the government made a *volte-face* and worked effectively to prepare Somalia for independence. The story of Italy in Africa ended, therefore, on a positive note, even if, for most of the colonial period, Rome gave its colony little direction, affection, and understanding. Hess has admirably described the history of an imperial power that never really shouldered, nor understood, its colonial responsibilities.

Howard University HAROLD G. MARCUS

AFRICAN TRIBES AND EUROPEAN AGENCIES: COLONIALISM AND HUMANITARIANISM IN BRITISH SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA 1870–1895. By *Åke Holmberg*. [Studia Historica Gothoburgensia, Number 6. Scandinavian University Books.] ([Göteborg:] Akademiförlaget. 1966. Pp. 409. Sw. kr. 48.)

THIS monograph adds a much-needed chapter to the history of British penetration into Southern and Eastern Africa during the late nineteenth century. The general over-all "imperial" view always speaks of the irritating commitments made by the "man on the spot," but without making very clear exactly what the man was thinking about that spot. Holmberg looks at imperial expansion through the eyes of the empire builders, rather than through the distant telescope of Whitehall. The results are quite astonishing in their revelations of rivalries, frictions, doubts, and hesitations on the part of empire builders from Rhodes through Lugard and Johnston. The intense pragmatism of these men often gives the impression of almost hand-to-mouth policies and a "feeling out" of what the imperial government would tolerate. Even a Rhodes had to move with circumspection, and theocratic missionary "states" (for such they were in Nyasaland) found the home bodies often cool.

What stands out about the men in the field is their own faith in imperialism as a positive "good," and the author misses the point here when he somehow

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ascribes ulterior motives to them. None of the empire builders made money from their ventures; nor did they think that they would. All wanted governmental take-over of their ventures, but they found Liberals and Conservatives equally doubtful about Uganda, Nyasaland, and Matabeleland. There is also insufficient documentation relative to European government rivalries, with governments forced into competition by local pressure groups in Germany and France, quite as much as in Great Britain.

Finally, there is insufficient recognition of the fact that the African ventures by Europeans were in effect into power vacuums. It would be interesting to have a history of imperial thrusts from the viewpoint of Lobengula, even as it would be to have the comments of Montezuma.

University of Southern California COLIN RHYS LOVELL

Asia and the East

INDO–AFGHAN RELATIONS, 1880–1900. By *Ram Sagar Rastogi*. (Lucknow: Nav-Jyoti Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 256. Rs. 16.50.)

IN Victorian India the British northwest frontier problem was a function of Russia's imperialist drive through Central Asia. John Lawrence and Canning thought it best to make a front of the old Sikh line while standing aloof from Afghan internal affairs and recognizing the *de facto* Emir. Lawrence, however, was willing to cross the border to discipline raiding tribesmen who were only nominally under the control of Kabul, but not to threaten Afghan autonomy. Lord Lytton, on the other hand, hoped to acquire a "scientific" frontier and to make Afghanistan a British buffer state. Dr. Rastogi's account covers relations between India and Afghanistan in the last two decades of the century, showing first how the Russo-Afghan border hardened, and then how the Indo-Afghan border developed.

Perhaps the best chapter is the one on the Durand boundary. The Durand line of 1893, as the author points out, temporarily pacified the frontier between India and Afghanistan. But it contained the seeds of many future problems. It was not based on sound topographic data and left some tribes on both sides of the border. Rastogi suggests that it should have been a tripartite agreement, including the tribesmen. These faults resulted in a renewed "forward" policy when the British had to reach over the line to keep the peace. The author hints that a proper "scientific" line would have served British interests well, but he does not really grapple with the problem of the "stationary" versus the "forward" policy.

Almost all the citations in this study are from British sources: government documents, the records of the Indian administration, memoirs of the sahibs, contemporary newspapers in English, and mostly from the *Proceedings* of the Foreign Department. Are there no Afghan documents in Persian that could illuminate the problem, to say nothing of Russian archival material?

Rastogi's style is straightforward and clear with only a few lapses. Sir Harry and Sir Peter would be amused to see themselves referred to as "Sir Lumsden," and Sir Frederick somewhat startled to find himself "Sir Roberts." In short, this

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is a fairly routine performance with occasional analytical insights. The reader who seeks primarily an authoritative, factual statement will not be disappointed.

Los Angeles Valley College MARK NAIDIS

TS'AO YIN AND THE K'ANG-HSI EMPEROR, BONDSERVANT AND MASTER. By *Jonathan D. Spence.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 85.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 329. $7.50.)

IT is easy to praise this book for tackling an understudied century of Chinese history. But it is also a complex, intelligent work. Very little of the domestic side of the K'ang-hsi reign (1661–1722) remains untouched, or indeed unprobed, as Spence relates his biography of Ts'ao Yin (the centerpiece of five generations of a family's rise and fall) to Ch'ing institutions. What it meant to be textile commissioner, salt censor, imperial host, imperial informant, general member of the upper class—all of this, in all its industrial, financial, administrative, and cultural implications—comes to life.

Spence has mastered a formidable number and variety of sources. Translations and felicitous paraphrase ("crops and robbers," for example, as the short version of subjects of one memorial) are smoothly woven into the text. With rare virtuosity the author shows both aesthetic responsiveness, as in his discussion of the printing of the *Complete T'ang Poems,* and analytical command of such processes as the purchase of copper and the distribution of rice. This is exactly the combination of talent and taste that the story requires, for the Ts'aos come in with the Manchu conquest, in grandfather's day, and vanish like a dream, in the grandson's Proustean masterpiece, *The Dream of the Red Chamber.* Spence is as sensitive and perceptive about the *Dream* (and its connection with real life) as he is sound and hard about the Manchu system of banners.

The theoretical contribution lies in the treatment of the Ts'ao's bond servant status, as Chinese bound to the Ch'ing service before the Manchu conquest. Spence's analysis confirms perceptions of the monarch's need, throughout imperial Chinese history, for a private coterie because of tension between the throne and its regular official-collaborators. What eunuchs had been for the Ming (or against the Ming eventually), bannermen were for the Ch'ing, especially Chinese bannermen, and bond servants, at the beginning, when the Manchus were still not entirely confident or competent, the ordinary Chinese not entirely trustworthy, and the eunuchs held in check. For the Chinese bond servants, Spence shows subtly how "at some indeterminate point servility became prestige." With equal subtlety he shows the convergence, in early Ch'ing, of "Sinifying" Manchus and "Manchufying" Chinese. And here, despite his surface emphasis on Chinese bond servants, he points up the essentially Manchu character (broadly conceived) of the Ch'ing's functional equivalent of eunuch personal bureaucracies. For he acknowledges, in discussing Liang-huai salt censors, that the term "Manchu" referred both to Manchus and to Chinese bond servants in official listings. As Manchus became more Chinese, the use of Chinese bond servants trailed off, indicating that such use was primarily for technical reasons under early postconquest conditions. Manchus, for all their ultimate Chineseness (accepted with confidence by K'ang-hsi from the late 1680's), remained Manchus, natural king's

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men, kept and keeping. Their Chineseness, when it came, made them qualified to capitalize on their potential for preferment, a potential yielded by a dynasty not meaning, perhaps, to be partial, but needing its private coterie. And who could staff it better (once they *could* staff it) than men, however Chinese, who shared with the throne some Manchu vulnerability, making their loyalty to *their* emperor—theirs in a double sense—assured?

University of California, Berkeley JOSEPH R. LEVENSON

CHINESE WARLORD: THE CAREER OF FENG YÜ-HSIANG. By *James E. Sheridan.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 386. $10.00.)

THIS well-written, carefully organized biography traces the colorful "Christian General" in almost every public move and utterance from about 1896 to his death in 1948. It analyzes the essence of "warlordism." It also provides a firm pattern of events for a chaotic era—no mean achievement. In addition to Feng's voluminous writings and other Chinese materials, Mr. Sheridan makes good use of American missionary letters and consular reports as well as his own interviews. Japanese sources suggest that Feng's famous double-crossing of Wu P'ei-fu, when he seized Peking in 1924, was "actively supported, probably financed, and perhaps even conceived" by Japanese in China. Feng's complex relations with his rivals and with foreign missionaries and Christianity, the Soviet Union, the Kuomintang, and Chiang Kai-shek, are worked out clearly and in detail.

Sheridan sees warlordism emerging from late Ch'ing militarism and "personal armies" loyal to their commanders (the usual term "regionalism" seems to me confusing; personal armies moved about from region to region). He disregards the effect of the end of the monarchy in 1912 (this actually would require research into the Ch'ing polity as much as into warlordism). Feng rose from the illiterate coolie ranks, a big, able, ambitious fellow, recruiting his first battalion at the age of thirty in 1912. From 1914 he had an independent command and was a baptized Methodist. Stationed in seven provinces in the next eight years, always and everywhere he recruited and trained his troops. To build this army he used all sorts of schools, strenuous exercises, literacy classes, vocational training, patriotic indoctrination, Christian prayer (by 1924 half his thirty thousand men and four-fifths of his officers were Christian converts), hymns, training songs, plays, recreation clubs, frequent inspections, strict military justice, and a cult of concern for the common people. In his area he kept strict order, banned opium, gambling, and prostitution, built roads, planted trees, opened schools and athletic fields, killed flies, and so demonstrated his essentially Confucian belief that good government flows from the ruler's virtue. He began a "New Life Movement" in 1927. Yet, for all his moral reformism, "Feng never offered the public a clear political program." Bidding for power in the late 1920's, he identified himself with the national interest and taxed the people unmercifully; in the end "he was prepared to do anything to save the country and the people, even if it killed them." He never pursued class revolution or mass political organization, and history passed him by.

Harvard University JOHN K. FAIRBANK

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MAO TSE-TUNG IN OPPOSITION, 1927–1935. By *John E. Rue.* With the assistance of *S. R. Rue.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1966. Pp. viii, 387. $10.00.)

THIS volume is a study of Mao Tse-tung in opposition within the Communist party and not of his participation in the struggle between the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang. It thus deals with Mao in opposition to the changing lines set mainly by the Comintern for the Chinese Communist party as well as his not infrequent opposition to the Chinese leadership itself. The appended bibliography of Chinese sources, Chinese Communist party documents, and Western-language studies and the care with which they, including Mao's rewriting of party history, are used, as shown in the extensive documentation of the study, serve to give the reader confidence in the author's conclusions.

Of current significance is Dr. Rue's conclusion that "The Maoist cult—the worship of Mao's ideology—grew out of a reaction to the doctrinaire, mechanical imposition of Stalin's formulas in revolutionary China." But the continuing importance of the book for the historian lies in Rue's detailed account of Mao's struggle to establish a position in a party intolerant of difference of opinion.

In the summarization of Mao's early party career, and of the part he played in the first united front period, he is characterized as a "Non-Bolshevik Revolutionary" who "though an active revolutionary throughout the 1920's, was much too busy to master the fundamental Marxist categories. He was a revolutionary before he became a Communist. A natural leader of men, he found it difficult to subordinate himself to the strict party discipline inherent in a Leninist democratic centralist regime." Thus, until he became the accepted party leader his role was that of an oppositionist within the party, especially as he began to develop his own independent lines in the course of the prolonged struggle in the Chin-kang Mountains against what the author characterizes as the "extreme left line adopted by the Central Committee Plenum of November 1927—the Plenum that expelled him from the Central Committee, the Hunan Provincial Committee, and the Front Committee." This meant opposition to Li Li-san and his successors who attempted to impose Stalinist lines on the party. From this opposition Mao emerged into leadership only after the Tsun-yi Conference, thereafter turning what had been flight into the successful Long March. The author thus finds Tsun-yi to have been "the great turning point in Mao's career." Rue's volume is a careful analysis of Mao's rise to the leadership of the Chinese Communist party.

University of Cincinnati HAROLD M. VINACKE

ANCIENT HISTORIANS OF INDIA: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES. By *Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak.* (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1966. Pp. xv, 184. $4.00.)

WERE there historians in ancient India? Was there even a sense of history in the numerous myths, legends, and tales of the gods and kings that abound in the source material available to us? We have to face such questions because privately and sometimes even publicly strong disagreements arise on these issues. Historians in this country, if they discuss the question at all, usually state that no

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ancient Indian text can be properly classified as historical if for no other reason than its patent unreliability.

Dr. Pathak convincingly argues that if we are going to understand the historical traditions of these texts it must be according to the framework of what *their* authors considered history and not our own twentieth-century criteria. Indeed, he argues that unless we do this we shall miss not only an important historical perspective but also significant historical information. But what were ancient Indian historical perspectives and traditions? In this original contribution to Indian historiography, Pathak makes several viable suggestions. Since history is concerned with reality, he distinguishes the Indian philosophical concept of *satyaṁ,* or absolute reality which is beyond change, and *nāma-rūpa,* name and form, which is constantly subject to change. Changes in relative reality are to be understood in terms of cause and effect. With this metaphysical perspective, history becomes essentially the sequence of change. While Time (*kāla*) is necessary for change, history, in this perspective, focuses not on the chronological sequence of time but rather on the sequence of change.

There is an element of brilliance in the analysis with which Pathak examines the *Harshacharita,* the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita,* the *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya,* and the *Pṛthvīrāja-Vijaya.* These texts are used as case studies to illustrate the formula that Pathak believes was involved in constructing historical narratives, especially those involving kings. The achievement of royal glory invariably developed, he suggests, in five stages: the beginning, the efforts, the hope of achieving the end, the certainty of achievement, and the achievement. This formula of ordered sequence fits many legends that we have remarkably well. The tendency of new aristocracies to identify themselves with the best traditions of the ancient *kṣatriya* order and consequently to depict the king as a probable or real incarnation of heroic figures—gods or men—is also well documented. With this perspective, we may more easily understand why there is often a historical thrust of divine victory over demonic forces.

The book contains remarkably few factual errors. It is one of the most original, provocative, and welcome contributions to the study of Indian history to appear in recent years.

University of Windsor JOHN W. SPELLMAN

INDIAN ARMY THROUGH THE AGES. By *Gautam Sharma.* (Bombay: Allied Publishers Private, Ltd. 1966. Pp. 311. Rs. 26.50.)

MILITARY history is one of the less explored branches of Indian historiography. Several competently written monographs discussing some of the decisive battles do exist; there is also considerable material dealing with military organization through various ages scattered through numerous works on Indian history. There were few Indian military historians, if any, who were professional military men. Much of their discussion, therefore, was strictly of a theoretical genre. Gautam Sharma has served in the Indian Army for over twenty years, and his interest in the military history of India has resulted in an interesting survey of Indian organization and strategy through the ages.

The author is not an academic historian, and his approach to the subject is

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more descriptive than analytical. Most of his material is gathered from secondary sources, and the citations, in many cases, are defective. The bibliography is ambitious but uncritical, and the index is of limited utility. These technical deficiencies do not, however, detract from the interest of the book. The narrative is in seven chapters: the first five deal with the development of Indian armies through the ancient, Sultanate, Mogul, Maratha, and Sikh periods; the last two describe British contributions to Indian military history. The material is organized under three broad categories—war as a policy of the state, the organization, training, and equipment of the armies, and the strategies followed in the major battles that shaped the course of Indian history. The account is brought up to date with the inclusion of sections on the Indian Army since independence. It is understandable why the author does not discuss the new relationships between civil authority and military leadership and the course of the brief war against the Communist Chinese on the Himalayan frontiers in 1962 since such information is still "classified," and as a military career officer he is not expected to express opinions on "political" subjects. The author's attempt at writing a handy volume containing relevant material gathered from a wide range of sources is to be commended. The work will prove useful as a convenient account of the long chronicle of India's efforts in the pursuit of the theory and practice of war.

Wake Forest College B. G. Gokhale

THE MUGHAL NOBILITY UNDER AURANGZEB. By *M. Athar Ali.* (New York: Asia Publishing House for the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1966. Pp. x, 294. $7.75.)

This study, an extension of the author's Ph.D. thesis at Aligarh Muslim University, analyzes the nature of Mogul nobility and the changes that developed under Aurangzeb in their actual status—organization and traditions—during each of the two halves of his reign.

For the period from 1658 to 1678 M. Athar Ali has identified 486 *mansabdars* who held commands of at least 1000, and 575 who held similar commands from 1679 to 1707. In an appendix he has listed each of these *mansabdars* by name and title, highest rank held, country of birth, whether Indian, Turanian, or Iranian, the subgroup (Afghan, Rajput, Maratha) to which he belonged, and the nature of the kinship with any relative he might have had who was also numbered among the nobility. The authority who cited the individual has also been given.

A comparison of the differences that developed among the Mogul nobility during these two periods of Aurangzeb's reign does go far not only toward revealing something of the nobility but also toward high-lighting the reasons behind the rapid decline of the Empire in which they lived. In the first period "foreigners" dominated the nobility, and the *mansabdari* system continued very much as it had under Shah Jahan; in the second period the effects of the Rajput War and the prolonged Deccan campaign are obvious. With the influx of Deccani nobles into the Mogul aristocracy, the size of the aristocracy increased, but the military potential, the whole *raison d'être* of the system, decreased: the military contingents that could actually be supplied by nobles whose *jagirs* were held in unruly

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areas were often small. Thus the military strength of the Empire decreased as its aristocracy expanded, and neither the Emperor nor the aristocracy seemed to possess the elasticity of mind necessary to adapt to changed conditions.

All told, Athar Ali's analysis has not revealed anything that is new, but it has lent more solid support to existing conclusions, and it has provided us with the most minute study to date of the nature of the Mogul aristocracy.

Tufts University FREELAND ABBOTT

INTERNAL MARKET OF INDIA [1834–1900]. By *Tarasankar Banerjee*. (Calcutta: Academic Publishers. 1966. Pp. xviii, 358. Rs. 20.)

PURPORTING to be an attempt "to trace the process of the integration of [the] internal market of British India," this book is, in fact, a collection of papers on selected topics in British-Indian economic history. Directly concerned with the internal market are chapters on the abolition of transit and town duties (achieved between 1836 and 1844), the development of railways, the attempt to standardize weights and measures, and the production of and trade in salt. Less relevant to internal trade are chapters on tariff policy and on opium and cotton production. Conspicuously absent from a book on the internal market is any discussion of the organization of domestic trade or of the indigenous banking system. Nor has the author attempted to trace trends in commodity movements or in the important internal trade in food grains. His heavy reliance on the voluminous governmental proceedings and special reports housed in the archives at New Delhi and Calcutta has inevitably deflected his research away from a description of internal trade and toward an analysis of governmental economic policy.

Instead of writing a book on the internal market, the author has provided a well-documented study of an irresponsible government obstructing the economic development of its own citizens. Each chapter contributes evidence to substantiate this implied, but never explicitly stated, thesis. The chapters on railway development and tariff policy show Indian commercial interests sacrificed to British. The government's apathy toward the standardization of weights and measures used in domestic trade contrasts with its success in standardizing those used in commerce with Britain. Its vigorous interest in raw cotton and opium production for overseas markets contrasts with its neglect of indigenous manufacturing for the domestic market. The cumbersome taxation scheme imposed on salt production was a resurrection of the chaotic and oppressive system of transit and town duties abolished earlier in response to British "free trade" interests. Because it denied itself the revenue that in time would have accrued from industrialization, the government found it necessary to resort to a hodgepodge of absurd taxes on peasant-produced commodities.

In view of the evidence he has amassed, Dr. Banerjee is much too gentle with the British. But the author's restraint, his careful scholarship, and his heavily documented evidence serve to strengthen the over-all impact of his book. Though its conceptual framework is weak, the book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of selected aspects of Indian economic history under British rule.

University of Illinois BLAIR B. KLING

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A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS. Volume II, 1839–1964. By *Khushwant Singh.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 395. $12.50.)

THIS is the second volume of Khushwant Singh's two-volumed history of the Sikhs. The first depicted the origin of Sikhism and the rise of the Sikh community to political dominance of the Punjab. Here the story of Sikh decline from the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 is carried through to 1964. Together, the two volumes provide the most detailed history of the Sikhs written in recent times.

The theme of this second volume is "the Sikh struggle for survival as a separate community." The narrative describes the resistance of the Sikhs to British expansionism, their continuing opposition to Muslim domination, and, in independent India, their active resistance against absorption by renascent Hinduism.

A history of such grand proportions, touched at so many points in the earlier period by intrigue among foreign powers, is full of pitfalls for the scholar. More than once the author, relying too exclusively upon contemporary British correspondence, has given fresh currency to nineteenth-century misconceptions. He could scarcely have repeated, for example, certain outdated conclusions on the border forays of the 1840's (involving the state of Kashmir) had he consulted recent studies, including the documents made available in *Himalayan Battleground: Sino-Indian Rivalry in Ladakh,* by Margaret W. Fisher *et al.* (1963).

Sikh history, punctuated as it is with incidents of agony and prolonged periods of suffering, would seem to argue against the political demand for a separate state as a means for preserving the identity of a community. Khushwant Singh portrays in clear detail the many divisions among the Sikhs themselves—divisions that become more significant as claims to a separate political entity are pressed forward in contemporary India. Among the effects of separatist demands is the abrasion of the secular commitment of the Indian Union. Khushwant Singh presents an important interpretation of these claims; for another approach, the reader may wish to consult Baldev Raj Nayar's *Minority Politics in the Punjab* (1966).

Among the assets of the present volume (which is an elaboration of the author's earlier book, *The Sikhs* [1953]) is the Sikh perspective on the Arya Samaj as a force in the Punjab. It also contains valuable genealogical data and insights into the complex leadership of the Punjab. This work is, however, both too detailed for the general reader and too inexact to satisfy the scholar. The definitive study of the intricate and challenging history of the Sikhs may be long in coming; meanwhile, Khushwant Singh focuses attention upon an indomitable people and paves the way for future scholars.

University of California, Berkeley JOAN V. BONDURANT

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN INDIA: ECONOMIC POLICIES OF INDIAN NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, 1880–1905. By *Bipan Chandra.* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House. 1966. Pp. xv, 783. Rs. 45.00.)

THIS is a very significant and perceptive study of the thought of the first leaders of the Indian national movement on the economic problems of India. Dr. Chandra has read widely in the relevant materials. All important newspapers have been extensively used, and where the originals are lacking or in languages unknown to

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the author, the "Reports on the Native Press" have supplied the deficiency. Chandra has planned his work with great skill, dealing with his main headings of "Industry," "Foreign Trade," "Labour," "Agriculture," and "Public Finance" in such a way that there is a minimum of repetition as the reader is led by these closely related paths through the same quarter century.

Perhaps the best chapter analyzes the "drain theory" of the transfer of wealth out of India in this period. Next in importance is the discussion of agriculture that should forever dispose of the notion that in advocating a "permanent" settlement of land revenue R. C. Dutt and other leading Indian economists wished to establish throughout India a replica of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Bengal zamindari system. Chandra is especially to be commended for not sparing the national leaders from criticism they clearly deserve.

Although it provides the specialist in this period of Indian history with many a trenchant quotation from the works of Dadabhai Naoroji, G. V. Joshi, and D. E. Wacha, the book is far too long. Too much attention is given to the detailed exposition of Indian nationalists' views and too little to interpretation and reflection upon them. Chandra can never quite emancipate himself from the assumption that, if "foreign rule" had not existed in mid-nineteenth-century India, an indigenous government capable of preserving order and stability and dedicated to carrying out the economic policies he is analyzing would have ruled the subcontinent. This tends to make allocation of blame to the British for what actually happened general rather than precise. Chandra could have stressed more specific cases in which India's interests were clearly sacrificed to Britain's, and he could have been less dogmatic on larger and more controversial issues. The actual thought of the early nationalist leaders is sometimes not sufficiently distinguished from Chandra's own views on the issues involved.

The economic thought of the early nationalist leaders has been much neglected. Chandra's work helps to bring it into proper perspective and to explain why on the whole they accomplished so little and were succeeded by a group of men who stressed political rather than economic objectives.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

LALA LAJPAT RAI: WRITINGS AND SPEECHES. Volume I, 1888–1919; Volume II, 1920–1928. Edited by *Vijaya Chandra Joshi*. (Delhi: University Publishers. 1966. Pp. lxiv, 423; vi, 511. Rs. 25 each.)

By the beginning of this century Lajpat Rai had moved from the front ranks of Punjab nationalist and Arya Samaj leadership into the circle of all-India nationalist leaders. After World War I, which he spent in Japan and the United States, he was one of the more prominent Indian nationalists. These two volumes of selected speeches and articles give the reader an excellent view of his development through time and from rather parochial beginnings. The selections also exhibit his inconsistencies and the curious unevenness of his intellectual development. On certain subjects Lajpat Rai could speak in straightforward and incisive terms; on others he talked or wrote in generalities and in a circumlocutious manner. Withal he tended to be unduly prolix.

Of special interest will be the reflection in his papers of his many roles: Arya

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Samajist, Congress leader, spokesman for nascent Indian trade-unionism, leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, extremist, and also quasi constitutionalist—the gamut is broad. On occasion he tried his hand at a naïve brand of socialism; at other times he spoke with vigor for Indian small business. Amidst all of these themes—one is tempted to say twists—in his career, a few strands remain constant: his advocacy of self-reliance and self-help rarely flagged, and his distrust of British intentions almost never waned.

In all there are seventy-eight selections from among his speeches and writings in the two volumes. For the specialist this may gild the lily a bit, as there are redundancies; for the nonspecialist it is clearly too much. That is to be regretted, for there is much to be learned about the course of development of nationalism in India from careful perusal of Lajpat Rai's papers. Many a superficial and badly distorted idea current in this country about the genesis and nature of nationalism in countries like India could be clarified if greater attention were paid to collections such as this one.

V. C. Joshi has made our use of the writings and speeches of Lajpat Rai much easier and more fruitful by providing a good introduction and by including many explanatory footnotes, most of which contribute materially to the comprehension of the text by the nonspecialist. The footnotes, along with the selections, make the two volumes valuable for lay reader and specialist alike.

Duke University ROBERT I. CRANE

PICKERING: PROTECTOR OF CHINESE. By *R. N. Jackson.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 127. $4.90.)

WILLIAM Alexander Pickering played an important part in events of the 1870's leading to the opening up of modern Malaya. A mildly eccentric Victorian, he acquired an *expertise* in the Chinese language while serving in the Imperial Maritime Customs and later as member of a commercial firm in Taiwan. Besides learning Chinese he taught himself to play the bagpipes; he carried them with him everywhere he went, sometimes wearing a Scottish kilt to add to the effect. When on leave in England he was offered the post of Chinese Interpreter in the Straits Settlements. Arriving in Singapore in 1872 he found that although most of the population was Chinese he was "the only European officer ever in the service of the Straits Settlements who could speak Chinese."

This was the moment when Britain stood on the brink of intervention in the Malay States. Pickering was fortunate in being the right man in the right place at the right time. When a new governor of the Straits Settlements arrived in Singapore in 1873 with what he took to be a green light from the Colonial Office for a forward move in Malaya, he immediately sent Pickering to Penang to negotiate with the leaders of the Chinese secret societies there, for they controlled the rival groups of Chinese tin miners who were causing serious disturbance in the Malay States of the interior. Pickering went off with his bagpipes and came back with an agreement. Without him the Pangkor Treaty of 1874, which led to the opening up of Malaya, might not have been possible.

Pickering had thus made his mark as a "Chinese expert." When a Singapore government commission recommended in 1876 that "European gentlemen con-

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versant with the Chinese dialects" should be appointed as Protectors of Chinese in the Straits Settlements, Pickering was an obvious choice. He held the post of Protector of Chinese in Singapore until his retirement in 1890. With characteristic thoroughness he regularized immigration procedures, brought the secret societies under control, and attacked the difficult problems of gambling and prostitution.

The author of this study was himself the last Englishman to hold a Chinese Affairs post in the central government of Malaya, being thus in a sense the last of a line that Pickering founded. He has written a useful work of unpretentious scholarship that provides valuable insights into the early stages of social advance in modern Malaya.

University of Hong Kong BRIAN HARRISON

THE RISE OF INDONESIAN COMMUNISM. By *Ruth T. McVey*. [Prepared under the auspices of the Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 510. $10.00.)

NEARLY four decades ago a Dutch colonial official, J. T. Petrus Blumberger, published the first book-length account of the rise of the Indonesian Communist party (PKI), and while in recent years there have been historical and contemporary surveys of the party, Dr. McVey is the first to go over the ground once covered by Blumberger. She has done so in far greater detail, however, and with more than 130 pages of footnotes and with Dutch, Indonesian, and Russian sources, her volume makes an imposing appearance. Essentially chronological in character the book covers only the first seven years or so of the PKI's history, from the early initiatives of Dutch Marxists behind its eventual founding in 1920 to the first major, if suicidal, display of PKI power, the insurrections in Java and Sumatra in 1926–1927. Throughout, however, close attention is paid to the international ramifications of PKI activity, and as an account of Comintern interest and involvement in Indonesian and Southeast Asian political developments, it will not be easily superseded. Also to be praised is the author's incisive analysis of the synthesis of Communist appeals and those of Islam and of traditional, nativistic, and messianic religious expectations, a synthesis that considerably widened the PKI's early impact.

But despite these assets this is an uneven and, in the end, an unsatisfactory book. Sloppy proofreading and more typographical errors than usual detract from its value. So does the existence of unexpected lacunae: for example, though an entire chapter is devoted to the Communist rebellions of 1926–1927, less than a paragraph appears there about the action in West Sumatra, so that one gets the erroneous impression that the insurrection was almost entirely a Java-centered affair. And nowhere does the author really confront the question of the viability of the PKI's support or the social composition of its following. We are told that "The principal PKI strength lay in the large cities of Java" because of the party's "proletarian origin" and because of its difficulty in organizing rural backing. Yet, at the same time McVey notes Communist influence in parts of the countryside, and she comments on existing peasant discontent and rural unrest, presumably

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available for exploitation. We are even told that owners of small holder coffee plantations in Tapanuli were forced to join the party "to avoid being boycotted by their workers." What exactly the extent of the party's rural following was; why its appeals to the peasantry now were effective then again ineffective; whether, as petty intellectuals, the party leaders had any real identification with the untutored villager—these issues achieve no clarity here. McVey offers a torrent of heavily annotated detail, but the real dynamics of "the rise of Indonesian Communism" have, alas, eluded her.

University of Bridgeport JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

MALAYA: THE COMMUNIST INSURGENT WAR, 1948–60. By *Edgar O'Ballance*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1966. Pp. 188. $6.50.)

MORE than a detailed history of the guerrilla war fought by the Chinese Communist party against the British and Malays, this work is also a critical analysis of the tactics—military, political, and economic—used by each side, together with their effectiveness, and a study of the causes of the Communist defeat. This was owing in part to their own serious errors of judgment together with the negligible help given them by China and Russia, and in part to the shrewd efficiency with which the British improvised methods of waging a type of war almost unprecedented in 1948. The opening chapter summarizes the history of the Communist party in Malaya from its foundation in 1922 to 1941. This is followed by the activities of the MPAJA, the Communist-controlled guerrillas against the Japanese, and by the economic war of 1945 to 1948, when the aim was to subvert the British government by instigating strikes that would paralyze the recovery of the tin and rubber industries.

The principal reason for resisting the Japanese was to create an army controlled by the party that could be used subsequently for the forcible overthrow of the British government. Like the similar organization in Greece, the MPAJA avoided fighting against the Japanese, and its contribution to the Allied victory was minimal. The Communists concentrated on recruiting, training, and indoctrinating good material, and they emerged from the war with a well-trained force of about six thousand and a stock of arms hidden in the jungle. The guerrillas were recalled in 1948 and were the nucleus of the rebel army. The British, many of them urban conscripts, fought the enemy on his own ground by following him into the jungle, and in time they became more skillful guerrillas than the terrorists themselves. Major O'Ballance, however, insists that the principal reason for their defeat was that they were gradually cut off from food and information supplied by the Malayan peasantry, so that veteran terrorists had to spend most of their time in a farmer's purgatory—trying to grow food in a sunless jungle. Similarities and contrasts with the American and French wars in Vietnam are obvious, and it is regrettable that O'Ballance rigidly restricts himself to his chosen subject, the war in Malaya.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia LENNOX A. MILLS

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HELL IN A VERY SMALL PLACE: THE SIEGE OF DIEN BIEN PHU. By *Bernard B. Fall.* [Great Battles of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 515. $8.95.)

BERNARD Fall's untimely death in February 1967 deprived Southeast Asian scholarship of an outstanding and prolific contributor. Fortunately, he lived to see his three-year study of the siege and Battle of Dien Bien Phu, to which he brought unique qualifications, published.

No one but Fall could have written this monumental and grim story. His French nationality and service with the Free French forces inspired the confidence needed to open up for him France's secret military archives. Fall's firsthand knowledge of the terrain and the atmosphere prevailing during the final years of colonial rule in Vietnam provided him with an extraordinary background. His many years in the United States and his well-known assiduity have resulted in an analysis that is comprehensible and relevant to Americans who find themselves, thirteen years after the fall of Dien Bien Phu, fighting the same enemy as the French.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a day-by-day description of the battle, its strategy, and the men who vainly fought to defend the fortress against the Viet Minh. Despite its minute detail and the reader's foreknowledge of the outcome, Fall's account is not only readable, but builds up tension. So much emotion is conjured up by the very name of Dien Bien Phu that Fall set himself a difficult goal in aiming at dispelling the "myths and misconceptions" surrounding "one of the truly decisive battles of the 20th Century." He discusses the choice of the site, the extent and accuracy of French intelligence, logistical problems, the role of the air force and of the non-French defenders, and the allocation of responsibility among the French officers involved in the disaster.

Few would dispute Fall's conclusion that the political and psychological significance of Dien Bien Phu are of more importance to the present situation than is its military aspect. The defeat that terminated France's power in Southeast Asia was owing not to the exhaustion of French military resources but to the refusal of French public opinion to support continuance of the war. The Viet Minh's victory over a major colonial power enhanced Hanoi's self-confidence to a degree that the United States is only now beginning to comprehend. Probably the most controversial aspect of this book is the author's contention that the defeat of the French Union forces at Dien Bien Phu—after the American decision to let events there take their course—proved in the long run to be a political defeat for the United States.

University of California, Berkeley VIRGINIA THOMPSON

AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY. General Editor, *Douglas Pike.* Volume I, 1788–1850, A–H Section Editors, *A. G. L. Shaw,* 1788–1825; *C. M. H. Clark,* 1826–1850. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 578. $23.50.)

THE appearance of the first volume of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* but a few months behind its Canadian counterpart, the *Dictionary of Canadian*

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Biography, invites a comparison, one that reveals the disparity between the two historiographies. The *DCB* will run to twenty volumes, and the first deals with the years 1000 to 1700. The *ADB* will consist of twelve volumes, and the first two will bring the record—based upon the *floruit* dates of the entries rather than, as in the *DCB,* on death dates—from 1788 to 1850. The Canadian dictionary drew upon 115 contributors, nearly all affiliated with universities, from four countries; the Australian volume calls upon some 250 authors, all Australian or Australian-born. There are 594 biographical articles in the *DCB,* together with excellent introductory essays; there are 535 articles in the *ADB* which, being somewhat the shorter book, forces its contributors to be more concise. As a result, the essays in the Australian volume are a good bit less elegant, certainly less leisurely, and they provide shorter summaries of sources and no indication of an author's affiliation.

Within these constraints, the general editor, Douglas Pike, and his two section editors, A.G.L. Shaw and C. M. H. Clark, have performed their tasks very well indeed. The essays show a uniform and firm editorial hand; they are crisp and (except occasionally, as in the overly detailed discussion of John Batman) well balanced; and, above all, the choice of figures to be included has been full yet discriminating, as one may see by comparing the present first volume with the preliminary two-volume mimeographed "Biographical Register Short List" distributed in Canberra in 1963. Men central to the Australian story who did not visit the continent, such as Henry Bathurst, are included, but briefly; those about whom we wish to know the most, such as Sir George Arthur, William Bligh, and the Earl Grey, are given ample space; and yet the two aborigines, Arabanoo and Bennelong, are included, from the pen of the novelist Eleanor Dark. Unfortunately, some relevant explorers have been omitted, although Cook is present, and thus the dates are not to be taken literally. Some of the writing, especially by John M. Ward, by Shaw himself, and by Michael Roe, is distinguished, and all is more than ordinarily serviceable. There are also occasional side rewards, as when one learns of Martin Cash's assault upon a man whom he found embracing his mistress: "His claim that the ball wounded his rival in the buttocks may be thought to add some verisimilitude to the story." Since this volume breaks off with the letter *H,* one may with even greater force than usual say that we await the next volume with impatience.

Yale University ROBIN W. WINKS

HIERARCHY AND DEMOCRACY IN AUSTRALIA, 1788–1870: THE FORMATION OF AUSTRALIAN CATHOLICISM. By *T. L. Suttor.* ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 344. $12.50.)

T. L. SUTTOR, a historian turned theologian, examines Australian society up to 1870 through the experiences of the Catholic, essentially Irish, element, which provided 25 per cent of its people. The scope (1788–1870) is narrower than James G. Murtagh's *Australia: The Catholic Chapter* (1946). There are other significant differences. Murtagh studied the Catholic record in Australia's history to establish the importance and also the limits of Irish and Catholic contributions

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to that continuum. Suttor works with an intensely local focus, parish by parish and diocese by diocese. Men and ideas stud his pages, but the major events of Australian development appear only dimly at the frontier of the readers' vision.

John Dunmore Lang, a Scottish Presbyterian preacher, who was radical in politics and mentioned only once in Murtagh, is examined as an external architect of Australian Catholicism in Suttor's book. The author traces the successive struggles within the Church against secular forces and for control of the Church in the new land, the English Catholics being turned out by the earthy, contentious Irish clergy. Then, among the latter, a division developed between the narrow Catholic Church in embattled Ireland and a more distinctively Australian Roman Catholic viewpoint.

The book, at its best, makes fresh and interesting interpretations. Suttor sees the Eureka fight as the event that married the Irish Catholics to social and political radicalism. He names the 1850's as the era when the masses abandoned Christianity (earlier than in England or Germany), sentimental religion or none replacing doctrinal belief. The pattern of Australian Catholicism, Suttor affirms, finally emerged in Brisbane, the National Church growing out of Irish Catholicism and aloof both from egalitarianism and from the ideas of England's century. The price was tribalism and a decline of Roman Catholic culture.

Suttor just avoids a history-as-it-ought-to-have-been by not quite insisting on Catholic values as the basic scale by which to measure Australia. The book becomes rather gossipy as the author probes the lives of priests and laymen, some of whom could by no standards be viewed as significant in the shaping of Australia. There is much emphasis on the Catholic forces which walled the Church off from Australian radicalism, routed the humanistic Benedictines, and cut the psychological ties with Europe to make Australian Catholicism, however inappropriately, a monument to the rebel Irish clergy.

Colgate University CHARLES S. BLACKTON

ILLIBERAL LIBERAL: ROBERT LOWE IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1842–1850. By *Ruth Knight*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 299. $12.00.)

ANY study of Robert Lowe's career in New South Wales during the 1840's has substantial obstacles to surmount. On the purely practical side there is the paucity of manuscript material, the most notable gaps owing to Lowe's destruction of his own correspondence. Then there is the fact that decision-making power still rested in London, and that colonial politicians, however able and energetic, operated on the margins of that power. But above all there is the personality of Lowe himself. An able advocate of popular causes, a gifted lawyer, and a parliamentary orator of the highest rank both in the Legislative Council of New South Wales and in Westminster, he was also a man whom a political associate described as "a sort of psychological monster,—all head and no heart."

Considering these difficulties, Mrs. Knight has been on the whole successful in her account of Lowe's eight years in New South Wales. She has made admirable use of the letters of Lowe's wife to fill the gap left by Lowe's destruction of his own, and she has drawn on the records of the debates in the Legislative

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Council, the minutes of the Executive Council, and the press and pamphlet material of the colony to obtain a fresh view of much of the political controversy of the period. It is somewhat surprising, however, that the author's citations do not include such standard works on the period as Roberts' *The Squatting Age in Australia* or Melbourne's *Early Constitutional Development in Australia.*

Many in New South Wales felt that Lowe was consistent only in his inconsistency. He supported and then opposed the squatters; he favored and then resisted the renewal of convict transportation; he sought and received the votes of the working classes of Sydney and then rebuffed their legislative program with chill brusqueness. Thus it was that, though he had championed many liberal causes, he left Sydney with few, if any, to regret his departure. Yet behind the seeming inconsistency there was a stern adherence to the doctrines of open competition and the open market, plus a predilection for a Benthamite meritocracy. The author might have given added dimension to her study had she stressed the conflict between Lowe's elitist views and the essential egalitarianism of Australian society emerging from the old exclusivist-emancipist quarrel. She has done, nevertheless, a more satisfactory job of explaining Lowe's conduct in his Australian career than any others who have written of it.

This book sells for $6.00 in Australia; it is ridiculous that its price in the United States is almost twice as high.

University of Maryland DONALD C. GORDON

Americas

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS, 1965. INDEX 1963–1965. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American repositories with assistance from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. [The Library of Congress Catalogs.] (Washington, D. C.: the Library. 1966. Pp. xxiii, 701. $15.00.)

THIS fourth volume of the *Catalog* marks the first of what the Library of Congress intends as an annual publication. Until now the *Catalog* has been published irregularly. The initial volume, covering collections reported for 1959–1961, appeared in 1962. Those collections reported in 1962 were published in 1964, along with a separately bound cumulative index. The 1963–1964 supplement, containing its own index, came out in 1965 as the third volume. In this installment the admirably thorough index of names, places, and periods cumulates with that of the third volume.

The Library of Congress intends to follow this annual cumulative pattern so that a user would have to consult only the latest volume and that published in 1964 to have a comprehensive guide to the *Catalog*. While such a system may appear useful, one wonders if it is necessary or even feasible. This volume for 1965 contains 701 pages, only 229 of which list manuscript collections. If an index cumulated for only two volumes consumes two-thirds of the book, as further volumes appear the index will overwhelm the work. While the index apparatus gives such a publication its utility, it should not crowd out its *raison d'être*. It

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would seem far more logical to have each annual volume contain its own index and to publish a separate index cumulation when the number of entries warrants it. Those who use the *Catalog* should not be in such a rush as to necessitate this costly annual index cumulation. The funds could be better spent in facilitating the reporting of manuscript collections rather than in repetitive indexing. And the user would certainly get more for his money if in each volume the ratio of reported collections to index were increased, which is not to say that the cost of any portion of the *Catalog* has been unreasonable.

The present volume lists 2,022 collections from 120 repositories, bringing the total collections described to 16,397, and the repositories included to 492. Among the sixty-seven repositories reporting for the first time is the National Archives, which lists some private papers. It probably surprises many American historians to learn that the National Archives has manuscripts unrelated to the official functions of the government. This point illustrates the great usefulness of the *Catalog* and similar finding aids in publicizing material in unexpected places.

National Historical Publications Commission WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

CONSTITUTIONALISM IN AMERICA: ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS. By *Arthur E. Sutherland.* [Blaisdell Book in Political Science.] (New York: Blaisdell Publishing Company. 1965. Pp. xv, 618. $9.50.)

BETWEEN 1927 and 1928, when Arthur Sutherland served as secretary to Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the present, when as Bussey Professor of Law at Harvard he publishes this history of constitutionalism in America, more than a hundred volumes have been added to the set of *United States Reports,* wherein the opinions of the Supreme Court are recorded. With new decisions shouldering old precedents aside so rapidly, the temptation among writers on constitutional questions is to treat the developments of the last few decades as if they had rendered the distant past all but completely irrelevant.

This is not Sutherland's view. This book begins with an analysis of Magna Carta, the text of which, newly translated by the author, is printed in full. The first hundred pages are devoted to the constitutional history of England to the end of the seventeenth century. The reader is more than halfway through the book before he reaches nineteenth-century America and the chief justiceship of John Marshall. This is a significant, even a courageous, redistribution of emphasis. It is one that I emphatically approve.

Nevertheless, Sutherland remains essentially a legal writer rather than a historian in the sense of Frederic W. Maitland, Charles H. McIlwain, or Edward S. Corwin. Where McIlwain and Corwin start with the ideas of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, and go on to discuss the currents of thought that flowed across medieval Europe, Sutherland stays within the relatively narrower limits of strictly English legal history, tracing it through statutes, court decisions, and other precedents that lawyers are accustomed to recognize.

The second half of the book deals even more closely with traditional legal sources. The first fifty-six years of the nineteenth century, for example, are discussed in a single chapter entitled "National Government and Decline of State

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Independence: 1800–1856," which concerns itself almost exclusively with the decisions of the Supreme Court under Marshall and Taney. The four-page summary of general history that concludes the chapter comes almost as an afterthought.

Occasionally also the author allows the present-mindedness of the legal profession to distort his otherwise sound sense of historical proportion. A lawyer with eyes focused on the present might perhaps consider the precedents created under Marshall and Taney entitled to five times as much attention as should be given to the shakier doctrines evolved in the less spacious days of Waite, Fuller, White, and Taft. The historian, however, cannot afford to dismiss so lightly the doctrines that eventually failed to meet the test of time. Their emergence and their temporary triumph are as much the stuff of history as their ultimate repudiation.

While too great a preoccupation with the present may subtly distort the interpretation of history, too studied a neglect of present implications can likewise destroy historical understanding. Skepticism becomes sheer nihilism when it begins to deny all real connection between past and present. Similar issues do recur, hidden under dissimilar sets of facts. History would have no continuity, the fabric of society no existence, were there not such linkages. Through the weight it accords to precedent, the law keeps these continuities of history at the forefront of attention. Writing as a lawyer, Sutherland brings to his task a mind professionally schooled to penetrate to the issues beneath the facts and to the similarities that exist among seemingly divergent situations. His pages are crowded with enlightening but little-known examples of the interplay between earlier precedents and current adjudication. Upon this aspect of history—its closely knit continuity—Sutherland's book casts steady, clarifying illumination.

University of Washington ARTHUR BESTOR

AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORIES AND HISTORIANS. By *Robert Allen Skotheim*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 326. $6.95.)

THE subject of this book is somewhat more narrowly defined than the title suggests. "Certain recurrent problems of method and characteristic themes of interpretation are selected for discussion," Mr. Skotheim explains in the introduction, "but no attempt is made to assess the accuracy or inaccuracy of the histories." The chief problem for twentieth-century intellectual historians, in Skotheim's view, has been the difficult one of accounting for the role of ideas, a task at which neither the progressives (Robinson, Beard, Becker, Parrington, and Curti) nor their critics (Morison, Miller, and Gabriel) have had notable success. At first glance progressive history seems to be characterized by the tendency to treat ideas as "creatures" rather than "creators" of environment. Yet a more careful analysis, says Skotheim, reveals that all of them in one way or another allowed for the operation of autonomous ideas: Robinson by distinguishing between "rationalizations" stemming from environmental influences and "creative ideas" to which he assigned an independent function, and Beard and Becker by employing similar devices for separating ideas of which they approved from those they did

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not. Nor, according to Skotheim, have historians like Morison, Miller, and Gabriel, who have challenged the progressives' interpretation, always made a convincing case for autonomy. He concludes that "Morison's denigration of nonintellectual environmental influences was not accompanied by analyses of ideas in depth in his histories" and that in the second volume of *The New England Mind* Miller in fact "frequently tried to relate changes in ideas to changes in society." It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that Skotheim's younger historians—Boorstin, Persons, Hofstadter, Goldman, and others—have not converged from opposite methodological poles, but have simply retreated from "the panoramic sweep *which is organized around ideas*."

Skotheim's analysis is marked by two limitations. First, his refusal to judge the results of differing approaches to the history of ideas and his preoccupation with methodology lead to conclusions like: "Curti may in fact be viewed, at the risk of losing sight of his individuality to be sure, as a composite of Eggleston, Robinson, Beard, Becker, and Parrington—a composite in which the common features of all are retained and the unique characteristics of each are missing." Parrington's portrait of Jonathan Edwards is set against Perry Miller's, Curti's sketch of William James against Ralph Gabriel's, without comment. No doubt substantive judgment would have involved the author in the difficult business of explaining his own views on the function of ideas in history, but without some measure of involvement on his part the essay loses much of its point. The second limitation of the book is its wearisome style. These two liabilities make *American Intellectual Histories and Historians* a disappointing book.

Brown University JOHN L. THOMAS

AMERICA'S FRONTIER HERITAGE. By *Ray Allen Billington*. [Histories of the American Frontier.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1966. Pp. xiv, 302. $7.95.)

OVER the past twenty years historians and critics have turned away from the often futile debates about the Turner frontier hypothesis to speak instead of the frontier "myth" or "image" in American history or to stress the relation of the frontier to "mobility" and "abundance" themes. *America's Frontier Heritage* reflects this trend, for while it contains a useful, succinct review and bibliography of all the recent scholarly literature about the frontier concept, it is really a lively, witty, and intelligent dialogue between social scientists now writing on the subject and Ray Allen Billington, who is one of the most eloquent and respected defenders of the Turner thesis.

Although Billington focuses the book on two familiar questions—what was the frontier experience, and what has been its impact on the American character—he breaks away from Turner's often vague concepts and faulty methodology to give us his own more precise definitions of the frontier as specific place and process. He also never claims that the frontier experience offered more than one major explanation for American behavioral patterns in the nineteenth century. But most important and refreshing, he uses the language, concepts, and methods of the behavioral scientists themselves to discuss the two questions.

However new the terminology and method of analysis, some of the argu-

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ments still echo or disguise Turner and other known scholars. Yet it is more accurate to say that Billington fair-mindedly questions, limits, and redefines virtually every claim made for the original frontier and safety valve theories. He finds, for example, that none of such so-called distinctive American traits as social and political democracy, nationalism, individualism, and wastefulness were peculiarly frontier traits, but he feels the frontier generally deepened or so exaggerated them until they were "observable to visitors from other lands." This exaggeration had the effect of making the pioneer seem "more American" and led Americans generally to associate these qualities with the West and to build a "myth" around them.

This example but illustrates the book's major theme: that the frontier experience created a difference of degree rather than of mutation. Billington concludes, therefore, that it is impossible to measure the frontier impact on American traits and institutions, but to me he relates the frontier experience to American character traits more persuasively than Turner without ever claiming that our character was a result of the frontier experience.

Inevitably the attempt to discuss so much in one volume results in questionable generalizations and omissions. But even if his coverage of all important questions is incomplete or lapses into stereotyping, Billington has done us a major service by breaking the old mold of debate about the frontier and moving the discussion into new and more fruitful channels. This achievement alone would make it a significant and welcome study. Any serious scholarly discussion of the frontier in American history must now start with *America's Frontier Heritage*.

Yale University HOWARD R. LAMAR

THE CATAWBA INDIANS: THE PEOPLE OF THE RIVER. By *Douglas Summers Brown*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 400. $10.00.)

WHY Iroquois war parties went out relentlessly to fight the "Flatheads" or Catawba of the Carolinas and persisted until their near extermination is one of the unexplained facts of the eighteenth century. It is said that the French, to further expansion in the Mississippi watershed, inspired and armed the Iroquois to pin down tribes who traded with the English colonies east of the mountains. But why the Catawba, who fought most of the southeastern neighbors as well, carried raids for scalps or captives for torture to the headwaters of the Allegheny and the Susquehanna is scarcely explained by reference to colonialism. Indian warfare of the eastern woodlands had gained a momentum of its own. To ascribe the Catawba wars to trade or to colonial politics is like identifying Vietcong insurgency with Communist dreams of world domination and South Vietnamese factionalism with a search for democratic institutions, when intervention by a civilized state is equally powerless to stop guerrilla warfare.

The sources bearing on the near extinction of the Catawba in the former struggle have been assembled by Mrs. Brown from tidewater colonial documents in a thorough and faithful manner. Nothing has escaped her, be it folklore, historical tradition, archaeology, ethnology, or history; it is all there. But the book lacks structure and a point of view that would make Catawba history intelligible

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to the reader. I kept putting the book aside until I began using it as a guide to sources on the afore-mentioned struggle. One finds a good account of the attempts of colonial governors of Carolina and New York to mediate the long-standing feud known as the Flathead war. They made two unsuccessful efforts to end it by bringing the warring parties to Albany in 1740 and 1751. Brown relies on Carolina sources without reference to the New York Colonial Documents or the Sir William Johnson Papers, and her account is valuable if you know the latter. From the same sources she attempts a life and times of the Young Warrior and King Hagler, both appealing characters who participated in the savage struggle. She follows the Catawba to their decline, dispersion, and recovery from the last living informant on Siouan speech to mention of their present mixed-blooded descendants. The book is replete with bibliography, index, maps, illustrations, and end papers, which are all exemplary.

New York State Museum, Albany WILLIAM N. FENTON

THE REINTERPRETATION OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF JOHN EDWIN POMFRET. Edited by *Ray Allen Billington*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1966. Pp. viii, 264. $7.50.)

THIS volume honors a man who was a founder of the Institute of Early American History and Culture and director of the Huntington Library. Allan Nevins has written a charming sketch of John E. Pomfret as a scholar and administrator; A. L. Rowse contributes a shorter, disappointing piece on the Huntington; and John M. Steadman has compiled a bibliography of Pomfret's writings.

Most of the other chapters are historiographical essays on aspects of early American history; together they provide a good introduction to the recent literature in this field as well as an unusual degree of unity for a volume of this sort. Edmund S. Morgan emphasizes the literature on Puritanism and intellectual history in his essay on New England; Frederick B. Tolles pays particular attention to recent biographical studies and research opportunities in the Middle Colonies; and Clarence L. Ver Steeg presents an ambitious and balanced evaluation of historical writing on the political, social, and economic history of the colonial South.

Other essays are topical: Lester Cappon writes on publishing, editing, and archives; Walter Muir Whitehill on historic sites archaeology; and Lawrence H. Gipson on the imperial approach to early American history. Gipson's brief piece is both a lucid explanation of this influential school and a tribute to Beer, Osgood, and Andrews. By means of a survey of revolutionary historiography from William Gordon to the present, Merrill Jensen presents a defense of the proposition that the American Revolution was revolutionary and a critique of some of the most recent revisionist writings. Jack P. Greene discusses colonial politics and political structures and again displays a special talent in the preciseness with which he evaluates the contributions and weaknesses of writings in this field. Finally, without reference to historiography, Douglass G. Adair analyzes the influence that the reading of history had upon the founding fathers, and Max Savelle places the settlement and diplomacy of the New World into the frame-

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work of European affairs. The latter is a thoughtful and suggestive interpretive essay that merits the attention of students of both Europe and America between 1492 and 1763.

Lehigh University JOHN CARY

THE GENTLE RADICAL: A BIOGRAPHY OF ROGER WILLIAMS. By *Cyclone Covey*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. viii, 273. $5.95.)

ON the title page this book is described as a biography. Actually, it covers less than half of Williams' long life and stops short of the year 1640. Hence it does not carry the story of Williams' role in the development of Providence Plantations beyond the first settlement; nor does it deal with the two trips to England, the debate with the Quakers, or King Philip's War. The controversy with Cotton over toleration is handled indirectly, as it may cast light on the earlier episode of the departure from the Bay Colony, rather than in the context of the actual publication of the *Bloudy Tenent*. For a biographical treatment of Williams' whole career, Ola Winslow's *Master Roger Williams* is much to be preferred. To be sure, in the first chapter, Mr. Covey avows a somewhat more ambitious goal for the book than a biography in the narrow sense: to use the career of Williams as an "integrative thread" for relating the major developments of the early decades of New England settlement. Edmund S. Morgan has shown in *The Puritan Dilemma* how effectively such an undertaking may be accomplished if Winthrop is used as the pivotal figure. But Winthrop was central to these developments in a way that Williams was not, and so the present book wanders off into a narration of Bay Colony history, and of Indian troubles in particular, in which the focus is lost because the role of Williams was peripheral.

Hence, despite the fact that the author is thoroughly knowledgeable with respect to his materials, the book is neither satisfactory as a biography nor successful as a reassessment of the times in which Williams lived. Furthermore, the absence of documentation limits its use by scholars.

Harvard Divinity School CONRAD WRIGHT

A LOSS OF MASTERY: PURITAN HISTORIANS IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *Peter Gay*. [Jefferson Memorial Lectures.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 164. $4.50.)

IT is the chief virtue of these essays that Peter Gay approaches colonial Puritanism as a historian of modern Europe who is neither a debunker nor a pious celebrant. If, as he finds, the colonial Puritans failed to produce a historiography comparable to that being written by their European contemporaries, it was a tragic failure attributable in part at least to the loss of contact with the fresh currents of European secular culture in the later seventeenth century. Of the three historians under review, the earliest, Bradford, whose history of Plymouth was a record of his own times, is found the most worthy of respect. The second, Cotton Mather, wrote his *Magnalia* with the pious intent of praising famous men and deploring the degeneracy of the times. The last, Edwards, in his *History of the Work of Redemption*, completed the tragedy by turning back from the

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budding rationalism and empiricism of the eighteenth century to an outmoded supernaturalism consisting of the application of medieval periodization and Biblical prophecies to history.

Viewed from Gay's perspective, colonial Puritanism with its "mythical" style of thinking was unable to see the past in terms worthy of the attention of a modern critical historian. Relatively few of Gay's pages are concerned with the substance of Puritan historiography; most of them provide a general analysis of Puritan historical thought as a function of the mythical mentality. There is even some doubt whether Edwards' work should not more properly be regarded as theological eschatology rather than as history. But it serves Gay's purpose and clinches his case against the Puritans as historians.

These lectures raise again the old question whether American Puritanism may most usefully be viewed as the futile attempt to freeze a moment in time and preserve it to all eternity or as but a single phase in a process containing the seeds of its own transformation. By choosing the former interpretation Gay leaves as many questions as he settles. The historians may have remained loyal to the original Puritan objectives, but others were busily modifying them. Stoddard and Robert Calef, both innovators, flourished in the heyday of Mather's power, and the ink was scarcely dry on the *Magnalia* before John Wise was introducing Pufendorf to American readers. Chauncy considered himself to be a better Puritan than Edwards, whose evangelical zeal the Bostonian regarded as revolutionary. If these men were authentic products of Puritanism, why were the historians so consistently on the conservative side? Perhaps the answer to that question might also illuminate the reasons for the relatively minor role of history in Puritan thought.

Longer than any of the four lectures is an excellent critical bibliographical essay.

University of Iowa STOW PERSONS

COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA: A POLITICAL HISTORY, 1663–1763. By *M. Eugene Sirmans*. Foreword by *Wesley Frank Craven*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1966. Pp. xiii, 394. $10.00.)

THIS thoroughly researched, carefully organized, and well-written monograph by the late Gene Sirmans (he died on August 30, 1965, at the age of thirty-one) is the best study that has appeared on the political history of colonial South Carolina. It is also one of the most scholarly studies of any American colony.

The book begins with a chapter on "English Background, 1663–1670," in which the author emphasizes the significant role of Lord Ashley in the promotion of what became South Carolina. He maintains that Ashley was not an impractical utopian "bent on establishing feudalism in a virgin land," but rather a practical man "trying to establish a balanced government." In contrast with older historians, Sirmans shows that the Fundamental Constitutions provided for a policy of religious toleration that profoundly affected the colony's history for half a century by attracting various religious dissenters to it and that the land

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system proposed in the constitutions had far-reaching effects and hastened the development of a landed gentry in South Carolina.

Part I of the volume is devoted to "The Age of the Goose Creek Men, 1670–1712," during which Barbadian immigrants, settled near Goose Creek, a tributary of the Cooper River, dominated South Carolina politics. These men, members of the Church of England, consistently opposed proprietary policy, particularly that of religious toleration. They also engaged in Indian slave trade and trade with pirates, both of which were condemned by the proprietors. After 1700 the proprietors reversed their policy on religious toleration and attempted to establish the Church of England in the colony. This action revived factionalism and caused a realignment of parties, the dissenters going into the opposition and the Goose Creek men shifting to the side of the proprietors.

Part II, "Breakdown and Recovery, 1712–1743," deals with a very unsettled period, chiefly Indian wars and the rebellion that culminated in the overthrow of proprietary rule in 1719. Paper money, a minor issue before this date, became the major controversy in the mid-twenties and underlay much of the factionalism for the next two decades.

Part III, "The Rise of the Commons House of Assembly, 1743–1763," is a splendid analysis of the threefold struggle for power among the governor, council, and the Commons House of Assembly, with the Commons House gradually emerging as the dominant force in the provincial government.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina HUGH T. LEFLER

THE REVEREND JOHN CLAYTON: A PARSON WITH A SCIENTIFIC MIND. HIS SCIENTIFIC WRITINGS AND OTHER RELATED PAPERS. Edited with a short biographical sketch by *Edmund Berkeley* and *Dorothy Smith Berkeley*. [Virginia Historical Society Documents, Volume VI.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1965. Pp. lxiii, 170. $6.50.)

JOHN Clayton (1657–1725) was one of those clergymen-physicians with strong interests in natural philosophy and natural history who appear with some frequency in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England and America. This volume brings together his surviving writings and clearly ends the confusion between him and other John Claytons with Virginia connections, most notably the eighteenth-century naturalist who was the subject of an earlier study by the Berkeleys.

Clayton was not of first rank in the science of his time, but he corresponded with those who were, such as Robert Boyle and Nehemiah Grew. More than this, he participated in a number of interesting scientific studies. Clayton made improvements on Denis Papin's digester (the original of the pressure cooker or autoclave) and, with it, studied the pressure of gases at a time when Boyle's work was not widely known. He also followed Boyle in studies of specific gravity and, in further chemical activity, is accounted the first to distill illuminating gas from coal.

In the area of natural history Clayton contributed to Allen Moulin's anatomical studies of birds, although his most significant work lay in his accounts of

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American phenomena, which were the result of a short stay in Virginia as rector of James City Parish. In these letters Clayton shows much less credulity than many early authors who dealt with American plants and animals. His criticisms of and suggestions for mending Virginia agricultural practices are particularly revealing.

Most of the items collected in this volume have been printed before in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society or, as is the case with Clayton's copy of the journal of Batts and Fallam, in a number of modern versions. The editors have used manuscript copies where they exist and have thereby eliminated a number of errors that had escaped or been created by their seventeenth-century predecessors.

The Berkeleys have done an admirable job, a model for others who undertake similar tasks. Their introduction gives a useful account of Clayton's life and places him in scientific perspective. The annotation is excellent for identifying obscure persons (although better-known Governor Leonard Calvert of Maryland is botched) and obsolete scientific terms. Students of early American natural history should be particularly grateful to the Berkeleys for bringing their skills as professional biologists to the identification of Clayton's plants and animals.

University of Delaware GEORGE F. FRICK

HENRY NEWMAN'S SALZBURGER LETTERBOOKS. Transcribed and edited by *George Fenwick Jones*. [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 8.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 626. $12.00.)

IN 1731 the reigning prince-archbishop of Salzburg resolved to expel all Protestants from his domain. Before the exodus was over nearly a quarter of the population, between twenty and thirty thousand people, had been forced to depart. The large proportion of the exiles found haven in the territories of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg and king of Prussia. A small number were persuaded to seek a new home in Georgia, where they arrived in four different contingents between 1734 and 1741. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, operating out of London, initially raised funds to aid these displaced Lutherans as they passed through Augsburg to other parts of Germany. When the Georgia project was adopted, the society, with Henry Newman as secretary, assumed responsibility for making the necessary arrangements, including financial support, to transport and settle Salzburg Lutherans in Georgia.

The present volume reproduces the voluminous correspondence that was involved. Much of the correspondence deals with routine matters, but in so doing illuminates many facets of day-to-day life in the eighteenth century. The introduction is brief, and the explanatory notes are limited in scope and number.

Colgate Rochester Divinity School WINTHROP S. HUDSON

RELIGION AND THE AMERICAN MIND: FROM THE GREAT AWAKENING TO THE REVOLUTION. By *Alan Heimert*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 668. $12.50.)

UNTIL the appearance of this book, we lacked a modern sustained study of the implications of the Great Awakening for the second half of the eighteenth cen-

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tury. Other historians have made important suggestions about this subject, but none have approached it with Mr. Heimert's sweep, nor attained his penetration. Avowedly revisionist, this book holds that the central divisions in American thought for a generation or more after the revival of the 1740's developed over the issue of the Great Awakening. Two religious parties emerged in these years: "one consisted of the opponents of the revival, the other of its advocates, each of which over the succeeding years evolved a religious philosophy consistent with its involvement in and attitude toward the Awakening." This characterization of the religious history of the post-Awakening period is not new, but Heimert's analysis of the intellectual positions is. Advocates of the revival, the "Calvinists" in Heimert's terminology, took their inspiration and many of their ideas from Jonathan Edwards. Unlike many of their Puritan fathers, they rejected a cataclysmic history and urged instead a historical optimism that held that men can forward the progress of history and, by their own efforts, give momentum to the coming of the millennium. On this point Heimert's reconstruction of the post-millennial position is fresh and important. This millennialist impulse persisted, though transformed, throughout the remainder of the century, partly because the Calvinists thought of America as the ideal society playing a pre-eminent role in history. Heimert explains the Calvinists' conceptions of America and its promise largely through a discussion of their ideas about liberty and Christian union. His comments on these ideas are among the most suggestive in the book.

Opponents of the Awakening and of its continuing influence in America constituted the group Heimert designates as the "Liberals." They espoused a set of ideas in conflict with the evangelical scheme on virtually every score. Though rationalists in religion, they held a pessimistic view of human capacities. They did not share the revivalists' millennial expectations; nor did they admire the tendency of their social ideas.

The full implications of these positions, the author argues, were revealed in the years of the American Revolution. The Calvinist position, subtly transformed since the Awakening, had become by 1776 an ideology with strong revolutionary, democratic, and nationalistic overtones; the Liberal, an ideology of political conservatism and social elitism. In this account the heirs of Edwards gave the Revolution its justification and direction, and his analysis of their rhetoric suggests that the impulses of the Awakening and the values of the revivalists helped release the moral energies of Americans in their struggle for independence.

This brief account of Heimert's argument fails to convey its subtlety and to suggest the massive scholarship on which it rests. It also cannot enter in any detail reservations about Heimert's understanding of some of the evidence. Part I, "Awakening," seems most persuasive to me; Part II, "Revolution," while generally convincing, needs some qualification, since the writings of such men as Chauncy, Mayhew, and William Smith can yield different meanings from those found by Heimert. Nor can this review deal properly with much of Heimert's method—a suggestive analysis of rhetoric. What can be said with certainty is that this book is provocative in the best sense: it redefines the terms of major problems, it offers its own substantial answers to them, and it points the way for other investigations. All this is accomplished with verve and sensitivity.

University of California, Berkeley ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF

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GEORGE WASHINGTON'S MAP MAKER: A BIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT ERSKINE. By *Albert H. Heusser.* Edited with an introduction by *Hubert G. Schmidt.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 268. $10.00.)

As the annals of the Revolution continue to unfold, the remarkable range of George Washington's active interests emerges in bolder relief. Having been a surveyor in his youth, he was naturally concerned with this aspect of the war in a special way. During most of the conflict Robert Erskine was the surveyor general of the Continental Army, and more than one hundred of his colorful maps have recently been put on display by the New-York Historical Society.

This account of Erskine and his activities was written by Albert H. Heusser, a New Jersey historian who died in 1929. Professor Schmidt of Rutgers University has edited this manuscript and added pertinent notes. Although the book adds information on map making for the American side, it is marred by vague generalities, obscure local references, and such comments as "he must have learned," "in all likelihood," partly the result of a dearth of biographical material.

Robert Erskine was born at Dunfermline, Scotland, also the birthplace of Andrew Carnegie. Erskine was well educated; he settled in London and soon failed in business. But he became so well versed in mathematics and mechanics that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, being endorsed for the honor by Benjamin Franklin, among others. Erskine was sent to America in 1771 as manager of the Ringwood Iron Mines in northern New Jersey, a task that he performed so well that he later came to the attention of George Washington. Perhaps proximity was the main reason why Erskine took the patriot side. His mines aided their effort, especially in helping to produce the huge chain across the Hudson River. He was able to continue his business activities and draw maps for Washington as well. His letters, set forth in the book, reveal interesting details of this technical side of the war. When Erskine died from a fever in 1780, Washington termed him "a useful and valuable officer."

New York University NORTH CALLAHAN

1775: ANOTHER PART OF THE FIELD. By *Ivor Noël Hume.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xxviii, 465, xii. $8.95.)

THIS chatty, occasionally urbane, and very handsomely produced volume is a mixture of detailed political narrative and discursive comments on funerals, slavery, newspapers, child rearing, clothing, and other aspects of life in Virginia in 1775. As the author notes in the preface, it is intended not as a "history" but as a "chronicle" that would impart "some . . . impression of what it was like to live through the year 1775 . . . in Virginia." As a chronicle, it is largely successful. Based upon intensive research in a wide variety of sources, it provides the most comprehensive treatment ever published of Virginia's public life during 1775. As an account of the everyday life of revolutionary Virginians for the same period, however, it is less satisfactory because the author is largely concerned only with the external and manifest and never, therefore, manages to convey any sense of the tensions produced within Virginians by the stunning developments of that year.

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Because it contains little factual or interpretive material not already familiar to students of early American history and no new hypotheses about why Virginians responded as they did to the crucial events of 1775 or how those responses and events related to the broader phenomenon of the coming of the American Revolution, the volume will primarily interest the lay reader.

Johns Hopkins University JACK P. GREENE

THE SINEWS OF WAR: ARMY LOGISTICS, 1775–1953. By *James A. Huston.* [Army Historical Series.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1966. Pp. xxiii, 789. $5.75.)

"Logistics," asserts Hal C. Pattison in the foreword to this book, "is a subject which few people, including professional soldiers, have thoroughly understood. Yet logistics must support . . . tactical operations and the day-to-day life of the Army in the same way that a well-run household supports the people who live in it." An authoritative account of this key element in American military endeavor has long been needed.

Now, James A. Huston has creditably filled this lacuna with a large and able volume covering the logistical aspects of supply, transportation, service, and evacuation and hospitalization from the Revolution through the Korean War. And it is an important, even vital function of which Huston writes. "Today," he declares, "as a basis for decisions of public policy and military action, civilians as well as the military require some experience in military logistics."

This detailed study is strongest on the history of twentieth-century logistical efforts, although the formative experiences in the earlier periods are adequately discussed. The organization is perhaps overmechanical, and the style is occasionally stilted. In addition, the work is not as heavily footnoted as the scholar might wish, and a number of significant sources, monographs, and biographical studies are missing from the otherwise full bibliography. The author, by dealing with a few arbitrarily selected points, is quite critical of Washington, Eisenhower, and others—perhaps unfairly so.

Nevertheless, the book's assets are many. Huston is especially persuasive in elucidating the problems and imperishable achievements of Winfield Scott in the Mexican War; in illuminating the logistical feats accomplished in the Civil War by McClellan, Haupt, and Meigs; in assessing the seriocomic supply problems of the Spanish-American War and the massive ones of the AEF; in assaying the inexorable logistical difficulties encountered by the Western Allies in their push to the Siegfried Line in World War II; and in his analyses of similar problems, such as the efforts to overcome the ammunition shortage, in the Korean War.

Despite some shortcomings, this competent work should long remain the standard general survey of American military logistics from George Washington to George Marshall.

Pennsylvania State University WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

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BENJAMIN LUNDY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO FREEDOM. By *Merton L. Dillon.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 285. $6.75.)

THE period between the American Revolution and the founding of the American Antislavery Society in 1833 is still "the neglected period of antislavery" in the United States. Sixty years ago Alice Adams wrote a volume covering most of the period; in 1964 Robert McColley published his *Slavery in Jeffersonian Virginia.* Professor Dillon's work is the first full-length study of the life and work of Benjamin Lundy, the most important figure in the antislavery movement before 1830. It fills in many of the long-existing gaps, especially in the years following the Jeffersonian presidency.

Lundy was a restless, impatient critic of every form of injustice, but his deep commitment to the cause of human freedom was so complete that he neglected everything else, including his family. He was a pioneer opponent of slavery, whose career represents virtually every phase of the antislavery movement. He was an early supporter of the program to colonize Negroes in Africa. Later, he favored settlements for Negroes in Canada, Mexico, or the western territories. Finally, he came to recognize the futility of all such schemes. For a time he was a gradualist, but before the end of his career he was an immediatist. At first he used his talents merely to persuade his fellow men that slavery was wrong, but he was one of the earliest advocates of political action to abolish slavery.

Dillon has succeeded admirably in portraying Lundy as a single-minded, selfless crusader against slavery. Early in his life he gave up all pretense of being a saddler and chose the unpopular career of abolitionist and reformer. Dogged by poverty and poor health, he regarded no sacrifice as too great for the cause he espoused. But he was no doctrinaire, intolerant crusader. Unlike Garrison, whom he inspired and under whose guidance Garrison became a crusading editor, Lundy acknowledged that his way was not the only way to fight slavery. In the pages of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* which he founded, and in his writings and speeches, he invited others to fight slavery as they saw fit. Few of his own generation and still fewer in the next generation combined zeal and tolerance to the degree that he did. This work is a valuable addition to our understanding of the "neglected period."

University of Chicago JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

THE ARTIST IN AMERICAN SOCIETY: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1790–1860. By *Neil Harris.* (New York: George Braziller. 1966. Pp. xvi, 432. $7.50.)

PATRONS AND PATRIOTISM: THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE FINE ARTS IN THE UNITED STATES 1790–1860. By *Lillian B. Miller.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 335. $8.50.)

As contributions to the continuing rediscovery of American art in the nineteenth century, these two books are outstanding. Certainly the work by Neil Harris is one of the more significant recent studies of American culture, and Lillian Miller's monograph likewise adds considerably to our knowledge of the place of the artist in American society. Both books show the growing organi-

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zational and institutional patterns of artistic support in the crucial years of American artistic "take-off," 1790–1860. The view that the fine arts could not develop in the United States because of hostile soil can no longer be held.

The thick-textured, massively documented, and wide-ranging *Artist in American Society* focuses on the development of art as a profession in the United States during the formative years, dealing with such topics as the romantic heritage and assumptions, the rhetoric of art discussion, art and nationalism, moral evaluations, European travel and Old World experiences, the domestic beautification campaign, patterns of artist life, communal patronage, alienation and identification, and professional self-consciousness. Here, then, is a study of the "lengthy and articulate process" of "the legitimization of artistic energies in America." Much of this work is devoted to the impact of Europe on American artists and their complex responses to what they discovered was the place of art and art achievements abroad. Harris knows how to formulate meaningful questions, and it is a pleasure for the reader to follow him as he searches for his answers; his book moves far beyond earlier discussions of the social aspects of American art not only in scope but also in penetrating depth of analysis. This is a seminal study that should stimulate further sophisticated research in this area.

Patrons and Patriotism, which is concerned with the more limited topic of the encouragement of the fine arts in the United States, provides a wealth of detail illustrating in what ways and to what extent federal governmental assistance, community support, and private and group patronage developed to the mid-nineteenth century. Miller also touches on problems of aesthetics, taste, local art concerns, and national ideals. Although she has, I feel, slighted the European aspects of American patronage, her book is both a veritable encyclopedia of artists, patrons, and organizations and a well-documented case study of the emerging public attitude toward the value of the fine arts. The work is clearly written, and, like Harris', usefully and pleasantly illustrated. One only wishes that the publishers of both volumes had seen fit to make them yet more enjoyable by providing footnotes rather than the cumbersome endnotes.

New York University PAUL R. BAKER

YAZOO: LAW AND POLITICS IN THE NEW REPUBLIC. THE CASE OF *FLETCHER* V. *PECK*. By *C. Peter Magrath*. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 243. $6.00.)

PLACING the celebrated Marshall decision in *Fletcher* v. *Peck* in its socioeconomic setting and relating it to the politics of the early national period, the author has provided a model treatment of a constitutional case. The facts behind *Fletcher* v. *Peck* are in the best tradition of *opéra bouffe*. In a transaction involving the sale of 35,000,000 acres, nearly all of Alabama and Mississippi, for a mere half-million dollars, virtually an entire state legislature was bribed. Despite disavowals, the strong circumstantial evidence offered by Mr. Magrath makes the charge of bribery a thoroughly convincing one. Notions of conflict of interest being honored in the breach in those days, the only element that heightens the parade of colorful figures involved in the scandal is the lofty stations they

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occupied. The backers of the new Yazoo companies included two United States senators, a United States Supreme Court judge, and a territorial governor, and no one in the end seems to have lost anything.

What gave the case a national dimension was that it was brought to the Supreme Court as a result of the efforts of the New England purchasers of Yazoo lands, and, as the author suggests, in some cases at least it is highly dubious that these Yankee buyers were entirely innocent. Some of them purchased knowing that they took the risk of the sale being invalidated for fraud. Complicating the regional politics of the Yazoo grants was the fact that the Jeffersonians, who might be expected to uphold a state legislature's absolutism, inherited New England's pro-Yazooish interest, which was to prove a divisive factor in Republican party politics.

What gives the case its long-term significance, according to the author, is that it not only broke new constitutional ground and stood as a leading precedent for regulating the relationship between government and business during most of the nineteenth century; it also showed how a potent interest group, whose values harmonized, or at least were not in conflict, with the values generally dominant on the Supreme Court, might count on succeeding in their litigation before the highest tribunal.

Marshall's decision indicates how much he was actually influenced by Alexander Hamilton's constitutional thought. Not only did Hamilton anticipate the Supreme Court's later assumption of powers for the federal government on the basis of the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution, the general welfare clause, and the commerce clause, but in a legal opinion rendered for a private client in 1796 he gave the first exposition of what eventually became a major constitutional interpretation of the contract clause: an act of a state legislature may have the quality of a legal contract, and it cannot be broken without violating the contract clause of the Constitution. While Magrath defends Marshall's application of the Hamiltonian contract line in this case on the ground that it did no violence to the national political consensus, he is far less critical of the legal reasoning behind the decision than other scholars. In holding that a grant made by a state and accepted by the grantee is in substance an executed contract, the obligation of which still continues, Marshall probably misconstrued the intention of the framers of the Constitution. Even granting that contracts entered into by a state came under the contracts clause, Marshall might well have in equity rescinded the contract for fraud.

Columbia University RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE WAGONMASTERS: HIGH PLAINS FREIGHTING FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF THE SANTA FE TRAIL TO 1880. By *Henry Pickering Walker*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 347. $5.95.)

FORTY-FIVE years ago I chose overland freighting as a subject for a Ph.D. dissertation, but upon investigation I concluded that the sources were too scant and scattered for practical utilization. Thus I took the overland mail as a topic, with

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ample accessible material primarily in government documents and California newspapers.

Now comes an author with the hardihood and perseverance to take the freighting subject. Through the passing decades some new material has emerged, but primarily his has been a long, wide, and deep search to ferret out original primary sources. The result is the first comprehensive and satisfactory treatment of the important subject.

The book is well organized. A preliminary discussion of water transportation, the character of the inland waters, and the types of boats employed is followed by chapters on the outfitting and destination points; the men in the business—entrepreneurs, wagon bosses, bullwhackers, mule skinners; the various wagons that carried the loads; and the draft animals—oxen, horses, and mules—with the advantages of each. Other chapters treat freighting on the principal routes to Santa Fe, Salt Lake City, Denver, and the Montana mines. One chapter is devoted to the federal government as freighter or customer, and one to the Indians as they affected hauling.

The main title is rather appealing, but it covers only one aspect of the subject treated. Walker has developed such rare aspects of the topic as freighting to Montana from Los Angeles and from Canada. The book is concerned more with factual information than with literary presentation. Numerous good illustrations, an excellent bibliography, and a good index are included.

Brigham Young University LeRoy R. Hafen

MILLSTONE AND SAW: THE ORIGINS OF NEENAH–MENASHA. By *Alice E. Smith*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1966. Pp. viii, 208. $5.50.)

Studies such as this are needed to understand better the extension of the American frontier. Just as taking up the land for farms was a step in that process, so the formation of towns was necessary in the growth pattern.

Millstone and Saw grew out of a project for the study of urban history, established at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1960, and Miss Smith is especially qualified as author because of her long and distinguished service to the society as a scholar and its director of research. It is a study of the growth patterns of a pair of typical small Wisconsin cities. Too often our information about urban development has concerned the big cities of America, which, starting as small towns, still had special advantages to make them grow large. Here we have two communities that have remained within their categories, and our evaluation of growth factors should, therefore, have greater validity than otherwise has been possible.

Neenah and Menasha are located at the lower end of Lake Winnebago where the Fox River divides and tumbles over twin rapids to form Doty Island. They are on the historic waterway traveled by Jolliet and Marquette on their first recorded passage from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. Settlement began in the 1830's, and the two towns experienced all the troubles of frontier communities struggling for life. Transportation was a pressing need, and the city founders

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struggled through successive stages of river improvement and plank and toll road building until the railroad solved their problem. With the exploitation of the power resources at the rapids, sawmills and surprisingly productive flour mills were built. As farming developed in the area, the towns took on more and more the color of service communities to supply the hinterland, although the wood products industry remained the backbone of community prosperity.

This volume carries the story to 1875; a second volume is planned to bring the account to current times. Its publication will be awaited with interest by all who are concerned with the frontier hypothesis in its application to urban development.

University of Minnesota, Duluth ARTHUR J. LARSEN

TIGERS OF TAMMANY: NINE MEN WHO RAN NEW YORK. By *Alfred Connable* and *Edward Silberfarb*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1967. Pp. 384. $6.95.)

THE authors of this volume are very knowledgeable about modern New York City politics: Edward Silberfarb is a reporter for a city newspaper; Alfred Connoble was a writer for former Mayor Robert Wagner and is presently working for Eugene Nickerson, chief executive of Nassau County, Long Island. For the period prior to their immediate knowledge, they seem to have gone to respectable pains to get their facts straight and their interpretations up to date. The result is a rather predictable book about Tammany Hall: lively, anecdotal, at times overwritten, full of colorful quotations, and, with the possible exception of the very recent period, of little scholarly value. Considering the fact that they enjoyed the cooperation and assistance of many Tammanyites, including such leaders as Carmine DeSapio, Edward Costikyan, and J. Raymond Jones, it is a pity the authors did not essay a more penetrating analysis of Tammany's operations. And, in view of the speed with which men are departing nowadays who remember the years of Charles Francis Murphy, it is unfortunate they did not attempt more with that "golden" era of the organization's history.

To tell Tammany's story, Connable and Silberfarb have shaped their narrative around its nine "arrogant Bosses": Aaron Burr, Martin Van Buren, Fernando Wood, William Marcy Tweed, "Honest John" Kelly, Richard Croker, Murphy, DeSapio, and Jones. A chapter is devoted to each man. In addition, there is an opening chapter relating the legend of Tammany and the founding of the society, and a chapter narrating the years of the interregnum between the death of Murphy and the accession of DeSapio. The organization and development of the book make sense except for the fact that Van Buren was not a New York City politician, much less a boss of Tammany. But perhaps it is unfair to criticize the authors for this error since many professional historians make the same mistake, particularly those concerned with the entrepreneurial intentions of the Jacksonians and therefore must connect Van Buren with the interests of the city and the desires of Wall Street bankers.

The authors conclude that Tammany's bosses were "essentially lonely figures caught in the whirlwinds of conflicting cultures and values." With their passing

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the qualities of government improved, but "the spice of political drama has almost disappeared. In the arena of politics there are few unashamed rascals left to corrupt us nor truly outraged reformers to save us."

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle ROBERT V. REMINI

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. By *Martin Duberman.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1966. Pp. xxii, 516. $8.00.)

JAMES Russell Lowell is remembered as a man of letters, a reformer, and a diplomat. But he does not loom large as a historical or literary figure because in none of his chosen roles did he achieve more than a secondary importance. In this definitive and well-written biography, Martin Duberman makes no real effort to dispute the conventional belief in Lowell's marginality. He seeks rather to rehabilitate Lowell as a man and as an intellectual and social type. "It is Lowell's qualities as a human being," he writes in his introduction, "which have most attracted me, and which most warrant rehabilitation." In the pages that follow he traces Lowell's career with style, candor, and discernment. Duberman is fully aware of the literary and intellectual shortcomings of his subject. Lowell was given, he admits, to a "judicious shutting of the eyes," or to "bland exhortation," when faced with difficult intellectual problems. In his prose, probably the most enduring side of his literary work, he "had trouble sustaining a point of view or working through a theme." In short, he had, in many respects, a second-rate mind. Yet Duberman finds much to admire in Lowell's career. He sees the ante bellum Lowell as embodying the best aspects of the antislavery consciousness. (He puts to rest once and for all the notion that Lowell became an abolitionist mainly to please his first wife.) Although Lowell's humanitarian feelings reached a peak in the 1840's and waned somewhat with passing years, he retained throughout his life a healthy interest in human betterment.

Duberman's portrait also reveals Lowell as a man of great warmth and personal charm, a social animal in the everyday as well as the philosophical sense. The most lyrical chapter in the book describes the refinements of human intercourse that characterized the social life of the literary "Brahmins." There is an especially vivid description of the meetings of the Saturday Club. Lowell, along with Oliver Wendell Holmes, was at the very center of this Boston-Cambridge milieu, and Duberman cites with apparent approval Lowell's rejection, in his life and art, of the fashionable extremes of romantic alienation and his ability to retain "something of the eighteenth century view of the cultivated man living in the world." Lowell's cluster of qualities—a sense of public responsibility and a thirst for humanitarian reform, combined with cultivation, personal style, and a gift for human relationships—was, Duberman suggests, characteristic of the "Brahmin" type in mid-nineteenth-century America. This proposition is not pushed very hard, but it is clear from the introduction that Duberman is engaged in a continuing effort to demonstrate the liberal values and admirable human qualities of the leading New England "Brahmins" of the Civil War era.

His portrait of Lowell is credible and convincing. But how representative was Lowell of the "Brahmin" intelligentsia? Not many "Brahmins" became

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Garrisonian abolitionists. In the 1840's and 1850's, such archetypal Boston luminaries as Holmes and Francis Parkman were taking a strong stand against humanitarian reform and calling for a rejuvenated aristocracy. Another "Brahmin" conservative was Lowell's close friend Charles Eliot Norton, an early exponent of the elitism and distrust of the masses that would dominate the New England mind in the postwar era. It is possible, therefore, to appreciate Duberman's Lowell without changing one's belief that conservatism and class consciousness were the major elements of the mid-nineteenth-century "Brahmin" mentality.

Northwestern University GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON

REMINISCENCES OF THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR. By *John Bemrose.* Edited by *John K. Mahon.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1966. Pp. 115. $5.00.)

BEMROSE, an English youth apprenticed to a druggist, ran away in 1831, sailed to America, and enlisted in the United States Army. His five-year term as a hospital steward was spent mostly in Florida, a territory beset with conflict between the Seminole Indians and the white settlers. More than thirty years after returning to England he wrote his brief reminiscences, perhaps relying on notes taken in Florida and certainly borrowing freely from other raconteurs.

Bemrose emphasized events and personalities associated with the Seminole War. On the one hand, he criticized soldiers, Indians, and Negroes for their savagery; on the other, he praised them for their heroism. Although he blamed the white settlers for the war, he denounced the Seminoles as bloodthirsty liars and endowed them with unmerited skill as marksmen and fighters. Indian dances, marriage ceremonies, and other customs interested Bemrose, and he described them in readable prose. Since his duties kept him from the battle line, his best accounts detailed marches, the boredom and fear of the soldiers, and the care of the ill and wounded. Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch was his hero among the American generals. The Englishman admired his commander's humanity, his Christianity, and his Spartan life, and he had the utmost confidence in Clinch's strategy and tactics.

The author's interests encompassed more than the war. His picture of Clinch's sugar plantation was carefully drawn, and St. Augustine, with its "handsome" Minorcan girls, distinctive amusements, courtship customs, and elaborate funerals, attracted him. But the public auction of slaves angered him: "To see the unfeeling buyers of blood cavilling over the qualifications of human beings, with the coarseness of [a] cattle jobber, is what one never forgets." He condemned a tyrannical master for the wanton killing of three slaves, depicted the inhuman working conditions of field hands on Clinch's plantation, and noted the baneful effects of slavery on the white populace.

Whenever Bemrose reported personal experiences, his reminiscences possess great value. Too often, however, he included accounts written by others and frequently accepted or reported errors in fact. Because the original manuscript has been lost, this book was based on a typescript in the Florida Historical

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Society Library. The editing and footnotes enhance this account of the Seminole War.

University of Georgia REMBERT W. PATRICK

THE CATSKILL MOUNTAIN HOUSE. By *Roland Van Zandt.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 416. $12.50.)

IN 1823 a modest cottage was built on the ledge of the northern Catskills overlooking the Hudson. After Thomas Cole visited the spot in 1825 and William Cullen Bryant and other authors celebrated its "sublime" splendors, hundreds took the stage road to Mountain House whose white colonnaded façade became world-famous by 1845. The author lovingly describes the maze of trails, glens, and vantage points. He exposes the popular error that this area was the locale of Irving's story of Rip Van Winkle.

Dr. Van Zandt claims that this region occasioned the "first literary and artistic glorification of the native American landscape." Perhaps the most famous evocation of this union was Asher Durand's "Kindred Spirits," which reflected the romantic spirit of the Hudson River school.

Mountain House outdistanced its rivals in adding electric lights, telegraph, and telephones. When Charles Beach, the proprietor, constructed the Otis Elevated Railroad up the escarpment in 1892, thousands came to ride its cars. But the elite found finer watering places in Europe, the Far West, and in New England, while the thousands of automobile owners preferred the seashore, the Adirondacks, and newer hotels. The hard-pressed owners sold out to the Conservation Department of the state of New York, which burned the ruined building in 1963.

The author has exhibited zeal in gathering every scintilla of local evidence. In addition, he has successfully related this hotel to the romantic movement. But his efforts to relate Mountain House to national economic trends and population movements seem forced. One looks in vain for a comparison with other resorts, especially Saratoga. Moreover, this Catskill area was hardly the "playground of the nation." The "masses" of New York City could not afford a trip to Mountain House or its neighboring hostelries. Rather their travel was limited to a Fourth-of-July excursion on the North River, courtesy of George Washington Plunkitt and his Tammany braves.

The Rutgers University Press has turned out a handsome book with ninety illustrations, four in full color.

Hamilton College DAVID MALDWYN ELLIS

RAILROADS AND AMERICAN ECONOMIC GROWTH: ESSAYS IN ECONOMETRIC HISTORY. By *Robert William Fogel.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 296. $6.95.)

HERE is another entry into the polemics between the new and the old economic historians. The good guys call themselves "the new breed" or "Cliometricians" and dismiss the bad guys as "institutional" or "impressionistic" historians. The most pejorative phrase is "a mere narrative historian." Though Mr. Fogel uses

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few of these terms and grants some usefulness to "impressionistic" history, his disclaimer is the usual ritualistic one always made in this controversy; as an operative principle it is generally honored in the breach. In any case Fogel announces in his introduction that the methodology of the new breed is an attempt "to reveal what actually happened in the past." He feels it has been successful.

Readers are bound to be distracted when they wake up in a world neither they nor any other American, except Fogel, ever made. This area of the mind demonstrates that the railroad was not "indispensable," and that until 1890 the country could have prospered and grown by using wagon hauls and navigable streams and canals. The author carefully defines the technical terms employed in his calculations, is prudent in the reservations he makes, and has the ability to hold to the thread of a complicated argument. These qualities, however admirable, are beside the point. The development he describes is not "what actually happened in the past." In spite of statistics and a map of conceivable water routes, the railroads actually did the work. Some of Fogel's procedures are questionable. To judge the effectiveness of the railroad on the basis of a portion of their traffic—transportation of agricultural products—is partial and, by Fogel's own admission, lazy. The assembly and analysis of data about other varieties of freight and about passengers are burdensome and may be impossible. Perhaps this defect is unimportant. This imaginary journey into what might have been is an exercise designed to show how wrong impressionistic historians have been and to determine how much the "social saving" of using railroads amounted to. "Careful study will yield an estimate for all commodities that is well below 5 per cent of gross national product." I infer this figure seems small to Fogel; to D. C. North, another card-carrying Cliometrician, "a social saving of 5 per cent is a very substantial saving." Apparently the new breed, in order to evaluate its measurements, has to resort to the use of subjective verbalisms.

In my scheme of things the determination of "what actually happened in the past" should result, when it is so scientific and explicit, in a measure of agreement. Instead the new breed is very quarrelsome about its findings. Fogel, in one of the most persuasive parts of this volume, analyzes the impact of the railroad as a consumer upon the iron industry. His conclusion that it was of minor importance strikes me as valid. In addition he falls upon W. W. Rostow, a member in good standing of the new breed. Apparently the latter's credentials are spurious. Fogel's analysis of the "take-off" and the quantifications involved leaves Rostow's concept, as applied to the United States, a shambles.

A brief review is too short for adequate comment upon other features of this volume and its role in Cliometrics. There has been quantification in economic history for many years, from the National Bureau of Economic Research and from Fogel's mentors to whom he expresses in his introduction a just homage of devotion. Their success in winning acceptance for their methods and findings has been spectacular. In essence this volume is a new manifesto which, if I get the message, threatens: "Retool, rethink, conform, or be plowed under." New are the assumption of infallibility, the all-or-nothing tone, the disdain for words and style, by inference a means of making error plausible. Every page, give or take fifteen, has a statistic but never a trace (beware, the implicit quantification!) of humor about either themselves or those who differ from them. In my esti-

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mation this approach is not well designed to win friends or influence people or to further interdisciplinary cooperation, which the new breed also advocates.

Thetford, Vermont EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

GEORGE WASHINGTON JULIAN, RADICAL REPUBLICAN: A STUDY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS AND REFORM. By *Patrick W. Riddleberger.* [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XLV.] ([Indianapolis:] Indiana Historical Bureau. 1966. Pp. xiii, 344. $5.00.)

PATRICK Riddleberger was no doubt as frustrated in writing this biography of George Washington Julian, Indiana congressman (1849–1851, 1861–1871) as the reader is in examining it. For Julian was always on the fringe of power, rarely in the heart of it. Overshadowed in state politics by Oliver Morton, he was unable to control more than his immediate constituency. Active in the Free-Soil party, Julian was not a key figure in the formation of the Republican organization and did not attend the 1860 convention. A member of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War, he played little part in its proceedings; he wished to serve as one of the House managers of Andrew Johnson's impeachment, but was not appointed. Julian was not, moreover, an especially perceptive observer of events, and Riddleberger must frequently correct him. The congressman, for example, had no sense of Lincoln's strategy at Fort Sumter, never understood the President's case against General John Frémont, and sincerely believed that Mrs. Lincoln "absolutely rules her husband, even in his official concerns."

Still, the details of Julian's life might have exemplified and helped illuminate the history of the era. Unfortunately, Riddleberger turns inward rather than outward, failing to transcend the limitations of his material. He promises psychological insights, but the dynamics behind a sometimes nervous and shy, sometimes confident and cantankerous man do not emerge. Riddleberger more successfully analyzes the tensions between the reformer and politician in Julian and the connections between his religious and political radicalism. But at key moments in the narrative, Riddleberger does not test well-known hypotheses by the Julian example, but rather mechanically and unconvincingly labels his subject. Thus Julian first personifies Eric Hoffer's true believer, then Eric Goldman's patrician reformer, later Henry Nash Smith's agrarian utopian, and finally Richard Hofstadter's mugwump reformer. Perhaps if Riddleberger had told us how Julian maintained a local organization, or described the social and economic characteristics of his peculiar home district, or better explained why a great foe of slavery could so easily desert the Negro after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment and by 1876 profess to love and admire the South, the particular might have forced us to rethink some of our general interpretations.

Columbia University DAVID J. ROTHMAN

JACOB N. CARDOZO: ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH. By *Melvin M. Leiman.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 608.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. 263. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Leiman's *Jacob N. Cardozo,* despite a deplorable style, explores ante bellum southern intellectual history as it needs to be done. Leiman, an economist,

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presents Cardozo's economic thought in a high-level and fairly technical discussion and establishes a small place for him as a critic of Ricardian classicism and as a modest forerunner of Lord Keynes. Historians will, however, be primarily interested in the excellent analysis of Cardozo's place in southern life and thought.

Cardozo criticized most of the Ricardian system, including the labor theory of value, the law of diminishing returns, the inverse relationship between wages and profits, Malthusian population theory, Say's law, and of course the theory of differential rent, the implications of which were so dangerous to the landholding interest. He nonetheless accepted most of the Ricardian policy recommendations and vigorously defended the principles of laissez faire and free trade. He had unlimited faith in the ability of science and technology to overcome diminishing yields, and in other respects he was in the mainstream of American thought in his day. But he also was passionately committed to slavery and to the social order it had raised. His economic reasoning made him hail the South's commitment to specialized agriculture as rational, but, unlike so many current writers, he saw that this very specialization was politically dangerous to the southern social system. He ended as a secessionist, seeking to reconcile slavery with the development of an indigenous southern capitalism. As Leiman incisively observes: "The irony, however, was that the existence of a noncapitalistic labor market had the tendency to prevent the full evolution of a capitalistic commercial-manufacturing system. Here were the roots of the malaise of the South's economy, and its eventual denouement."

Cardozo was caught. He had inherited a body of bourgeois economic doctrine that in either its Ricardian or Malthusian form served southern problems and interests only superficially. Too often his scientific work and devotion to slavery, which he knew to be far more than an economic system, clashed. In the end he could criticize classical economic models, but offer little in their place. The special contribution of Leiman's thoughtful book is that it exposes and explores the antagonism between the scientific and ideological claims on Cardozo as a reflection of the antagonism between the bourgeois and prebourgeois elements in the southern economic and social structure.

Sir George Williams University EUGENE D. GENOVESE

THE FAR SOUTHWEST, 1846–1912: A TERRITORIAL HISTORY. By *Howard Roberts Lamar*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 12.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 560. $10.00.)

THIS study sets out to fill a need in southwestern history: comparison of the territorial periods of the Four Corners states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. It would be difficult for a single person writing on the four states, all of which have a certain introspective dedication to their own individually interesting backgrounds, to please the students and scholars of all. Within each of the states many local partisans will disagree, sometimes violently, with Lamar's interpretations and presentation of their particular area of specialization, while simultaneously they will consider his treatment of the other three areas fully satisfactory. This is a danger that an author runs when he spreads his study over such a culturally diverse area. The book represents a Herculean

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task and results in what is essentially a political history of the prestatehood era.

Lamar holds his reader's attention best when he stresses the differences rather than the similarities. New Mexico's struggle for statehood was lengthy because of a strong Hispanic flavor to its politics and because of ethnic and linguistic problems. Powerful outside enemies and an untidy situation at home prevented early recognition although population was always sufficient. Utah's prestatehood period was complicated by Mormon dominance and pretensions to extensive control over the destiny of the Great Basin. Particularly distressing were the stands on polygamy and the presence of federal troops. Arizona was penalized by isolation, lack of population, and close association with New Mexico. Colorado, on the other hand, achieved its early statehood as a result of proper political attitude and good timing. Beneath the surface in all movements runs the current of partisan struggle for power, complicated by the general low caliber of men sent by Washington as appointive administrators. Occasionally the rather sordid tale of their incompetence is relieved by the arrival of dedicated public servants in a remote land among peoples whose cultures were largely alien. But this was the exception.

Much research is spoiled by two notable weaknesses: a lack of familiarity with the Spanish language and culture when treatng New Mexico and Arizona and the many typographical errors appearing in a work published by a press that enjoys a prominent reputation. The first drawback may have been overcome by considerable effort on Lamar's part, and this failure is his own responsibility; the latter might easily have been avoided, but is a joint responsibility of printer, publisher, and author.

University of New Mexico DONALD C. CUTTER

GOLD FEVER: BEING A TRUE ACCOUNT, BOTH HORRIFYING AND HILARIOUS, OF THE ART OF HEALING (SO-CALLED) DURING THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH. By *George W. Groh.* (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1966. Pp. x, 340. $5.95.)

MR. Groh has come up with an unbeatable formula like that of the legendary author of *Lincoln's Doctor's Dog:* he has combined the subjects of medicine and the gold rush. When a man with a formula like this one is also a first-rate writer and storyteller, the result must be, as this book is, superior entertainment. The author has technical competence in medicine (although he might, for example, have distinguished more clearly between Asiatic cholera and cholera morbus) and has utilized well the materials on both medicine and the gold rush. In addition to such familiar incidents inevitably involving the vigilance committee and Belle, the lady of questionable virtue, from the immense forty-niner literature, Groh has utilized a respectable amount of manuscript material. Much of the book's appeal, as the author recognizes in his subtitle, derives from the generous use of primary sources.

One would not wish to apply standards suitable for a scholarly work to a volume designed for the general reader. Groh has written narrative, not analysis, and despite his use of primary sources he has not contributed in any significant way either to the history of the gold rush or to medical history (which often

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gets lost after the first few chapters). The text is not annotated, although there is an incomplete bibliography that suggests the thoroughness of the author's research.

Gold Fever can be recommended as the ideal gift, even for those not quite in the *American Heritage* market. It is replete with suspense, pathos, humor, and more deaths per chapter than an evening of American television.

Ohio State University J. C. BURNHAM

ROBERT E. LEE: A PORTRAIT (1807–1861). By *Margaret Sanborn*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1966. Pp. xii, 353. $6.95.)

WE are seemingly about to enter a period of rekindled interest in Robert E. Lee. Why, in the age of the liberal triumph, authors and publishers should again take up this leader of the southern cause is something that should puzzle analysts of American culture. It may also puzzle American historians, who have thought that D. S. Freeman in his four-volume biography of the 1930's said all that needed to be said about Lee. But the new interest in Lee is plainly evident. Recently Clifford Dowdey brought out a thick biography. Dowdey felt called on to justify his book. He was exploiting material not available to Freeman, and he wished to remove Lee from the "delimiting" military context in which previous writers had placed him. Now we have another biography, and its author also feels that she has to justify her effort: she is writing not about Lee the soldier but Lee "the man."

Margaret Sanborn, according to the book jacket, has lived in California all of her life. She has been a "cinema critic" for a San Francisco literary magazine and has translated a volume of German fairy tales. Unfortunately she did not choose to reveal in an introduction why she was drawn to study Lee or why she considers him to be a figure worth studying. In her acknowledgments she says merely that she is presenting "the man." The jacket blurb, however, goes into somewhat more detail. This is the first volume of a "monumental" biography, carrying Lee up to 1861. The second volume, "The Complete Man," will deal with the war and postwar years. When completed the work will be the first full portrait of Lee the youth, husband, father, and so forth.

In pursuit of the human Lee, Sanborn engaged in wide research. She examined many manuscript collections, some of them not used or not extensively used by previous writers. The resulting portrait is full, intimate, and often franker than anything said by previous writers. Thus she has no compunctions about exposing the weak character of his father or the scandals in the Lee family. She all but says that Lee married his wife without being ardently in love with her. Mary Custis was the heiress to a large fortune, and for Lee the marriage was "a highly practical choice." She also expounds on Lee's lifelong admiration for beautiful women, who were to him necessary "symbols" of the "eternal woman." He had to play the role of the "gallant and perennial lover," and he played it with greater devotion after he came to realize that his wife was incapable of happiness except in her childhood home and with her parents.

These are shrewd observations, and although they are not necessarily correct, they do have the effect of making Lee into a more interesting person. But the

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total effect of the book is not impressive. Most of the facts that Sanborn adduces to prove the "human" Lee are already known—that he liked cats, that he delighted to have his children tickle his feet, that he had a sly sense of humor. Nor are readers likely to be overcome by the author's revelation that he took a drink now and then. We do not have to be told by a biographer that there was a "Lee the man." What we need to know is why Lee was the kind of man he was, what forces in himself and his culture shaped him into what he became. This book is a pleasant account of the personal Lee, but except for some occasional observations it does not provide us with the answers we require.

Louisiana State University T. Harry Williams

TURNING POINTS OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *James A. Rawley*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 230. $5.75.)

"The Civil War was a turning point in American history," the author writes. But there were turning points within the turning point, and this is the essence of this well-written series of essays on the crucial periods and events of the Civil War that may well have determined victory for one side and defeat for the other.

The turning points are given as: Kentucky and the borderland; First Bull Run; the *Trent* Affair; Antietam; the Emancipation Proclamation; Gettysburg and Vicksburg; and the election of 1864. The author's sources are almost entirely secondary, and there are no exciting new points of view expressed, but the essays are well done.

There are doubtless Civil War scholars who would differ from the author on the validity of his selections, but, after all, there is little consensus among these scholars on anything except that there was a war. I would, for example, quarrel a bit with the essay on the *Trent* Affair, feeling it would have been best to have written this essay on "The Failure of King Cotton Diplomacy" instead of making the *Trent* Affair the focal point. Retrospectively, it appears, the *Trent* Affair was only convincing proof that England was not going to intervene. The more basic factor of the failure of Confederate diplomacy was thus made obvious. Perhaps this is splitting hairs, but one can hardly read the late Frank Owsley's *King Cotton Diplomacy* without seeing that the *Trent* Affair was perhaps peripheral rather than vitally central.

Although not highly controversial in nature, the book would make an excellent discussion piece for a panel of Civil War historians. There would be hot dissent from some members and no general agreement from the others, but everyone would have a good time.

Tulane University John P. Dyer

CONCEIVED IN CRISIS: A HISTORY OF LA SALLE COLLEGE, 1863–1965. By *Thomas J. Donaghy, F.S.C.* (Philadelphia: La Salle College. 1966. Pp. xi, 219. $3.95.)

La Salle College in Philadelphia was founded in 1863 by the Christian Brothers. For many years its story was typical of the small, denominational college: inadequate financial resources, limited physical facilities, tiny enrollments, and an

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overworked faculty. In the twentieth century the institution gradually evolved into a large and complex urban university, with laymen outnumbering brothers on the faculty and a significant increase in the percentage of non-Catholic students.

La Salle's history is reviewed in this volume by Thomas J. Donaghy, a Christian Brother and an associate professor of history at the college. It is very much of an "official" history. The book is published by the college, and the academic vice-president and other Christian Brothers are stated to have read the manuscript. In addition, the academic vice-president provides an epilogue.

Donaghy utilizes a number of original materials, mainly unpublished documents from the college's archives. There is little evidence, however, of familiarity with the existing literature on the history of higher education in America. As a result, the work rarely seeks to explain trends at La Salle in the broader context of American intellectual development.

Important issues of educational philosophy and strategy are mentioned, but never fully explored. The "Latin Question," for example, and the place of the natural sciences and alleged "scientific materialism" in the curriculum of a Christian college deserve fuller treatment. La Salle is shown to have been slower than many of its contemporary institutions to accept such developments as the elective system, a collegiate-type grading system, and a specialized departmental structure. Why was this so? The author does not say.

This general historical sketch is evidently designed to serve the needs first of all of "the La Salle family, its friends and neighbors." Those looking for a more searching evaluation of the American Catholic college, its reaction to urban society, and its place in American educational and intellectual history, will have to look elsewhere.

Fairleigh Dickinson University WILLIS RUDY

HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEBRASKA. Volume II, THE CHURCH ON THE FADING FRONTIER, 1864–1910; Volume III, CATHOLIC CHAPTERS IN NEBRASKA IMMIGRATION, 1870–1900. By *Henry W. Casper, S.J.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1966. Pp. xvi, 388; xii, 201. $10.00; $5.00.)

FATHER Henry W. Casper, S.J., narrated the story of the Roman Catholic Church on the frontier of old Nebraska Territory, 1838–1876, in an earlier volume. The second volume bears the dates 1864–1910 and is a continuation of the first, taking up the story with the appointment of the second vicar apostolic of the smaller Nebraska Territory, James O'Connor. Just as the Plains offered few natural wonders to the prospective settler, the story of the Catholic Church in the vicariate apostolic has an unusual evenness of common people who bought some of the fertile plains and tried to engage in successful farming. Some prospered, at least before the drought years; others gradually lost their whole investment. In the villages that formed along the railroad tracks there were likewise successful settlers and some failures. There seems to have been no notable difference between Catholic and non-Catholic on the Plains, and, if there is one deficiency

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in these two volumes, it is the lack of accounts of the non-Catholic neighbors of these Catholic settlers. The author's narrative is made up of simple, frank accounts of the causes of failure, both clerical and lay, with fair praise for the more successful and more zealous ones. This simple narrative will not have to be told again.

The third volume of this history is devoted to three interesting colonization efforts. Although the living conditions in these immigrant projects were no different from those of individual settlers, the fact that they engaged in a group project dominated by religious and national feelings justifies the author's setting them aside in separate treatments. The activities of "General" John O'Neill give a natural center to the story of the Irish colonizations in Nebraska. There have been many abstract arguments about the reasons the Irish did not go to the frontier. In Holt and Greeley Counties, Casper has recorded the actual efforts to settle the Irish immigrant on the frontier and the successes and failures there involved. In the account of the Bohemian colonization project, the reader is brought into contact with the pioneers described in the novels of Willa Cather. The Polish colonization project was less of a national project than the Irish and Bohemian settlements.

University of Notre Dame THOMAS T. MCAVOY, C.S.C.

THE SOUTH SINCE APPOMATTOX: A CENTURY OF REGIONAL CHANGE. By *Thomas D. Clark* and *Albert D. Kirwan*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 438. $7.50.)

IN format, title, and expository style this volume appears to be a textbook, but it is not. The authors are concerned exclusively with recounting the changes that have taken place in the South over the last hundred years. The book, it is true, is not a work of original research, but an admirable synthesis of an enormous printed literature, primary as well as secondary. Unlike a textbook, it has a definite point of view and something like a thesis about the causes for the changes it treats. The point of view is that social, political, and economic change is both inevitable and desirable in the South. It is evident that the two authors favor economic diversification, improved educational opportunities, and civil equality for black southerners. Early in the book they set forth their conclusion that the seeds of change were already present in 1865; among the most important, in their judgment, were "the race problem, the demands of industry as against an agrarian economy, utilization and conservation of natural and human resources, a shifting political system, increased urbanization, and the drive for universal education." As a result, three chapters are devoted to the Negro, one to the TVA, another to urbanization, several to agricultural and industrial developments, four to politics, and two to education—the last constituting the best short treatment I have seen. Although the authors single out several large areas of change in the South, they are more descriptive than analytical in discussing them. The facts of change are amply set forth, but the causes and impact of those changes are only lightly touched upon. Hence, the book reads like a survey of the last hundred years rather than an interpretation or analysis of forces. It is in keeping

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with the authors' purpose, however, that no chapter on religion appears, though in any mere survey of southern life it certainly would. Religion, they rightly imply, has not been a force for change in the South over the last century.

The book is packed with information, presented in a straightforward, lucid fashion; only occasional reliance is placed on statistics and none on statistical analysis, even for the most recent period, though such information is abundant and could have been used with profit. Unfortunately, there is some evidence of hasty publication, since there are a number of misspellings, including the names of well-known southern writers, and a misstating of U. B. Phillips' central theme; also, the career of Tom Watson is somewhat confused as it is presented.

The authors authoritatively trace the changes of the last century, but they make it clear that the real alteration in the South began only with the New Deal and the Second World War. Not until then were the forces for change sufficiently strong to push the South out of its traditional agricultural rut. Hence almost half of the book's pages are devoted to the period since 1930. These years are presented in a fuller, more systematic manner than they were in Clark's *The Emerging South,* which appeared in 1961.

Vassar College CARL N. DEGLER

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GEORGIA. By *Alan Conway.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 248. $6.50.)

THE Civil War, rather than Reconstruction, has been the popular American subject for such foreign historians as have chosen to write about our past. The intricacies of constitutional, political, and racial problems of Reconstruction would appear to have been too complicated or too parochial to attract them. W. R. Brock of Cambridge broke through these barriers a few years ago with a significant study of national politics of the period. Now Alan Conway of Aberystwyth has plunged into the underbrush of local history where it was thickest and come forth with a monograph on Georgia.

Referring to C. Mildred Thompson's book on the same subject published in 1915, Conway writes that "the present study is in no way an attempt to denigrate what is a very good piece of work," on some parts of which "it would be difficult to improve." He does deplore her rather "genteel cold-bloodedness" about the atrocities of the Klan, but his differences are described as "largely on points of interpretation."

On some of these points the disparity is not very striking. Conway praises General Davis Tillson, the conservative, Johnsonian, proplanter head of the Freedmen's Bureau, for his "commendable impartiality." He considers former Governor Brown's program of limited concessions to freedmen in 1866 "sound advice." He believes that "the education of the Negro would best have been undertaken by Southern whites" and evinces no firm conviction about the freedmen's capacities for self-government. While he finds evidence of widespread "racial sadism" by the Klan, he believes that "a majority of Georgians . . . may actually not have known or may well have been unwilling to learn" of these atrocities.

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On the other hand, Conway thinks that "the hatred and invective which have been poured out upon this period have been excessive, irrational, and unjustified" and that this was especially true of Georgia, where the Radicals "inflicted little more than flesh wounds which quickly healed." Their failure he attributes to "the failure of belief by the Radicals themselves" in their own doctrine. Such revisionism as he professes consists largely in departures from the conventional demonology. He takes a somewhat more charitable view of the malfeasance of Radicals and places somewhat more emphasis on that of the conservatives. His methods, his sources, and his narrative mode of organization are those of conventional usage.

Yale University C. Vann Woodward

CLAUS SPRECKELS: THE SUGAR KING IN HAWAII. By *Jacob Adler*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 339. $8.00.)

Claus Spreckels was the dominant figure in the California sugar industry from 1870 until his death in 1908. The extension of his activities to Hawaii was but a tangent to his principal interests, which continued to be centered in San Francisco. Following ratification of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Hawaii in 1876, Spreckels literally rushed to the islands. Within a short time he won the friendship of King Kalakaua and used that friendship to gain important water rights and extensive grants of land on Maui, where he developed the largest sugar plantation in a little nation whose economy depended almost exclusively upon sugar. He became the principal creditor of the King and of the kingdom, boasted that he could make and unmake ministries, and until a quarrel with Kalakaua in 1886 led to his undoing, he seemed secure in his self-appointed role as the uncrowned king of Hawaii. He has appeared in the pages of Hawaiian history as a sinister figure, concerned only with the aggrandizement of his own fortunes and adept at manipulating Hawaiian politics to that end. In short, he was Hawaii's "robber baron."

The present volume is the first full-length study of the activities of Spreckels in Hawaii. It is based primarily upon Hawaiian newspapers of the period and the manuscript collections of the Archives of Hawaii. Despite careful research, the author has uncovered little previously unknown concerning the Hawaiian career of Spreckels. He has confirmed some widely held assumptions about the power that the "Sugar King" wielded in Hawaii in the mid-1880's, and he has woven into his story accounts of some of the lesser known contributions of Spreckels to the development of Hawaii. Among those contributions were important technological advances in the production and manufacture of sugar, the introduction of electric power to the islands, the establishment of a bank in Honolulu that challenged the banking monopoly long held by the Bank of Bishop and Company, and the tight control of shipping between the islands and the West Coast of the United States. In his preface the author correctly states that posterity has remembered the arrogance and corruption of Spreckels rather than "his contributions to the development of the island kingdom." This book records both.

Vanderbilt University Harold Whitman Bradley

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GOLD IN THE BLACK HILLS. By *Watson Parker*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 259. $5.95.)

A MILITARY exploring expedition under General Custer, the Jenney-Newton geological survey, and early prospectors all failed to find any notable amounts of gold in the Black Hills; yet a rush there developed major proportions and lasted five years. Interest was fanned by large amounts of enthusiastic publicity from surrounding towns whose merchants were eager to outfit passing gold seekers. The rush attracted farmers and city folk who had suffered disaster in the panic of 1873, western miners whose fortunes had taken a turn for the worse, and Pennsylvania coal miners seeking to avoid the Molly Maguire troubles. They hurried first to the central hills, later to the northern ones when the great discoveries at Deadwood were made. They traveled close to the area by railroad or steamship, then went a comparatively short distance by stagecoach or walking behind a freight wagon. Their wholesale invasion of what was part of an Indian reservation was the last in a series of events that drove the Sioux to war in 1876 and caused the Custer massacre.

At first the gold seekers exploited placer deposits and later turned to lode workings. Their turbulent life and the most important of their mining activities are described in this book. The great fire at Deadwood in September 1879 ended the rush; further development was the work of promoters, speculators, and engineers, rather than prospectors.

Professor Parker's book is the first to devote itself exclusively to the rush. It is primarily a work of synthesis, but he has also made considerable use of primary sources; his bibliography is thorough. On matters of controversy he has judiciously stated his conclusions, such as deciding that Jack McCall shot Wild Bill Hickok because he was "stone drunk and hoped to redeem his beardless manhood by killing the biggest gunman of them all." Parker's narrative is clear, entertaining, accurate, and well proportioned. His book will stand as the authority in its field for a long time.

University of Idaho WILLIAM S. GREEVER

THE FLIGHT OF THE NEZ PERCE. By *Mark H. Brown*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1967. Pp. 480. $8.95.)

COLONEL Mark H. Brown does a remarkable job of outlining the causes of the Nez Percé War and of describing the flight of the Nez Percé to the Canadian border in Montana. This is military history at its best. The book jacket calls it the definitive work on the subject, a claim that is certainly justified.

The military maneuvers and the movement of the Indian hostiles are well documented from contemporary newspapers and Indian agency files, and voluminous army records apparently have been thoroughly examined by the author. The inclusion of pertinent quotations enlivens the narrative without injecting the choppy character that mars much historical writing. The selection of source material as a basis for the story of the Nez Percé was based on the rules that evidence "must have been recorded at the time and on the spot by someone who was both knowledgeable and reasonably reliable," criteria the author seems to have followed carefully.

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Of special interest is the author's summary of the controversy after the war between the military leaders—Howard, Sheridan, Miles, Perry, and Gibbons—a less than admirable squabble that finally had to be resolved by the commander in chief of the army, General William T. Sherman. The white settlers come in for their share of criticism, and one may detect a faint, but probably warranted, sympathy for an Indian people deprived of their homeland.

Brown concludes, along with other recent historians of the war, that Chief Joseph was not the prime mover for battle but that he did eventually become the leader when peace was necessary. Certainly history is well served with the memory of an Indian leader who struggled to force an indifferent government to honor its terms of surrender.

In an opening quotation from John S. Finerty, the reporter of the Chicago *Times* who had covered the Sioux War of 1876, the author reports: "Military life on the frontier is a mixture of mud and romance." There is mud in this narrative, to be sure, but the sad romance, if any exists, can only be associated with the name of a grieving Chief Joseph whose speech of surrender could have been made by any chieftain from Powhatan of Virginia to a courageous Nez Percé on the plains of Montana. "Hear me, my chiefs, I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more, forever."

University of Utah BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

PULITZER'S *POST-DISPATCH*, 1878–1883. By *Julian S. Rammelkamp*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 326. $7.50.)

NEWSPAPER historians have long been familiar with the concept of the "New Journalism" of the 1880's and 1890's, whose hallmarks were increased emphasis on news reporting, crusading in the public interest, the introduction of a broad spectrum of news features designed to appeal to a mass audience, changes in format including the use of headlines and illustrations, and a lessening of personal influence as the daily newspaper came to assume a corporate character.

The central figure of Professor Rammelkamp's book is the Joseph Pulitzer who was one of the most prominent exponents of the "New Journalism." The author asserts that his purpose in writing this book was: to examine the origins of Pulitzer's "sensational" journalism during the years of his St. Louis apprenticeship, and to consider the more general significance of his journalism.

In thus narrating the early history of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Rammelkamp shows how Pulitzer's venture into the field of evening journalism quickly evolved from a political organ into an independent newspaper. As such, the *Post-Dispatch* became the spokesman for middle-class urban reformers.

From an economic standpoint Pulitzer's newspaper career in St. Louis was a rousing success. He merged the bankrupt St. Louis *Dispatch* with John A. Dillon's St. Louis *Post* and converted them into a flourishing enterprise. By 1883, when Pulitzer left St. Louis, the *Post-Dispatch* had a daily circulation of 23,000 and netted an annual profit of $120,000. The youthful *Post-Dispatch* was somewhat less successful as an instrument of middle-class reform. Its reform efforts were inhibited both by its limited concept of the role of government in regulating

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business and by the entrenched position in St. Louis of the allied forces of political corruption and economic privilege.

Although in St. Louis Pulitzer improvised journalistic methods that he further developed in the management of the New York *World,* Rammelkamp concedes that most innovations in newspaper publication at this time appeared first in the larger cities of the Atlantic seaboard. One could wish that this well-researched and generally well-written book had discussed at greater length how Pulitzer was influenced as a St. Louis editor by eastern journalistic practices and by those of contemporary midwestern editors like William Rockhill Nelson, Melville W. Stone, Edward W. Scripps, and Joseph B. McCullagh.

Chatham College J. CUTLER ANDREWS

THE AMERICAN NAVAL REVOLUTION. By *Walter R. Herrick, Jr.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 274. $7.50.)

IN 1865 the United States had a navy equal to most of its limited tasks, but public indifference, congressional penury, and lack of apparent purpose let the fleet decay. Political patronage demands, a caste-conscious officer corps, and interest in domestic problems hastened the decline. Until Chester Arthur entered the White House, wooden hulls and canvas rigging were the order of the day for a navy too weak to fight and too slow to run. By the mid-1880's, however, a new Navy Secretary, William E. Chandler, some powerful congressmen, officers like Admiral Stephen B. Luce and Captain Alfred T. Mahan, and new technology all combined to introduce armor plate, steam power, and new ideas.

To modernize, the navy also needed long-term civilian planning and a national reason to exist. Events gave it both of these. This is Professor Herrick's story: the reasons and plans behind the men who built the "New Navy." The book focuses events away from the familiar story of Mahan and technology, without slighting either. It shows clearly, though often without Herrick's saying so, that the navy was a logical and critical part of the whole movement for American diplomatic and economic expansion.

Herrick gives Chandler high marks as the first farsighted man to tackle the formidable problems of modernizing the fleet. He praises his successor, Democrat William C. Whitney, for his efficiency, but criticizes his lack of interest in ideas. Herrick's central figure is Harrison's Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, who readily and somewhat unexpectedly grasped the importance of sea power in America's growing diplomatic activity and expanding commerce. He worked both for the future and the present and modernized almost every aspect of the service.

The author tells the internal political and administrative story well and is strongest in dealing with Tracy. But he falls just short of placing naval modernization clearly and fully into the era's simultaneous demand for expansion and security. Both the key men who developed the navy and an increasing amount of public opinion saw the fleet as part of the larger design of diplomatic and economic growth. Herrick also repeats too many of the clichés concerning America's growing international power. He leans too heavily on the conspiracy

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theory that makes Roosevelt, Lodge, and the yellow press all-important. He uses terms like "imperialist," "jingo," and "isolationist" without definition and sometimes inaccurately, while further brief clarification of several matters like the Chilean imbroglio, the Brazilian revolution, and Hawaii would balance his story. The book was well worth doing, and reading; it is, however, more valuable for its political-administrative story than for its analysis and discussion of American expansion.

University of Texas H. Wayne Morgan

HENRY GEORGE: DREAMER OR REALIST? By *Steven B. Cord.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1965. Pp. 272. $6.00.)

This interesting and useful book, although essentially a critical study of the historiography of Henry George, also functions as an introduction to George's own ideas. In this regard, however, it does not purport to replace Geiger's volume on George's philosophy or Barker's definitive biography. What the author does is to summarize the judgment of George by his contemporaries in the field of economic thought and by later historians and economists. Hostility toward George was frequently more emotional than rational, especially among academic economists. But among both economists and historians there has been widespread misunderstanding of George's ideas and, in some cases, even of the facts of his life and career.

In his lifetime, and later during the progressive era, George's influence was demonstrated less through such economic ideas and solutions as the single tax than through his own role as a popular reformer who stressed the evils of the existing industrial society and the urgency of social change. In more recent years recognition of the validity of some of George's ideas has grown, and Cord is able to note, for example, their effect on such seminal thinkers in history and economics as Frederick Jackson Turner and John Bates Clark. Reform in land value taxation has won increasing acceptance in American cities as well as in other parts of the world. Yet, in economics, the growth of Keynesian theories has probably further dimmed the importance of George's general concepts.

The author has been most industrious in seeking out the large number of secondary works dealing with George. He amply demonstrates his conclusion that "Henry George's ideas were not well understood by American historians and economists." At times, however, he fails to appreciate that the authors of general works and textbooks may fall unavoidably into oversimplifications in their broad treatment of individual writers. Moreover, Cord himself seems to ignore the changes in George's thinking in regard to such phenomena as the population problem. Thus he occasionally falls into the same trap that has caught other scholars who have dealt with George. Cord's book, nevertheless, serves a valuable purpose in helping students "to clear up the historical record of Henry George and to remove the misconceptions and vagaries that surround his ideas."

State University of New York, Albany Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.

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THE ACADEMIC MIND AND REFORM: THE INFLUENCE OF RICHARD T. ELY IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *Benjamin G. Rader.* ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 276. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Rader's book is not a study of "the academic mind and reform" in any general sense, nor is its overriding concern "the influence of Richard T. Ely in American life." The author makes no real effort to analyze the distinguishing characteristics of the large number of American academicians who involved themselves in popular reform endeavors in Ely's time, but rather limits himself to the consideration of a single such reformer. Rader, to be sure, is concerned with Ely's influence on American thought and on the development of economics as an academic discipline, but the principal focus of his book is on the life of its subject and the content of his ideas.

Ely's significant role in popularizing liberal economic thought and the social gospel has long been recognized, but he has not previously been the subject of a book-length study. Rader is not especially skillful in analyzing and evaluating Ely's ideas, and he tells us relatively little about this subject that has not been said before, but he does provide us with a much fuller treatment of Ely's writings after 1900 than has heretofore been available. After the middle 1890's, Rader points out, Ely largely withdrew from active participation in reform organizations and decided to concentrate on "scientific" investigations in an effort to enhance his reputation as an academician. He concluded, Rader tells us, that he could more effectively gain the esteem of the intellectual community, middle class in its social origins and sympathies, if he disassociated himself from agrarian and labor reformers. Rader implies that Ely's behavior was characteristic of the academician as reformer, but he fails to develop this generalization.

The most interesting portions of Rader's book deal with the details of Ely's life rather than with the substance of his thought. Basing his account largely on the Ely Papers, Rader provides us with fascinating material on Ely's "golden years" at Johns Hopkins, his long career at the University of Wisconsin, his academic heresy trial of 1894, his involvement in Wisconsin progressivism, his role as a superpatriot during World War I and the Red Scare, and his founding and leadership of the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities. Ely, as Rader's account makes clear, was one of the first great American academic entrepreneurs. He was an organizer of associations and research projects and a successful fund raiser, and he knew how to use competing offers to his own advantage.

This is a poorly written book, and its title promises more than its contents deliver, but it is, nevertheless, an interesting study of a significant American academician and reformer. The book includes as an appendix the fullest bibliography available of Ely's voluminous writings.

University of Michigan SIDNEY FINE

TOM WALSH IN DAKOTA TERRITORY: PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE OF SENATOR THOMAS J. WALSH AND ELINOR C. McCLE-

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MENTS. Edited by *Leonard J. Bates*. With a preface by *Genevieve Walsh Gudger*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 301. $7.95.)

BEFORE settling in Montana in 1890, where he rose to prominence and in 1913 began his two decades of service in the US Senate, Thomas J. Walsh lived in Wisconsin and in the Dakota Territory. He was born in Wisconsin in 1859, taught in a school where he met fellow teacher Elinor C. McClements, and, after a year at the University of Wisconsin, became a lawyer.

In 1884 Walsh began law practice in Redfield, Dakota. Two years previously Elinor had transferred to Chicago. They carried on a very friendly correspondence, and after six years of formality the tone of their letters gave way to direct expressions of restrained affection. They married in 1889.

This is not a collection of poetic or passionate love letters. They are nineteenth-century period pieces, self-conscious and often inhibited. Not all their letters, however, are included in the book, for their daughter, Mrs. Gudger, culled the collection and destroyed some before they reached the editor. Interspersed in the plethora of friendly chitchat are bits of information about politics in the Dakota Territory and an occasional remark about national political affairs. Democrat Walsh expressed approval of Grover Cleveland, but he failed to elucidate upon the subject.

The most striking thing Walsh's letters reveal is the degree to which he was caught in an unrewarding existence and seemingly remained cheerful. But he finally decided that Redfield was not destined to become a place where he could attain affluence and find a satisfactory outlet for his political, scholarly, and cultural interests. For a while he planned to retrace his steps eastward and settle in Minneapolis or perhaps Chicago, but in the end the lure of the growing West won out. Thus, in 1890, with a wife, a four-month-old baby, some meager household goods, $250, and train tickets, he embarked for Helena, Montana.

Professor Bates conscientiously applied his superior knowledge of Walsh to his assignment as editor of this hitherto unavailable collection.

University of Maryland HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL

BEET SUGAR IN THE WEST: A HISTORY OF THE UTAH–IDAHO SUGAR COMPANY, 1891–1966. By *Leonard J. Arrington*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 234. $7.50.)

THIS brief history of an important Latter-Day Saints-oriented enterprise was conceived, sponsored, and subsidized by the firm to commemorate seventy-five years of operation. Professor Arrington, economic historian of the Latter-Day Saints in the Great Basin, was a most appropriate choice to prepare the volume. But the company forced the author to work under unreasonable conditions, allowing him only nine months to complete the entire task, and, if the text is any indication, demanding that the volume conform in part to the canons of good public relations.

In spite of these formidable limitations, Arrington has produced a reputable company history. Detailing the history of Utah-Idaho Company from its begin-

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ning at Lehi, Utah, in 1891, he charts the substantial growth of the firm, which has operated at thirty locations in Utah, Idaho, Washington, Montana, South Dakota, and Alberta, through trials produced by depressions, war, beet disease, overproduction, and the vicissitudes of federal tariff and agricultural policy. Arrington is especially effective in delineating the technical aspects of beet culture and processing, quite lucid in discussing the long battle against the beet leaf hopper, and impressively skillful in describing the research efforts that led to the production of disease-resistant strains of the beet and the perfection of monogerm seed. Finance within the firm is neatly described, and the close financial ties with the Church are clearly demonstrated. But management, decision making within the firm, labor-management relations, and beet grower-company relations are inadequately treated.

Moreover, the volume is episodic, the prose varies considerably in quality, and at least one passage reads like an advertising blurb. But the appendixes—brief plant biographies and elaborate tables and graphs of production, yields, and acreages—are important additions, and the bibliography is extensive. Despite its drawbacks, it is a worth-while book.

Carleton University, Ottawa KAREL D. BICHA

THE UNITED STATES IN PUERTO RICO, 1898–1900. By *Edward J. Berbusse, S.J.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 274. $7.50.)

IN 1898 Puerto Rico dropped into the United States imperial basket hardly noticed, like an undersized crab apple. Close to a million people ceased to be subjects of the Spanish crown and found themselves in possession of an article of questionable value: "Porto Rican" citizenship. The entity had no substance and practically no form.

Worst of all, "ever loyal" subjects who had spurned the Cuban example of armed uprising, traded the beginnings of autonomy under Spain for military government under a series of American generals. This lasted two years, until the passage of the Foraker Act in 1900, and it is this period that Father Berbusse ostensibly concentrates on. The story is worth telling and analyzing, for its own sake and as a case study in imperial ossification, and renewal on the part of a newer, more vigorous metropolitan power, one that presented a new cultural front to the colonial subjects.

Unfortunately, Berbusse's execution of the task leaves much to be desired. The opening section, devoted to background material on nineteenth-century Puerto Rican political development and to the autonomy commission, is perfunctorily handled, and one wonders how many readers ignorant of Spanish will tackle so special a monograph as this. This diffusion of focus shows up again in recurrent, disjointed sections on ecclesiastical affairs. Berbusse tries to be fair in these installments, though his account of Puerto Rican Church and state would have no trouble obtaining the imprimatur.

More important, the book is bereft of any thesis worthy of the name. Obviously, it describes a process of imperialism, first naked, then slightly clothed with the coming of civil government. But there is no attempt to relate the events

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meaningfully to the American imperial venture as a whole or to the theoretical and polemical literature on imperialism. Perhaps such isolated treatment of the island's trauma is justified in a curious way, in view of the nonchalance of the American take-over. The book's failure does not stem from lack of diligence, however, for Berbusse has searched the pertinent collections and newspaper files. Surely we can expect more in portraits of the proconsuls and of the Puerto Rican leaders and their cohorts, but we do not get them. The account of the framing and passage of the Foraker Act tells us little that cannot be learned from the senator's memoirs and Walters' biography.

I submit that the initiation of the imperial experience in Puerto Rico, given its domestic imperatives, was extremely important. The importance lay not in the island itself but in the opportunity afforded the US for "Mini-Empire on the Cheap." Berbusse's final chapter, "Trends in Puerto Rican Evolution," defies all attempts at description, much less analysis.

University of California, Los Angeles FRANK OTTO GATELL

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR: JOSEPH C. GREW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC TRADITION. By *Waldo H. Heinrichs, Jr.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1966. Pp. xii, 460. $10.50.)

JOSEPH C. Grew's career bracketed the presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, and American movement from relative aloofness to world involvement. The narrative marches on three levels: the expanding stature and experience of one of our most distinguished diplomats, his relationship to the developing Foreign Service, and the history of American foreign relations between 1904 and 1945. He served widely—Cairo, Vienna, Berlin, Versailles, Bern, Copenhagen, Washington (in two tours as Undersecretary of State), Istanbul, and Tokyo—matured slowly, and failed to earn the author's full marks as a professional, though he was repeatedly denominated a fine "craftsman." His failure was partly temperamental and partly, one may surmise, chronological. He operated most effectively in an atmosphere where calm and leisurely personal interchange could, by some semiosmotic process, eventuate into reasonable policy. He served too often in posts requiring more aggressive tactics and survived into a period ill-suited to his desultory approach; his last important tour was in Japan, where the tides ran too fast and where differences with Washington shunted him into a backwater at a time of supreme crisis.

He served, uncomfortably, as Undersecretary to Frank B. Kellogg (1925–1927). The deafness that plagued his career complicated relations with his chief; his wealth and family background aligned him naturally with the unpopular side in a controversy that threatened to disrupt the new Foreign Service created by the Rogers Act of 1924. Istanbul's more congenial atmosphere provided a welcome haven from personal and professional dilemmas, and here he performed his best work.

The author rightly devotes more than half of his pages to the Japanese assignment (1932–1942). The story is one of increasing ineffectiveness, of repeated wrong guesses as to Japanese intentions (an equally critical but less sympathetic

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scholar could have drawn parallels between Grew and "Wrong-Horse Harry" Stimson), of growing divergence from his principals at home, and of inability to persuade them of the validity of his analyses. To the end he sought peace through negotiation, realizing, unhappily, that the time for negotiation had passed; back in Washington, he ended his career as Undersecretary, devoting himself, again unsuccessfully, to hastening surrender by reassuring Japan on the position of the Emperor as a means of minimizing Russian influence (which he greatly feared) in Far Eastern affairs.

Professor Heinrichs relates the man to his times with grace and occasional distinction, though the bulk of Grew's literary monuments too often tempts him into excessive detail on events with which Grew was either centrally or peripherally concerned and, conversely, encourages him to neglect matters in the great world with which those in Grew's bailiwick were significantly linked. The study's contribution, however, far outweighs the author's vulnerability to these occupational hazards.

Seton Hall University L. Ethan Ellis

THE NEW YORK BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH: PIONEER IN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION. By *Jane S. Dahlberg*. With a foreword by *Luther Gulick*. (New York: New York University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 258. $6.00.)

This is a narrowly conceived, unimaginative study of a very important institution. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research was a private organization, much copied elsewhere, which began in 1906 by making studies of the management of New York City. Based on its early success in proposing improvements, it soon enlarged its activities to analysis of other cities, New York State, and the federal government. Its leaders, William H. Allen, Henry Bruere, Charles A. Beard, Frederick A. Cleveland, and Luther Gulick, constituted a vital core of American governmental research, education, and administrative reform. Over the years from 1906 to 1921, from its founding until its transformation into the National Institute of Public Administration, the bureau led the drive for the creation of what we now know as modern American bureaucratic government. Its reform proposals were the major steps of our century: the strong executive, the budget method of administrative planning and legislative supervision, systematic accounting and auditing procedures, centralized purchasing, and a general respect for rationalization at all levels of the administrative process.

Miss Dahlberg chronicles the bureau's activities for each of these subjects. The book is thus, with its notes, a reference to the subject, but not more. Though the relation between business methods and the budgeting and accounting proposals of the bureau is mentioned, the subject is not investigated. Though measures of efficiency are treated at length, no awareness of the modern literature of the problems of pricing municipal services is shown. No suggestion of the tensions inherent in attempting to impose a uniform system of budgeting and management on such diverse institutions as a city hospital, a waterworks, a school department, and welfare board ruffles the narrative. The book is written as if nothing had happened to American cities, and as if nothing had been learned about them, since 1921. In short, all that is worth while in the subject—what excited the bu-

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reau's pioneers fifty years ago and what makes the subject still important today—has been ignored, suppressed, or missed.

University of Michigan SAM BASS WARNER, JR.

SHIPS THAT SAIL NO MORE: MARINE TRANSPORTATION FROM SAN DIEGO TO PUGET SOUND, 1910–1940. By *Giles T. Brown*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 287. $7.50.)

THIS solid, well-documented study, the outgrowth of a doctoral thesis at the Claremont Graduate School (1948), emphasizes the passenger-carrying services of H. F. Alexander's Admiral Line (1907–1938) and its associates and competitors. As Brown says, geography is hostile to Pacific coastal shipping, which must travel greater distances than the carriers on land. The dominant railroad south of Portland, the Southern Pacific, long controlled the principal maritime lines so effectively that it could run its trains even more slowly than now. Effective competition began when the Santa Fe Railroad began fast service by its roundabout route from Los Angeles to San Francisco Bay via Barstow (1900). It quickened as steel and steam replaced wood and sail at sea and as Alexander developed coordinated service from Puget Sound to California in 1910. The Hill system began a short-lived rail and steamship service from Portland to San Francisco via Flavel (Astoria) in 1915. But the SP regained its advantage by building a new line through the Cascades (1927). By the time the last of the major coastal passenger carriers withdrew in 1941, trucks were dividing the freight traffic.

Drawing on trade journals, newspapers, and corporate records, Brown concentrates on the ships themselves, their competition for passengers between major ports, and their owners' problems in operating them. He says less of the larger settings of intercoastal and transpacific shipping, as described in Wytze Gorter and George H. Hildebrand, *The Pacific Coast Maritime Shipping Industry, 1930–1948* (1952–54), which he does not cite, or of labor's point of view, or of the minor ports, some of which still had no railroads in his period. An appendix gives specifications of the principal vessels in the trade, omitting some steam schooners that carried passengers, and summarizes their histories.

The illustrations will evoke memories of vanished comforts and adventures. But while Brown has not attempted the new economic history, his book also is no mere maritime counterpart to the antiquarian descriptions of rolling stock ("varnish"), adorned with anecdotes, that often pass for transportation history. He and the publisher have done their job well.

University of Oregon EARL POMEROY

LANGUAGE LOYALTY IN THE UNITED STATES: THE MAINTENANCE AND PERPETUATION OF NON-ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUES BY AMERICAN ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS. By *Joshua A. Fishman et al.* [Janua Linguarum: Studia Memoriae Nicolai van Wijk Dedicata, Major Series, Number 21.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 478. 64 gls.)

THIS impressive final product of a project commissioned by the Language Research Section of the United States Office of Education grew from that office's in-

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terest in the process of language maintenance in the United States. With erudition and sensitivity, the ten collaborating scholars scrutinize immigrant efforts to maintain their linguistic identity. Statistical analyses of mother tongue and nativity in the American population and of the ethnic press from 1910 to 1960 and surveys of foreign-language broadcasting and organizational and leadership interest document the quantitative impact of language in twentieth-century America. Treatises on retentiveness of the mother tongue in the ethnic parishes, both Catholic and Lutheran, and in the ethnic group schools record the persistence of diverse traditions at the local level. Special studies of the Germans, of the French in New England, of the Spanish in the Southwest, and of the Ukrainians add historic depth and regional sensibility to our appreciation of ethnic complexity; special studies of the Hungarian and the Yiddish in the original report have been omitted, and the Chinese and the Japanese have been overlooked entirely.

Fishman's analytical and summary chapters and Nathan Glazer's lucid "integrative review" of the factors leading to the decline of language facility "in a supra-ethnic age" imply that we may be at the threshold of rediscovering the varied textures of our ethnic and linguistic heritages and unraveling their implications for the present. If "we have tended to be insulated from some of the most stirring cognitive and emotional processes within ourselves and throughout the rest of the world," it is but a recent tendency, for we have been obsessed with minimizing our own complexity. Heinz Kloss convincingly challenges John Hawgood's view of German America, but Hansen's "third generation" theory is contested on less plausible grounds.

Historians weary of the current dialectic and homogenized fare should turn to this refreshing volume; it may be their task to rekindle the sense of generous variety that has been America, just as it was the task of their predecessors to bring unity out of diversity.

San Francisco State College MOSES RISCHIN

HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE. By *Arvarh E. Strickland*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. 286. $7.50.)

DR. Strickland's study of the Chicago Urban League illustrates the problems and opportunities confronting the historian who attempts to assess a contemporary organization's philosophy, objectives, personnel, and policies. Strickland goes about his task in scholarly fashion and demonstrates his respect for the integrity of the historian's craft. He approaches his study chronologically and traces the development of the Chicago League from its early years during World War I to the 1960's. He utilizes a number of important primary sources, including the files of the Chicago Urban League and several collections of personal papers and manuscripts; he has also conducted over a dozen personal interviews and employed an impressive array of published and unpublished materials.

The inherent limitations for change that characterize an organization thrown upon the good will and endorsement of white, middle-class, business interests represent the central, recurrent theme of the study. Although dependable and solid, the book is dull and unsatisfying; it is organizational history written in a

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vacuum. Only infrequently does Strickland cast the Chicago League in a larger framework as a part of the National Urban League or as an element in the emergent local or national civil rights movement. Nor does he often permit personalities to become real. Leading members of the Chicago League are pasteboard functionaries devoid of flesh and blood, as are the members of the Negro community with whom they deal. Too often the author verges on analyzing important inner- and intergroup dynamics, but retreats to the comfortable though arid womb of the Chicago Urban League's routine affairs. When Strickland does take a more comprehensive view, the Chicago League falls into the background only to reappear abruptly in summary fashion. The lines of transition are underdeveloped and relationships to broader issues allusive and unclear.

The closing chapters, which examine the Chicago League from the period 1955 to the early 1960's, suffer least from these deficiencies and indicate the high caliber of work that can mark the author's efforts. Before we are totally able to appreciate the strengths and weaknesses of the twentieth-century movement for improvement in the status and opportunities of the Negro in America, we shall need a great many studies of local and regional groups, such as the Chicago Urban League. Strickland has contributed to this understanding, but subsequent undertakings will, it is hoped, penetrate more deeply into the fiber of group activities and grasp more fully their environmental network than this book has.

Washington, D. C. ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO

GOVERNING SOIL CONSERVATION: THIRTY YEARS OF THE NEW DECENTRALIZATION. By *Robert J. Morgan.* ([Baltimore:] Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc. [1966.] Pp. xiv, 399. $8.00.)

THIS book is largely concerned with the "extreme complexity of the struggle for political power in rural America" as centered in the work of the extension agents and officials of the soil conservation districts and of the Production and Marketing Administration. Readers have long been aware of the bureaucratic rivalries in which Herbert Hoover, Harold Ickes, and Henry Wallace were involved, but these were interdepartmental. Morgan's story is concerned with the struggles in Washington that swirled around the efforts of H. H. Bennett of the Department of Agriculture to develop support for and carry through demonstration projects to show how the loss of valuable topsoil could be checked. His work involved him and his agency, the Soil Conservation Service, in warfare with bureaus in his own department, as well as some in Interior, and with the Extension Service which had the support of the land-grant colleges and the American Farm Bureau. The author relates the rivalries, bickering, and infighting of the partisans of the different groups in much detail drawn from their correspondence in the National Archives and from some interviews he had with surviving protagonists. As a good social scientist, Morgan rarely displays his own views, though I did detect some disillusionment with Bennett who, long before 1933, was trumpeting the need for soil conservation practices in the use of farm- and forestland, and is regarded as the man above all others who warned the country of the tremendous losses it was suffering from reckless land use. Morgan shows that the jurisdictional issues were finally resolved between 1948 and 1953 by a series of political moves. The

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second part of the book is devoted to an examination of the later functioning of the soil conservation projects, the roles played by the federal government, the states, and the districts. Some of the difficulties into which the small watershed program fell are explained. The new decentralization seems to mean that within broad areas Congress authorizes the centralized bureaucrats to determine major lines of activity and permits the local administrators in collaboration with other local agencies to carry out policies defined at the top level.

One of the few light touches in the study, which is a work of real merit and value to the specialist in agricultural policies and bureaucratic history, is the account of how President Eisenhower was induced to favor the Soil Conservation position against that of the Farm Bureau leaders, to the astonishment of his Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson.

Cornell University PAUL W. GATES

GEORGE C. MARSHALL: ORDEAL AND HOPE, 1939–1942. By *Forrest C. Pogue*. Foreword by *Omar N. Bradley*. (New York: Viking Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 491. $8.95.)

THIS second volume of Forrest Pogue's long-awaited authorized biography of General George C. Marshall has reached the period of Marshall's first three years as Chief of Staff, the turbulent era from 1939 through 1942 when Marshall initiated the vast expansion of the US Army for World War II. With the aid of the Marshall Papers at Lexington, Virginia, Pogue commences this volume at the moment in 1939 when the US still supposedly had all the time it wanted in which to prepare for war "but no money," a moment abruptly superseded upon the fall of France in 1940 with all the money in the world, "but no time."

To compound this formerly habitual pattern of American democracy, Marshall soon found that he had to reorganize the army root and branch in order to train and equip it effectively, to grant the air force *de facto* independence, to replace deadwood from his famed and feared "little Black Book" with younger and tougher officers, to resist at least some of the desperate Allied claims on the trickle of US military production, and to attempt to educate the President, the Congress, and the isolationists on the necessities and limitations of an army in modern times. It is fortunate that the US Army was not expected to fight as well in this precious interregnum of furious, not to say frantic, preparation before Pearl Harbor.

Pogue makes clear that Marshall's sympathies and efforts lay far more than has been generally appreciated with the exposed command of his predecessor, General Douglas MacArthur, in the Philippines. Infected with MacArthur's optimism regarding the effectiveness of the Filipino Army and with US Air Force delusions concerning the B-17 bomber, Marshall devoted much attention to building up MacArthur in 1941 rather than to dragging the US into war, as the isolationists subsequently charged. Indeed, in Pogue's interpretation Marshall appears about midway between the more Anglophile President and the Anglophobe US commander in the Philippines.

Pogue's analysis of the background to Pearl Harbor is the best balanced since Roberta Wohlstetter's and decidedly more coherent. There is no doubt, whatsoever, that, in common with the whole Roosevelt administration, Marshall expected

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a Japanese strike in the Far East, probably including the Philippines, instead of the deadly raid on Pearl Harbor and, for that reason, was naturally more indignant over MacArthur's loss of planes at Clark Field after several hours' warning than over General Short's exhaustively debated losses in the Hawaiian Islands. In this connection Pogue is generous to Admiral Kimmel and to General Short, feeling they were no more responsible than many others involved in the disaster. Grave inadequacies in Marshall's command post in Washington and extreme overwork on the part of the Chief of Staff are Pogue's principal explanations for Marshall's personal derelictions vis-à-vis Pearl Harbor.

With the US at last committed to the war, Marshall now encountered overwhelming British policy pressures on behalf of the Mediterranean theater of operations. Resulting in what Pogue tactfully terms "a peculiar chemistry of history," this opportunist British response to "the pressure of events" has subsequently been depicted as a careful and long-range strategic plan for operations against the so-called soft underbelly of Europe. In reality, as Marshall was to sum up Roosevelt's capitulation on this matter: "The [soldiers] failed to see that the leader in a democracy has to keep the people entertained" with dramatic action of a seemingly offensive nature during war, a lesson that unfortunately applies to dictators as well.

Somewhat too gentle portraits of such prickly personalities as "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, General George Patton, and Admiral Ernest J. King are balanced by long-overdue tributes to Field Marshal Sir John Dill and Henry L. Stimson, the last of the American Genro. Excellent footnotes and detailed appendixes, interviews, and bibliographical notes will ensure Pogue's *Marshall* a permanent place in US military history and biography.

Drexel Institute TRUMBULL HIGGINS

CORREGIDOR: THE SAGA OF A FORTRESS. By *James H. Belote* and *William M. Belote*. Foreword by *Robert Leckie*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xii, 273. $6.95.)

LIKE the "impregnable" bastion of Singapore, the island fortress of Corregidor was designed to withstand attack from the sea. Its basic mission was to deny Manila Bay to an enemy fleet, and its defenses were aimed primarily at repelling warships. Measures to defeat assaults from its landward side and, indeed, from the air were generally neglected, largely, but not entirely, because of congressional unwillingness to provide the necessary funds. By December 1941 Corregidor's defenses, like Singapore's, were formidable but dangerously outmoded when opposed by new weapons and methods of warfare. In the spring of 1942 the "Gibralter of the East" surrendered in the face of a determined Japanese assault. Three years later American forces regained the island.

This absorbing book tells the story of Corregidor's fall and recapture, with primary emphasis on the former. The authors recount in fascinating detail the long siege and unremitting pressure that forced capitulation at the war's beginning and the dramatic and difficult operation that retook the island in 1945. They base their work primarily on the records of both campaigns, on interviews with American participants, and on Japanese materials prepared after the war to meet

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the needs of the official American historical programs. Well-written and illustrated, the book is nonetheless disappointing. The US Army's World War II historical series includes ample coverage of Corregidor. The primary contribution of this account would seem to lie in providing much additional color and detail and in collecting it all in a single volume. With the exception of two brief chapters about the prewar years, the authors have not added significantly to the official histories.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces STANLEY L. FALK

TRUMAN AND TAFT-HARTLEY: A QUESTION OF MANDATE. By *R. Alton Lee*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 254. $7.50.)

THE Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, now a flickering political issue, was a subject of rancorous debate during the middle years of the Truman administration. Resulting from widespread resentment of union power, the legislation was conceived and guided by antilabor organizations and endorsed by many citizens who wanted Congress to correct the prolabor bias of the Wagner Act. In the largest sense, then, Taft-Hartley was a reaction against the New Deal and its mild extension of power beyond the big business community.

Yet, it is one of the ironies of these years, R. Alton Lee suggests, that Roosevelt's heir, Harry S. Truman, after encouraging these antagonisms against labor, reaped benefits from them: in the 1948 campaign he ignored his own responsibility for the "slave labor law" and successfully blamed it on the Republicans. Claiming credit for the Democratic victory, union leaders joined Truman in interpreting the triumph as a "mandate" for repeal of the law. But there was "no [such] popular mandate," concludes Lee (following Benjamin Aaron), and Truman and the labor lobbyists could not muster the votes to overcome the conservative coalition blocking repeal. Had the administration instead sought revision, writes Lee (again following others), Congress would have modified the law. The unions, however, rejected a compromise, and the administration would not risk adopting a strategy unacceptable to them. In addition, suggests Lee, Truman probably wanted to retain Taft-Hartley as an issue for the next election. But by 1952, hostility to the act was waning, for it was clear that the law had not significantly injured organized labor.

Concentrating on these events, Lee claims to present the early political history of Taft-Hartley as a case study of the "dichotomy in the national constituency," "the struggle between the agricultural and . . . [business] groups that dominated Congress and the laboring elements, that through the President, controlled the executive. . . ." Fortunately the author slips beyond this promised case study and generally avoids coercing the materials into such an ill-fitting theory.

Conceived first as a doctoral thesis, the book still bears the marks of limited research and restricted focus. It neglects the personalities and the organization of the administration, disregards its other efforts and programs, and overlooks the administration's general legislative priorities and strategies. By skimming past these larger topics, Lee, though occasionally critical of the Truman presidency, overlooks the issues raised by recent revisionist literature and some of the sources

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it has exploited. Relying heavily on the materials at the Truman Library and occasionally on the files of the Department of Labor, he neglects some collections at the library and fails to use the records of the Bureau of the Budget and the privately held papers of Clark Clifford. Despite these shortcomings and some very careless editorial work (by the press), the volume is a useful study of the early political history of Taft-Hartley.

Stanford University BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

FRANCE ET CANADA FRANÇAIS DU XVI^e^ AU XX^e^ SIÈCLE: COLLOQUE DE QUÉBEC, 10–12 OCTOBRE 1963. *Claude Galarneau* and *Elzéar Lavoie,* Editors. [Les Cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire, Number 7.] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1966. Pp. 322. $7.00.)

LAVAL University has for several years held an annual conference devoted to the study of an aspect of the history of French Canada. The subjects considered have included French-Canadian historiography and the role of the bourgeoisie and the role of power in French Canada. In the past the results of these conferences have been published in *Recherches Sociographiques,* the periodical of the sociology department of Laval. The present volume has been issued as one of the "Cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire" of the same university. The conferences and the publications that followed, little known outside of Canada, deserve a better press. They are valuable documents, extremely informative on current trends, academic and otherwise, and on contemporary Quebec, a "province not like other provinces."

Three recent trends in French-Canadian studies are evident in the present publication: a concern with economic history; the mentality of social groups with a strong emphasis on a psychological interpretation; and a renewed interest in the influence, past and present, of France on French Canada. This is evident in the choice of French academics who were invited to participate: Ernest Labrousse, who presented a paper on prices of agricultural products in France; Alphonse Dupront who spoke on "Reflections on a History of Collective Psychology"; and Robert Mandrou whose subject was the relations between low-brow literature and the peasant mentality.

The conference was divided into two large areas: "Problems of Economic History" and "History of Mentalities." In the first area the French-Canadian participants presented the Canadian counterpart of the themes considered by the French academics. The second area was composed of the Dupront and Mandrou papers, as well as contributions by Luc Lacoursière, J. C. Falardeau, and Fernand Dumont.

It is obvious that scant justice can be done to the complex and varied themes presented. Of the three currents noted, that concerned with the relations between France and French Canada is weakest. There are striking similarities between the movement of prices in France and French Canada, but striking differences as well. There is also a case to be made for similar concerns in social studies, involving particularly the use of the collective and psychological approaches. The conference was successful; the editing by Claude Galarneau and Elzéar Lavoie is excellent; the book is highly commended.

Sir George Williams University CAMERON NISH

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HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DU QUÉBEC, 1760–1850: STRUCTURES ET CONJONCTURE. By *Fernand Ouellet.* Preface by *Robert Mandrou.* [Histoire économique et sociale du Canada Français.] (Montreal: Fides. 1966. Pp. xxxii, 639.)

PUBLICATION of this brilliant book is an event of the greatest significance in the historiography of French Canada. One is almost tempted to say that it is the most important French-Canadian historical work published since F.-X. Garneau's *Histoire* began to appear in the 1840's. The remark, however, requires qualification since Ouellet does not belong to the long tradition of nationalist historians fathered by Garneau. On the contrary, this book is a frontal assault, or rather a systematic refutation, of several of the central themes of nationalist writing, particularly as it is represented today by the Montreal school of historians led by Maurice Séguin and Michel Brunet.

For the nationalist historians, British conquest was a cataclysm. To this contention Ouellet replies: "Au lendemain de 1760, la vie se continue dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent et l'existence des hommes se déroule dans un paysage qui, en gros, reste la même qu'autrefois." This conclusion is reached only after some 550 pages of carefully documented analysis of the social structure, demography, economic and political life of Quebec between 1760 and 1850. In many ways the book follows D. G. Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (1937). Both take, as a point of departure, the metropolitan, staple trade thesis. But where Creighton concentrated on the activities of the merchant classes, Ouellet examines more fully the other orders of society, particularly the French-Canadian mercantile, professional, and agricultural classes.

Ouellet rejects the nationalists' claim that the French-Canadian bourgeoisie was "decapitated" by the conquest. Instead he accepts the Hamelin conclusion that New France lacked a modern entrepreneurial middle class. What there was of a business class survived until nearly the end of the eighteenth century before it disappeared in the face of the competition of the new, English-speaking bourgeoisie. Ouellet interprets the emergence of French-Canadian nationalism after 1800 as the defensive reaction of a noncommercial professional class demanding a liberal form of government in order to defend a traditional social order against the changes being demanded and wrought by the capitalist class. Thus he sees the conflicts leading up to the abortive rebellion of 1837–1838 in class terms and rejects the nationalist "lutte des races."

These are merely the main theses of the book. Just as important are the vast amounts of empirical data concerning the economic and social history of Quebec over nearly a century. This book should spark a vigorous debate in Canadian, especially French-Canadian, circles. The onus is now clearly on the nationalist historians to attempt to produce an equally impressive documentation for their rebuttal.

University of Toronto RAMSAY COOK

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THE CLERGY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN QUEBEC (1896–1914). By *William F. Ryan.* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1966. Pp. 348. $12.00.)

Father Ryan investigates one of the axioms of Canadian historiography: that the French-Canadian Catholic clergy of the province of Quebec was partially, perhaps largely, responsible for instilling an anticommercial bias in French-Canadian society. He sets the economic development of Quebec within the pattern of economic development in Canada, establishing statistically that it paralleled that taking place in other parts of the country. It is obvious, then, that if economic development in Quebec was on a level comparable to that of, say, Ontario, that the Church's influence, at the very least, did not retard what can be called normal growth.

The core of the book is in the second, third, and fourth chapters, where the author examines four specific areas: Grand'Mère, Shawinigan Falls, La Tuque, and the Saint Maurice River Valley. In Grand'Mère and Shawinigan Falls the formal erection of parishes followed the entry of industry; in the Saint Maurice Valley, the Church structures were built before the establishment of the industries studied in this work. In both cases Ryan decisively proves that the Church was not hostile to industrial development, but welcomed and assisted it in every fashion. Close collaboration between the bishop of the region, the local curé, and the managers or backers of the newly established industries is established by Ryan. In every industry that he considers the Church undertook actively to propagandize the benefits accruing to the community from the new industries. The churchmen also supplied the industries with what can only be called a docile labor force by fighting international unions and their involvement in the formation of Catholic unions, that is, company unions. On the other hand, the industrialists were sympathetic to the spiritual ambitions of the clergy: they often supplied land for churches and schools; they also actively supported Church endeavors through monetary contributions.

Some nagging questions are still left unanswered, however. For one thing, Ryan hedges so in his conclusion that it is difficult to disagree with him. He admits that the Church's main interest was not in economic development. To write that the Church did not oppose the entry of industry is not, however, to prove a relation between the Church and economic growth; it merely establishes that the Church did not always oppose economic development. Another matter that is not examined sufficiently is the role of the Church as a servant of the industrialists rather than as a servant of its own flocks. In many ways this is a disappointing book: it asks questions, but only partially answers them, and leaves too many issues unresolved. It should be read for what it has left unsaid and for what must be investigated before a more decisive answer can be given to the role of the clergy and economic growth in Quebec.

Sir George Williams University Cameron Nish

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VIDA E HISTÓRIA. By *José Honório Rodrigues*. [Coleção Vera Cruz (Literatura Brasileira), Volume CIX.] ([Rio de Janeiro:] Civilização Brasileira. 1966. Pp. 278.)

THE distinguished Brazilian historian José Honório Rodrigues has produced another work on historiography. Part I, "Life and History," concerns various topics on history in general and also on revisionism and revisionist tendencies in Brazil. There is, he says, too little revisionism among Brazilian historians because the elite has always had an aversion to novelties. The conservative view of Brazilian history dates from Varnhagen.

"It is evident," he writes, "that revisionism presupposes an ideological revision that orients it, but it is also evident that the success of historical revision has a decisive influence on ideological renovation." The revisionist tendencies in Brazil today include the application of new instruments furnished by anthropology, sociology, and psychology to analyses of race and culture, Marxist interpretations, the interaction of history and biography, and nationalism.

Other essays in Part I concern the political thought of José Bonifácio, the needs for research, Capistrano de Abreu and Raimundo José da Cunha Matos, and characteristics of the population of Rio de Janeiro. Part II, "Foreign Historiography on Brazil," discusses the works of Martius, Sir Charles Webster, Pierre Monbeig, and Charles R. Boxer. In Part III, "History as a Question of Conscience," examples are taken from the works of Srbik, Burckhardt, Pirenne, Huizinga, Meinecke, Dewey, Santayana, and Walter Prescott Webb.

This book is evidence of the maturity and development of historiography in twentieth-century Brazil and of the wide range of knowledge and interest of Rodrigues.

Texas Christian University DONALD E. WORCESTER

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE INCAS AND GENERAL HISTORY OF PERU. In two volumes. By *Garcilaso de la Vega*. Translated with an introduction by *Harold V. Livermore*. Foreword by *Arnold J. Toynbee*. [The Texas Pan-American Series.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1966. Pp. xliv, 627; xlvii, 634–1530. $17.50 the set.)

GARCILASO de la Vega is the best-known chronicler of early Peru, and this handsome edition is the fullest and most authoritative English version of his work. Garcilaso gave the title *Royal Commentaries* to the entire history, but at the time of the first publication in the early seventeenth century this name was reserved for the first part, and the second appeared as the *General History*. The first part deals with Inca history to the time of Atahualpa, the second with the Spanish conquest and colonial history through the administration of Viceroy Toledo. The two together make a continuous account of the rise and fall of one of the great non-European civilizations. Garcilaso's fame derives from the exoticism and drama of his subject as well as from the clarity of his exposition and the polish of his literary form. His writings have always ranked high among works of literature. Their appeal has been the greater because they reflect both the Spanish and the Indian traditions. As the son of a conquistador and a noble Inca woman and born

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in Cuzco but responsive to the cultured society of southern Spain where he spent his mature life, Garcilaso epitomizes the refinements of mestization. His achievement demonstrates, perhaps most particularly to an audience that feels the need for such demonstration, the possibilities of a rich cultural interpretation of the Spanish conquest.

Statements like these are characteristic of the extensive commentary on Garcilaso. Sophisticated elaborations of them, together with some detailed information on Garcilaso's life and times, appear in the introductions to this edition by A. J. Toynbee and H. V. Livermore. It is curious that neither remarks on the radical changes in Garcilaso's reputation among historians of the twentieth century. It is surely of some importance that P. A. Means in 1928 could say that for three centuries Garcilaso's history "has been our chief authority" for Incaic times, whereas to J. H. Rowe in 1946 this same history seemed "entirely fanciful." Most students of the past twenty years have followed Rowe, but still more recent interpretations suggested by the Swedish historian Åke Wedin tend, in part, to rehabilitate Garcilaso. Thus some hard historical questions still confront the serious reader of the *Royal Commentaries*.

University of Michigan CHARLES GIBSON

TADEO HAËNKE Y EL FINAL DE UNA VIEJA POLÉMICA. By *Laurio H. Destéfani* and *Donald Cutter*. Preface by *D. Humberto F. Burzio*. [Secretaria de Estado de Marina, Departamento de Estudios Históricos Navales. Historia Naval Argentina, Series B, Number 10.] (Buenos Aires: the Secretaria. 1966. Pp. vii, 9–163.)

THE polemic of the title of this monograph concerns the authorship of certain narratives of travel and scientific observation in eighteenth-century Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. The accounts have been published with attributions to Tadeo Haënke (1761–1817), Bohemian-born botanist of the extended Spanish scientific expedition of 1789–1794, commanded by the Italian-born naval officer, Alejandro Malaspina.

Captain Destéfani of the Argentine Navy's History Section and Professor Cutter of the University of New Mexico have collaborated to prove that Haënke was not the author of the narratives; rather, they demonstrate that the accounts must have been the work of two naval officers of the expedition, Felipe Bauzá and José de Espinosa. The argument is based on analysis of the British Museum manuscript of the journeys and of printed works, from which the authors of the monograph establish itineraries that prove that Haënke did not make the journeys claimed for him.

The pro-Haënke contention that two of the scientist's letters, which exist only as copies of the alleged originals made by his brother, demonstrate that the botanist did indeed traverse the regions in question are deemed by the coauthors to be chronologically anachronistic and the forgeries of a weak, publicity-seeking brother.

Although many of the arguments of the polemic have been adduced by earlier writers, and the dispute is not precisely breath taking, this monograph is an addi-

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tion to the important history of Spanish scientific endeavors in America. This study is not intended to diminish the estimable career of its subject, who continued his scientific labors in Bolivia to the end of his life; it is rather to correct historiographic error.

University of Texas THOMAS F. MCGANN

CLASS PRIVILEGE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE CONSULADO DE COMERCIO OF GUATEMALA, 1793–1871. By *Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr.* [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLVIII.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 155. $2.50.)

BY means of a guild, the rich merchants of Guatemala City monopolized the economic life of Central America during the last three decades of the colonial era; they did the same for Guatemala proper in the first half century of nationhood. Among the *Consulado*'s responsibilities were the supervision of commerce, the improvement of the infrastructure, the administration of mercantile justice, and the development of the economy. Because of its quasi-governmental functions, as well as its financial resources, the guild also had a powerful voice in politics, siding exclusively with the Conservatives. Thus, the free-trading Liberals suspended its charter from 1829 to 1839, only to have it reinstated in the latter year when the Conservatives returned to power. The *Consulado*'s record of accomplishments was substantial, and it might have been better if it had not been guided by the merchants' narrow interests. Lacking a national orientation, the guild alienated the outlying regions: Chiapas was lost to Mexico; the Central American Republic fragmented into five states; and the highlands of Guatemala (Los Altos)chafed under a city-dominated government. Furthermore, the *Consulado*'s emphasis on one particular export at a time perpetuated the stamp of monoculture upon Guatemala.

A model of scholarship, this well-conceived monograph draws heavily from materials in Guatemalan archives. Professor Woodward carries out the topical organization with a minimum of repetition. Considering the time span involved, the author had to limit the treatment of the *Consulado*'s political role. His discussion of the guild's relationship to the competitive *Sociedad Patriótica* is exemplary. For my own interest, I wish that he had provided a more detailed analysis of the *Consulado*'s opposition to the Cádiz economic reforms from 1808 to 1814, from 1820 to 1821, and from 1821 to 1826 during the first years of independence. This might have tempered Woodward's views that the impact of the Enlightenment in Central America was tardy and limited as to base. My research findings challenge this standard interpretation; in fact, Woodward introduces evidence in his text that likewise undermines it. Be that as it may, this is a solid and meaningful contribution to the economic history of Guatemala.

George Washington University MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

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MEXICO AND THE SPANISH CORTES, 1810–1822: EIGHT ESSAYS. Edited with an introduction by *Nettie Lee Benson.* [Latin American Monographs, Number 5. Institute of Latin American Studies, The University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1966. Pp. 243. $5.00.)

THE eight essays in this volume are the product of a seminar on Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810–1822, directed by Nettie Lee Benson. Her introductory essay demonstrates how little attention has been given to the subject and lays the ground for the studies to follow. These deal, successively, with the election of Mexican deputies to the Cortes, the role of Mexicans in the drafting of the Constitution of Cádiz, municipal reform in Mexico under the Constitution, freedom of the press in Mexico in the constitutional periods, liberal efforts at Church reform, the status of the army of New Spain under the Constitution, economic reforms proposed and instituted, and, finally, efforts to put through reforms in order to quell the revolution for independence.

These essays contain much valuable information for those concerned with the history of Mexico's struggle for independence. The published records of the Cortes, the press in Mexico during the period, certain sections of the *Archivo General de la Nación,* and other manuscript sources have been carefully studied. The words and acts of the Mexican deputies to the Cortes have been thoroughly covered, as have the principal acts and statements of the Cortes that affected Mexico.

Less attention is given, in most of these essays, to showing how the constitutionalist system actually influenced Mexico during and after the struggle for independence than to stating what took place. The information presented is most useful and in many cases novel, but it would have been desirable to have developed the impact of these topics on later Mexican constitutional, legislative, and political life. The essays that seem to go furthest in this direction are James Breedlove's on Church reform and Neill Macaulay's on the army.

A certain amount of unnecessary repetition in these papers might have been eliminated. Most of the essays are pretty heavy going for the reader, except for the introduction and conclusion by the editor. It is possible that Benson, who thus generously facilitated the publication of the work of her students, might have herself written a more cogent book. The purpose of the publication is, nevertheless, clearly achieved. It will be impossible to neglect this subject in future studies of Mexican independence.

Vassar College CHARLES GRIFFIN

INTERÊSSE NACIONAL E POLÍTICA EXTERNA. By *José Honório Rodrigues.* [Retratos do Brasil, Volume XLVI.] ([Rio de Janeiro:] Civilização Brasileira. 1966. Pp. 232.)

José Honório Rodrigues' concern with the methods and tools of historiography has shifted recently to a preoccupation with Brazilian national character, with enduring patterns of Brazilian history, and with Brazil's cultural and political world involvements. His newer interpretations, though not richly philosophic, have solid virtues. His lucid style, his ability to synthesize, his eye for critical

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contemporary issues in their historical dimension, and his forthrightness in taking positions more than compensate for his occasional dogmatism and petulance.

As the author admits, this is not a "planned and organic" book but a collection of essays (some first published in English) on historical and contemporary aspects of Brazilian foreign policy. Their provisional character and frequent overlapping are pardonable, given the slight scholarly attention thus far paid to the internal forces that have shaped foreign policy in Latin American countries. The author's first three essays deal with precisely this subject for Brazil since independence. He traces what are for him the cardinal policy principles of his nation to origins in the last century, summarizing them as: pacifism, legalism, and preference for arbitration; defense of the territorial *status quo;* neutrality and nonintervention (suspended during 1851–1870, but restored after the Paraguayan War); self-determination; anticolonialism; avoidance of entangling alliances with strong countries; and, toward the United States, friendliness short of sycophancy. In our century, Rodrigues maintains, the valuable lessons of the Empire were forgotten as foreign policy fell prey to oligarchic self-interest and to "innocuous and sterile conservatism." An important symptom of this trend, discussed in an essay on Brazilian-American relations, was the abandonment of friendly reserve toward the US and a generally uncritical acceptance of its hemispheric hegemony.

Rodrigues' criteria for analyzing the recent and, in part, the more distant past are linked to the ideology of the short-lived Jânio Quadros regime of 1961. During that moment, he claims, policy was formulated in accordance with intelligently defined national interest, and Brazilian leaders began "to think intercontinentally, with respect to relations both with the Americas and with the entire world." That same year saw the publication of Rodrigues' *Brazil and Africa* (since translated into English), to which an essay in this book on the same theme serves as a footnote. Also included is a pioneer survey of the discontinuous relations, since colonial times, between Brazil and the Far East.

The author's political partisanship by no means obscures the historical vistas to which he calls attention. Indeed, it gives the book documentary value for the historical moment in which it was written.

Yale University Richard M. Morse

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* * * * Association Notes * * * *

American Historical Association

The American Historical Association will meet at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, December 28–30, 1967. Louis Morton of Dartmouth College is Chairman of the Program Committee, and J. B. Conacher of the University of Toronto is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

Recent Deaths

John C. Andressohn, a life member of the Association, died in the summer of 1966.

Elizabeth P. Blegen, a life member of the Association, died in Athens, Greece, September 21.

Victor M. Cooper of Alexandria, Virginia, died November 3.

Fred J. Ericson, professor at Eastern Michigan University, died December 21.

Einar Joranson, professor emeritus at the University of Chicago, died December 29, at the age of eighty-three.

Richard G. Wood, a former director of the Vermont Historical Society, died January 25, 1967, at the age of sixty-six.

Walter D. Love, associate professor at the University of Bridgeport and managing editor of the monograph series "Studies in British History and Culture," died March 6.

Paul A. W. Wallace died March 8, at the age of seventy-five.

Robert La Follette and Briton Martin, Jr., both members of the Association, died recently.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

The short comment the *American Historical Review* is allowing permits only minimal discussion of three points concerning the symposium on "Class in the French Revolution: A Discussion" (*AHR*, LXXII [Jan. 1967], 497). In the first place, by ignoring the original French text of *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf* (the title, in translation, *The Coming of the French Revolution*), the three commentators have missed important considerations and fallen into errors. The original volume published in 1939 was a tribute by Lefebvre to the sesquicentennial celebration of the beginning of the Revolution. Printed on *glacé* paper with famous pictures

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of the great events of 1789, the volume was obviously written for a wide reading public. It contains the most readable prose of any of Lefebvre's extensive writing. He made the narrative more dramatic for the general reader by speaking of four phases or acts of the first year of the Revolution—aristocratic, bourgeois, urban workman, and peasant—and their interrelated and successive roles in 1789. Lefebvre used the terms with a broad class connotation, without implications of postwar Marxists and class structure specialists. He did not attempt to footnote the 247 pages (220 in the American translation), but proofs of his assertions could be found in his voluminous prior publication. The little volume's success in reaching a large reading public is attested by the translations into many languages and the paperback editions.

Second, while Mrs. Eisenstein devoted most of her attention to the first sixty pages—on 1788—all three discussants paid more attention to Robert Palmer's introduction than to Lefebvre's preface and conclusion. The conclusion merits careful reading and contains in simple language many interpretations of the Revolution, including the idea that it is a bloc, an interpretation overlooked by the three commentators. By this statement, Lefebvre was forecasting the rest of the Revolution and asserting that its development was patterned after the class roles and resort to violence exhibited in 1789. He was more concerned with the interaction of the social groups than with exact definitions of the "bourgeoisie." Mrs. Eisenstein ascribes laxity and imprecision to Lefebvre, whereas it seems more logical to consider the result as a conscious choice in view of the purpose and brevity of the book.

Third, Mr. Palmer omitted the final two paragraphs to Lefebvre's conclusion. These were an appeal to the youth of 1939 to heed the French Revolutionary tradition of liberty. The destruction of all but two hundred copies of the book at the command of the Nazis attested to the challenge of that tradition. Perhaps the omitted lines have as much pertinence today as in 1939!

Had Lefebvre written a learned treatise on the French Revolution, the volume would have been ignored in 1939 and probably never translated. His other works, articles, and book reviews are crammed with information and interpretations, written for the historian and specialist in the field. His short classic will long remain a challenge to lay as well as to professional readers.

Hunter College BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Kostich raises an interesting point, and one that is new to me, in his review of Vladimir Dedijer's *Road to Sarajevo* (*AHR*, LXXII [Jan. 1967], 570). "While too many in positions high and low wish for the death of what the Archduke personifies," he writes, "his war party is too eager for a *casus belli* to provide effective security for him." I wonder if Professor Kostich might care to name some of the people who, if I understand him correctly, failed to provide adequate security measures for Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, in order to have an excuse for war.

University of California, Santa Barbara JOACHIM REMAK

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Professor Remak queries the reviewer before, it seems, he has examined the work that is reviewed. The evidence he seeks is supplied amply and comprehensively in Dr. Dedijer's *Road to Sarajevo,* particularly in Chapter XVIII, pages 401–419. Despite grave warnings, General Potiorek, Austrian governor in Sarajevo whose assurances of safety overrode the Archduke's hesitance to visit Bosnia-Herzegovina, refused to provide the customary cordon of troops, although men were readily available. Instead, the security along the entire four-mile route was left to about 120 local policemen. This may have been a matter of negligence, but a shadow of doubt at least is cast by the following two statements chosen among many similar ones: (a) General von Hötzendorf, chief of the Austrian general staff, expressing the Viennese war party's reaction to the Archduke's assassination, "[it was] . . . a godsend, or rather a gift from Mars"; and (b) Count von Giesl, Austrian minister in Belgrade, in a dispatch to Vienna, "[the assassination] has . . . created for us a fortunate moral position." Dr. Max Hohenberg, the Archduke's son, raised charges that are summarized in Dedijer's pages 420–421; they support the point questioned by Professor Remak, and they are worth reading at least.

Long Island University Dragos D. Kostich

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

With a feeling of great surprise and dismay I have read Robert V. Allen's review of my book, *SShA v Voennye i Poslevoennye Gody (1940–1960)* [The USA during the War and Postwar Period, (1940–1960)], that appeared in the *AHR,* LXXII (Jan. 1967), 735.

Not only does Mr. Allen's treatment misrepresent the general idea of my book, but he quite incorrectly criticizes the book for being based on such sources as *Life, US News and World Report,* the *Saturday Evening Post,* and "books written as campaign biographies of presidential candidates."

However, even a cursory acquaintance with my book could quickly reveal that it is based predominantly on official documents and sources and that it contains a vast amount of references to a great number of books of prominent American historians, to memoirs of some well-known public figures, and to various quite reliable and reputable magazines and journals, not to speak of leading American newspapers. There are 160 references to the *Congressional Record,* 72 to *Current History,* and 41 to *Commercial and Financial Chronicle;* over a hundred references to congressional hearings and official reports and papers and about as many references to memoirs and papers of such men as W. Churchill, A. Eden, C. Hull, H. Truman, and A. Vandenberg; about 300 references to works of well-known American authors; and many references to such journals as *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Harper's Magazine, Department of State Bulletin, Magazine of Wall Street, Nation, National City Bank Bulletin, Business Week, American Economic Review,* the London *Economist,* and others.

Only on pages 444–445 do I refer to *Life* and, on page 530, to the *Saturday*

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Evening Post. As to *US News and World Report,* I have frequently used it merely as a convenient source (because a complete file of this publication over a long period of time is available in our library) for references to such materials as presidential messages, addresses and speeches of leading statesmen and political figures, party programs, and other official statements.

Mr. Allen's review of my book creates the impression that he has either not taken time to acquaint himself even slightly with the book he undertook to review, or that his bias far exceeded his objectivity. I see no point, therefore, in entering into polemics with him over my approach and my interpretation of this period.

It is only to be regretted that such a flimsy treatment of a book should have appeared in a scholarly journal.

Moscow, USSR V. LAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is an honored doctrine in law that he who appeals to a court of equity must come before it with "clean hands." Professor Lan's objections concerning my "bias" would therefore seem to be barred, in view of the multitudinous examples of misfeasance and malfeasance with which his book is filled. I do not deny that my review, which, from considerations of space, had to be a sort of drumhead court-martial, may not have given a statistically valid picture of his range of footnote references. However, the fact remains that Lan has filled many pages with startling and shocking charges about the United States government and its policies and about American public figures and social movements, and he has offered either no citations to back up his case or a single reference which, when examined, proved to be of a peripheral nature. It may serve as a definition of Professor Lan's frame of reference to note that the first citation in this book is to the documents of the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the last to a speech by N. S. Khrushchev. Professor Lan's own assessments of the situations that he describes are so partial, so one-sided, so bitter, that, given the weak structure of evidence that he has mustered, it is almost impossible for any American who has been an often agonizing witness of the years to which this book is devoted and who knows something of the strengths as well as the weaknesses of his own country to read this volume without an unbidden welling up within one of that term which some Soviet historiographers seem so quick to use in writing about American or Western European works on the Soviet Union—*fal'sifikatsiia.* As Professor Lan may note from previous reviews of Soviet works on American history that I have contributed to the *American Historical Review* and other journals—indeed as may be seen in the case of one of the paragraphs of the review to which he takes exception—there are numbers of Soviet publications about the United States which, despite evident differences in outlook between the two countries, show more balanced points of view, as well as a diligent attention to the literature on the field, which this volume lacks. I see no reason for changing my opinion that Professor Lan has written little more than a political pamphlet.

Library of Congress ROBERT V. ALLEN

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review of my *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough* (*AHR,* LXXII [Apr. 1967], 1098), William Lilley III writes, "The final chapters become so superficial that the author fails even to use the voluminous Pittman manuscripts in the Library of Congress. . . ."

Those voluminous Pittman manuscripts in the Library of Congress were indeed used by me, and this is indicated by the fact that they are repeatedly cited in the footnotes.

The thesis that Mr. Lilley presents at the opening of his review and again at the conclusion of it, that Nevada is analogous in its characteristics and problems to an urban ghetto, is entirely his own. I can think of no information in my book that would lead a reader to such an odd conclusion.

Michigan State University Gilman M. Ostrander

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I regret Professor Ostrander's misunderstanding about my remarks on his use of the Key Pittman papers. While the author did cite those manuscripts in his book, he made no apparent use of them for the period when Pittman actually mattered (1912–1940)—and thus my criticism.

As for Mr. Ostrander's assertion that a reviewer can bring to bear no more knowledge than is contained in the book under review is in itself an odd conclusion.

Yale University William Lilley III

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Index

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW
Volume LXXII

The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books reviewed are indexed under author, title (titles are sometimes inverted to be more meaningful), and subject. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R); communications are designated by (C). Proper names with the prefix da or de, van or von are ordinarily indexed under the surname, except in those cases where custom is otherwise.

Abbott, Freeland (R), 1463
Abbott, I. R. (R), 561
'Abduh, Muḥammad. *See* Kerr, M. H.
Abernathy, G. R., Jr. (R), 976, 1386
Abrahams, William, and Stansky, Peter, "Journey to the Frontier," 198
"Absoliutizm v Rossii (xvii–xviii vv.): Sbornik Statei k Semidesiatipiatiletiiu so Dnia Rozhdeniia i Sorokapiatiletiiu Nauchnoi i Pedagogicheskoi Deiatel'nosti B. B. Kaufengauza," 645
Abu Hakima, A. M., "History of Eastern Arabia, 1750–1800," 651
"Academic Mind and Reform: The Influence of Richard T. Ely in American Life," by Rader, 1508
"Acción Democrática: Evolution of a Modern Political Party in Venezuela," by Martz, 351
Acomb, E. M. (R), 602
Aconcio, Jacopo, as an Engineer, by White, 425–44
Acton, Lord, and Döllinger, Ignaz von, "Briefwechsel, 1850–1890," II, ed. by Conzemius, 170
Ádám, Magda, *et al.* (preps.), "Allianz Hitler-Horthy-Mussolini," ed. by Kerekes, 238
Adams, A. E. (R), 647, 1451
Adams, Graham, Jr. (R), 326
Adams, H. M. (R), 933, 1413
Adams, John: Butterfield *et al.* (eds.), "The Earliest Diary of John Adams: June 1753–April 1754; September 1758–January 1759," 690; Howe, "The Changing Political Thought of John Adams," 691; Wroth and Zobel (eds.), "Legal Papers of John Adams," 288
"Adams, John Quincy. The Critical Years: 1785–1794," by East, 1080
"Adams and Jefferson: The Story of a Friendship," by Allison, 1078
Addio, Mario D', "Politica e magistratura (1848–1876)," 637
Addy, G. M. (R), 750
Adenauer, Konrad, "Memoirs 1945–53," tr. by Rhum von Oppen, 627
"Adenauer Era," by Hiscocks, 1017
Adler, Jacob, "Claus Spreckels," 1503
Adler, Selig, "The Uncertain Giant," 326; (R), 738, 1120
Adloff, Richard, and Thompson, Virginia, "The Malagasy Republic," 257
Adriaanse, C., and Gobée, E. (eds.), "Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889–1936," III, 1000
"Ägyptens, Handelsgeschichte, im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)," by Labib, 1371
"Älteste Geschäftsbuch Österreichs: Die Gewölberegister der wiener neustädter Firma Alexius Funck (1516–ca. 1538) und verwandtes Material zur Geschichte des steirischen Handels im 15./16. Jahrhundert," by Pickl, 1018
Afghanistan. *See* Rastogi, R. S.
Africa, T. W. (R), 937
Africa: book reviews, 252–58, 654–66, 1045–51, 1453–58; lists of articles and other books received, 383–86, 784–86, 1160–63, 1554–56
Africa. *See* Clendenen, Clarence
"African Tribes and European Agencies: Colonialism and Humanitarianism in British South and East Africa 1870–1895," by Holmberg, 1457
"Agents and Merchants: British Colonial Policy and the Origins of the American Revolution, 1763–1775," by Sosin, 186
Agrarian history: Ault, "Open-Field Husbandry and the Village Community," 155; Conrad, "The Forgotten Farmers," 329; Havinden, "Estate Villages," 591; John, "Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies," 946; Kumar, "Land and Caste in South India," 267; Le Roy Ladurie, "Les paysans de Languedoc," I and II, 596; Mihordea *et al.* (eds.), "Documente Privind Relațiile Agrare în Veacul al xviii-Lea," II, 1032; Postan (ed.), "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," I, 1373; Serczyk, "Gospodarstwo Magnackie w Województwie Podolskim w Drugiej Połowie xviii Wieku," 642; Shover, "Cornbelt Rebellion," 328
Agricultural history: Gressley, "Bankers and Cattlemen," 720; Kirkendall, "Social Sci-

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entists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt," 1118; Morgan, "Governing Soil Conservation," 1515; Russell, "A History of Agricultural Science in Great Britain, 1620–1954," 584; Scarborough, "The Overseer," 688. *See also* Frontier
"Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought," by Nauert, 616
Agus, I. A. (R), 146
Ahrweiler, Hélène, "Byzance et la mer," 944
"Aksakov, Ivan, 1823–1886: A Study in Russian Thought and Politics," by Lukashevich, 242
"Alabama, Labor Revolt in: The Great Strike of 1894," by Ward and Rogers, 321
"Albania's Captives," by Ruches, 236
Albrecht-Carrié, René (R), 169, 571, 1030
"Alcázar, The Siege of the," by Eby, 209
"Alcorn, James Lusk: Persistent Whig," by Pereyra, 707
Alden, J. R., "Pioneer America," 686
Alemany, J. S. *See* McGloin, J. B.
Alessandro, Vincenzo D' (ed.), "Le pergamene degli umiliati di Cremona," 151
Alföldi, A., "Early Rome and the Latins," 536
Algeria. *See* Confer, Vincent
"Algeria, French, The Passing of," by Gordon, 656
"Algeria: A Revolution That Failed," by Humbaraci, 1455
Ali, M. A., "The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb," 1463
"Aliénor d'Aquitaine," by Pernoud, 152
Allard, Sven, "Diplomat in Wien," 1384
Allen, J. B., "The Company Town in the American West," 721
Allen, R. V., lists of articles, 381, 782–83, 1158–59, 1552–53; (R), 735; (C), 1579
"Allianz Hitler-Horthy-Mussolini: Dokumente zur ungarischen Aussenpolitik (1933–1944)," prep. by Ádám *et al.*, ed. by Kerekes, 238
Allison, H. E., "Lessing and the Enlightenment," 1009
Allison, J. M., "Adams and Jefferson," 1078
Allocati, Antonio (ed.), "Tipiche operazioni del Banco della Pietà in alcuni atti notarili dei secoli XVI–XIX," 1438
Al'perovich, M. S., "Voina za Nezavisimost' Meksiki (1810–1824)," 752
Altholz, J. L. (C), 407
Altmeyer, A. J., "The Formative Years of Social Security," 1119
Altschul, Michael (R), 149, 173
Amann, Peter (R), 201
Ambler, J. S., "The French Army in Politics, 1945–1962," 608
Ambrose, S. E., "Duty, Honor, Country," 703
Amburger, Erik, "Geschichte der Behördenorganisation Russlands vom Peter dem Grossen bis 1917," 646
"American Ambassador: Joseph C. Grew and the Development of the United States Diplomatic Tradition," by Heinrichs, 1511
"American 1890s: Life and Times of a Lost Generation," by Ziff, 723
"American Foreign Relations, 1964, Documents on," ed. by Davids, 340
"American Foreign Relations, 1965, Documents on," ed. by Stebbins, 1124
American Historical Association: annual meeting, 1966, 405, 1185–1207; annual meeting, 1967, 1576; business meeting, 1966, 1204–1207; council meeting, 1966, 1190–1204; Joint Bibliographical Committee, 405; Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment, 405; report of the executive secretary for 1966, 1186–89; report of the managing editor for 1966, 1189–90; Service Center for Teachers of History, 801
"American Intellectual Histories and Historians," by Skotheim, 1475
"American Naval Revolution," by Herrick, 1506
"American People and China," by Steele, 135
"American Presidency: Leadership, Partisanship, and Popularity," by Brown, 279
"American Railroads and the Transformation of the Ante-Bellum Economy," by Fishlow, 1097
American Revolution: Heusser, "George Washington's Map Maker," ed. by Schmidt, 1484; Rush, "Spain's Final Triumph over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico," 1079; Zucker, "General de Kalb, LaFayette's Mentor," 290. *See also* Colonies and colonization
"Americana-Austriaca: Festschrift des Amerika-Instituts der Universität Innsbruck anlässlich seines zehnjährigen Bestehens," ed. by Lanzinger, 934
"Americans in Africa, 1865–1900," by Clendenen *et al.*, 1352
"America's Frontier Heritage," by Billington, 1476
"Amerikanskaia Istoriografiia Grazhdanskoi Voiny v SShA (1861–1865)," by Dement'ev, 735
"Ames, Fisher: Federalist and Statesman, 1758–1808," by Bernhard, 292
"Analytical Philosophy of History," by Danto, 523
Anchor, Robert (R), 1009
Ancient history: book reviews, 136–41, 534–41, 935–42, 1354–62; lists of articles and other books received, 356–61, 759–63, 1134–38, 1530–34
"Ancône, Le port franc d': Croissance et impasse d'un milieu marchand au XVIII[e] siècle," by Caracciolo, 635
Anderson, E. N. (R), 619
Anderson, Edgar (R), 567
Anderson, J. R. *See* Dew, C. B.
Anderson, M. S., "The Eastern Question, 1774–1923," 1345
Anderson, O. E., Jr. (R), 311, 1003

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"Anderson, Rasmus Bjørn: Pioneer Scholar," by Hustvedt, 1108
Andressohn, J. C. (deceased), 1576
Andrews, J. C. (R), 1505
Anene, J. C., "Southern Nigeria in Transition, 1885–1906," 657
Angermeier, Heinz, "Königtum und Landfriede im deutschen Spätmittelalter," 553
Anglin, D. G., "The St. Pierre and Miquelon *Affaire* of 1941," 607
"Anglo-Amerikanskie Otnosheniia v Gody Vtory Mirovoi Voiny, 1939–1941 gg.," by Pozdeeva, 735
"Anglo-Japanese Alliance: The Diplomacy of Two Island Empires, 1894–1907," by Nish, 530
"Angola, Trade and Conflict in: The Mbundu and Their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese 1483–1790," by Birmingham, 1049
Anstey, Roger, "King Leopold's Legacy," 660
Anthon, C. G. (R), 621, 1428
Antoniadis-Bibicou, Hélène, "Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance," 945
Anzilotti, Antonio, "Movimenti e contrasti per l'unità italiana," ed. by Caracciolo, 227
"Apostles of the Self-Made Man," by Cawelti, 685
"Appeasement on Trial: British Foreign Policy and Its Critics, 1938–1939," by Rock, 1398
Appleby, J. T., "England without Richard, 1189–1199," 154
"Approaches to Library History: Proceedings of the Second Library History Seminar, Florida State University Library School, Tallahassee, March 4, 5, and 6, 1965," ed. by Marshall, 1070
Aquarone, Alberto, "L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario," 638
"Arabia, Eastern, History of, 1750–1800: The Rise and Development of Bahrain and Kuwait," by Abu Hakima, 651
"Arabia, Saudi, in the Nineteenth Century," by Winder, 652
"Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb," ed. by Makdisi, 249
"Araby u Granits Vizantii i Irana v IV–VI vv.," by Pigulevskaia, 250
"Arbeidsinzet: De gedwongen arbeid van Nederlanders in Duitsland, 1940–1945," by Sijes, 612
Archaeology: Bernal *et al.*, "Ancient Oaxaca," ed. by Paddock, 1128; Blegen and Rawson, "The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia," I, 1356; Kent, "Corinth," VIII, pt. 3, 1359; Lewis, "Temples in Roman Britain," 541; Mylonas, "Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age," 935; Wacher (ed.), "The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain," 540
Ardant, Gabriel, *et al.*, "De l'impérialisme à la décolonisation," 929
Ardington (Berks). *See* Havinden, M. A.
"Argentine Radicalism: The History and Doctrine of the Radical Civic Union," by Snow, 351
Arizona. *See* Terrell, J. U.
"Armies of Queen Anne," by Scouller, 1389
"Army, Industry, and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918," by Feldman, 622
Armytage, W. H. G., "A Social History of Engineering," 927
Arnáiz y Freg, Arturo, and Bataillon, Claude (preps.), "La intervención francesa y el imperio de Maximiliano," 754
Arnakis, G. G. (R), 548, 1037
Arndt, K. J. R., "George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785–1847," 693
Arrington, L. J., "Beet Sugar in the West," 1509; (R), 721
Art: Cone, "Oscar Hammerstein's Manhattan Opera Company," 727; Davis, "Opera in Chicago," 727; Garside, "Zwingli and the Arts," 630; Harris, "The Artist in American Society," 1486; Ludwig, "Graven Images," 689; Miller, "Patrons and Patriotism," 1486; Roehm, "The Letters of George Catlin and His Family," 1086; Sweet, "Miss Mary Cassatt," 716; Wilkins, "Thomas Moran," 710; Wittke, "The First Fifty Years," 1116
"Art of Victory: The Life and Achievements of Field-Marshal Suvorov, 1729–1800," by Longworth, 241
"Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790–1860," by Harris, 1486
Artz, F. B., "The Development of Technical Education in France, 1500–1850," 1402; "Renaissance Humanism, 1300–1550," 557; (R), 993
Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, Bartolomé, "Historia de la villa imperial de Potosí," ed. by Hanke and Mendoza, 1128
"As a City upon a Hill: The Town in American History," by Smith, 1072
"Ashanti under the Prempehs, 1888–1935," by Tordoff, 253
Asia and the East: book reviews, 258–74, 666–82, 1051–68, 1458–73; lists of articles and other books received, 386–88, 786–88, 1164–66, 1556–59
Aspinall, A. (ed.), "The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770–1812," III, 189
Athearn, R. G. (R), 307, 1099
Atherton, Lewis (R), 724, 1072
"Atlantischen Geschichtsbildes, Elemente eines: Gutachten, Diskussionen und Empfehlungen der 5. Amerikanisch-Deutschen Historikertagung, Braunschweig, November 1963," 933
Aubin, J., *et al.*, "Documents from Islamic Chanceries," 1st ser., ed. by Stern, 250
Augustine, St. *See* Keyes, G. L.
Ault, W. O., "Open-Field Husbandry and the Village Community," 155

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"Aus nächster Nähe: Lebenserinnerungen 1884–1927," by Brecht, 620
"Auschwitz: A Report on the Proceedings against Karl Ludwig Mulka and Others before the Court at Frankfurt," by Naumann, tr. by Steinberg, 1016
"Australia, The Convict Settlers of: An Enquiry into the Origin and Character of the Convicts Transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1787–1852," by Robson, 272
"Australia, Economic Enquiry in," by Goodwin, 680
"Australia, Hierarchy and Democracy in, 1788–1870: The Formation of Australian Catholicism," by Suttor, 1471
"Australia del Espíritu Santo: The Journal of Fray Martín de Munilla O.F.M. and Other Documents Relating to the Voyage of Pedro Fernández de Quirós to the South Sea (1605–1606) and the Franciscan Missionary Plan (1617–1627)," tr. and ed. by Kelly, 271
"Australian Dictionary of Biography," I, ed. by Pike, 1470
"Austria between East and West, 1945–1955," by Bader, 1022
"Austria Ungheria, La dissoluzione dell'," by Valiani, 1434
"Austrian Republic, The Birth of the, 1918–1921," by Stadler, 225
Ausubel, Herman, "John Bright," 590
"Aux origines du communisme français, 1914–1920: Contribution à l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier français," by Kriegel, 205
Aymard, Maurice, "Venise, Raguse et le commerce du blé pendant la seconde moitié du XVI[e] siècle," 228
"Azeglio, Massimo d': An Artist in Politics, 1798–1866," by Marshall, 636

"Back of Bourke: A Study of Land Appraisal and Settlement in Semi-Arid Australia," by Heathcote, 273
Bacon, E. E., "Central Asians under Russian Rule," 1449
Baden. *See* Liebel, H. P.
Bader, W. B., "Austria between East and West, 1945–1955," 1022
Bady, René, "L'homme et son 'Institution,'" 989
Bagnani, G. (R), 140
Bailey, H. C., "Hinton Rowan Helper," 713
Bailkey, Nels, *Early Mesopotamian Constitutional Development,* 1211–36
Baker, P. R. (R), 278, 1486
Baker, R. L. (R), 155
Baker, Timothy, "The Normans," 1367
"Baker, Newton D., and the American War Effort, 1917–1919," by Beaver, 729
"Baker, Ray Stannard: The Mind and Thought of a Progressive," by Bannister, 726
Balazs, Etienne, "Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy," tr. by H. M. Wright, ed. by A. F. Wright, 258
Baldwin, J. W. (R), 153
"Banco della Pietà, Tipiche operazioni del, in alcuni atti notarili dei secoli XVI–XIX," ed. by Allocati, 1438
"Bandelier, Adolph F., The Southwestern Journals of, 1880–1882," ed. by Lange and Riley, 1110
Banerjee, Tarasankar, "Internal Market of India [1834–1900]," 1464
"Bankers and Cattlemen," by Gressley, 720
Bankwitz, P. C. F. (R), 206
Bannister, R. C., Jr., "Ray Stannard Baker," 726
"Baptists in New Jersey: A Study in Transition," by Maring, 284
Barck, O. T., Jr. (R), 1081
Barker, C. A. (R), 281, 683
Barker, J. W., "Justinian and the Later Roman Empire," 941; (R), 549, 945
Barlow, Frank, "William I and the Norman Conquest," 147
Barnard, Ellsworth, "Wendell Willkie," 333
Barnby, H. G., "The Prisoners of Algiers," 694
Barnes, E. G., "The Rise of the Midland Railway, 1844–1874," 1393
"Barocke Juden—Christen—Judenchristen," by Schoeps, 127
Baron, Hans (R), 631
Barr, Stringfellow, "The Mask of Jove," 1358
Barrett, J. G. (ed.), "Yankee Rebel," 1103
Barros, James, "The Corfu Incident of 1923," 232
Barta, István, "A Fiatal Kossuth," 1036
Barth, Gunther (R), 317
Bartlett, R. A. (R), 702
"Baseball, American: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System," by Voigt, 1107
Bastert, R. H. (R), 343
Bastid, Paul, "Benjamin Constant et sa doctrine," 993
Bataillon, Claude, and Arnáiz y Freg, Arturo (preps.), "La intervención francesa y el imperio de Maximiliano," 754
Bates, L. J. (ed.), "Tom Walsh in Dakota Territory," 1509
Bates, M. L. (R), 255
"Battle Royal: A New Account of Simon de Montfort's Struggle against King Henry III," by Beamish, 552
Baugh, D. A., "British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole," 183; (R), 1389
Baumer, F. L. (R), 563
Bautier, R.-H. *See* Helgaud de Fleury
Baxter, S. B., "William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650–1702," 958; (R), 611, 959
Baylen, J. O. (R), 592
Bayley, C. C. (R), 553
Beaglehole, T. H., "Thomas Munro and the

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Development of Administrative Policy in Madras, 1792–1818," 265
Beamish, Tufton, "Battle Royal," 552
Beard, J. F. (ed.), "The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper," III and IV, 1091
Beauregard, E. E. (R), 150
Beaver, D. R., "Newton D. Baker and the American War Effort, 1917–1919," 729
Becker, M. B. (R), 556, 955
Beddie, J. S. (R), 220, 1430
Bedford, H. F., "Socialism and the Workers in Massachusetts, 1886–1912," 1112
Bedini, S. A., and Maddison, F. R., "Mechanical Universe," 1377
Beeler, John, "Warfare in England, 1066–1189," 948; (R), 147, 552, 555
Beer, B. L. (R), 1385
Beer, S. H. (R), 585
"Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891–1966," by Arrington, 1509
"Before Aggression: Europeans Prepare the Japanese Army," by Presseisen, 262
"Behördenorganisation Russlands, Geschichte der, vom Peter dem Grossen bis 1917," by Amburger, 646
Beilharz, E. A. (R), 282
Bell, H. C. (deceased), 1209
Bell, J. B., "Besieged," 932
Bell, Julian. *See* Stansky, Peter
Bell of Antermony, John, "A Journey from St Petersburg to Pekin, 1719–22," ed. by Stevenson, 929
Bello, J. M., "A History of Modern Brazil, 1889–1964," tr. by Taylor, 350
Belloni, Girolamo, "Scritture inedite e dissertazione 'Del commercio,'" ed. by Caracciolo, 229
Bellot, P.-F. *See* Rappard, W. E.
Bellush, Bernard (R), 333, 334
Belote, J. H., and Belote, W. M., "Corregidor," 1517
Bemrose, John, "Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War," ed. by Mahon, 1492
Benda, H. J. (R), 1000
"Benedetti, Vincent, The Mission of, to Berlin 1864–1870," by Fletcher, 603
"Bengal, Nineteenth Century: Aspects of Social History. A Study in Some New Pressures on Society and in Relation between Tradition and Change," by Sinha, 266
Bennett, E. L., Jr. (R), 935
Bennett, J. H. (deceased), 406
Bennett, N. R. (R), 257
Benninghoven, Friedrich, "Der Orden der Schwertbrüder," 156
Benson, M. S. (R), 704, 706
Benson, N. L. (ed.), "Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810–1822," 1525
Berbusse, E. J., "The United States in Puerto Rico, 1898–1900," 1510
Berend, I. T., and Ránki, György, "Magyarország Gazdasága az Első Világháború Után, 1919–1929," 1446
Berkeley, Edmund, and Berkeley, D. S. (eds.), "The Reverend John Clayton," 1481
Berlin. *See* Bell, J. B.
Bernal, Ignacio, *et al.*, "Ancient Oaxaca," ed. by Paddock, 1128
Bernard, Leon (R), 568, 989, 1403, 1404
Bernard, P. P. (R), 641
Bernardo, J. V. *See* Emme, E. M.
Bernardy, Françoise de, "Talleyrand's Last Duchess," tr. by Coltman, 601
Bernhard, W. E. A., "Fisher Ames," 292
Bernstein, A. I. (deceased), 802
Bernstein, B. J. (R), 742, 1518
Berri, Jean de France, Duc de. *See* Lehoux, Françoise
Berwick, Keith (R), 1080
"Besançon, Histoire de," II, under the direction of Fohlen, 200
"Besançon révolutionnaire," by Brelot, 992
"Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, 1848–1919," 2d period, II, ed. by Woltring, 1409
"Besieged: Seven Cities under Siege. Madrid, 1936–1939; London, 1940–1941; Singapore, 1941–1942; Stalingrad, 1942–1943; Warsaw, 1939, 1943, 1944; Jerusalem, 1947–1949; Berlin, 1945–1949," by Bell, 932
Bestor, Arthur (R), 1474
Betts, R. F. (R), 1454
Beyer, R. L. (deceased), 803
Beyme, Klaus von, "Politische Soziologie im zaristischen Russland," 1450
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Biggerstaff, Knight (R), 668
Billington, J. H., "The Icon and the Axe," 1039
Billington, R. A., "America's Frontier Heritage," 1476; *et al.*, "The Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding," 527; (ed.), "The Reinterpretation of Early American History," 1478
Binger, Carl, "Revolutionary Doctor," 1076
"Bion, Jean-François, et sa relation des tourments soufferts par les forçats protestants," by Conlon, 960
Birdsell, Dale, and Kleber, B. E., "The Chemical Warfare Service," 736
Birkenhead, Earl of, "Halifax," 983
Birley, Anthony, "Marcus Aurelius," 938
Birmingham, David, "Trade and Conflict in Angola," 1049
Birn, Raymond (R), 990
Bishko, C. J., lists of articles, 371–72, 772–

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73, 1148–49, 1544; (R), 142, 158, 558, 953, 1370
Bishop, Morris (tr.), "Letters from Petrarch," 1375
"Bismarck, Staatssekretär Graf Herbert von: Aus seiner politischen Privatkorrespondenz," ed. by Bussmann, 1420
"Bismarck and Modern Germany," by Medlicott, 215
Bisson, T. N. (R), 551
Bizen Province (Japan). *See* Hall, J. W.
Black, C. E. (R), 647, 1338
Black, R. C., III (R), 301, 1100
"Black Codes of the South," by Wilson, 1104
Blackton, C. S. (R), 274, 1067, 1471
Blackwell, W. L. (R), 528, 930
Blake, J. B. (R), 709
Blegen, C. W., and Rawson, Marion, "The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia," I, 1356
Blegen, E. P. (deceased), 1576
Blodgett, Geoffrey, "The Gentle Reformers," 722
"Blum, Léon: Humanist in Politics," by Colton, 604
Blumenson, Martin (R), 644, 1352
Blumenthal, Henry (R), 607
Bodde, Derk (R), 667
Bode, Carl (R), 1093
Bodman, H. L., Jr. (R), 651
Böhm, Franz, and Dirks, Walter (eds.), "Judentum," 525
Bogue, A. G. (R), 1086
"Bohr, Niels: The Man, His Science, & the World They Changed," by Moore, 1003
"Bolgarskii Narod v Bor'be Protiv Fashizma (Nakanune i v Nachal'nyi Period Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny)," by Valev, 237
Bologna. *See* Marti, B. M.
"Bolsheviks: The Intellectual and Political History of the Triumph of Communism in Russia," by Ulam, 245
Bolton, G. C., "The Passing of the Irish Act of Union," 1400
Bondurant, J. V. (R), 1465
Bongie, L. L., "David Hume," 201
Bonner, T. N. (R), 737
Bonnin, Georges, "Le putsch de Hitler à Munich en 1923," 622
Bontems, Claude, *et al.*, "Le prince dans la France des XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles," 987
Bontinck, François, "Aux origines de l'état indépendant du Congo," 659
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Booth, A. R. (R), 659, 1352
Borah, Woodrow (R), 1127, 1128
"Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715," under the direction of Boutruche, 1401
"Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre," under the direction of Renouard, 157
"Borden, Sir Robert, The Imperial Policy of," by Wilson, 747
Boren, H. C. (R), 1360
Bornet, V. D., "Labor Politics in a Democratic Republic," 326; (R), 1119
Bosl, Karl, "Die Gesellschaft in der Geschichte des Mittelalters," 1366
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Boutruche, Robert (under the direction), "Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715," 1401
Bouwsma, W. J. (R), 526
Bowen, R. H. (R), 212, 1022
Bowman, F. J. (R), 614
Bowsky, W. M. (ed.), "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History," II, 143; III, 556; (R), 160, 161, 951
Boyce, G. C. (R), 1366
Boyer, C. B. (R), 587, 967
Brace, R. M. (R), 655, 656, 1455
Bradley, H. W. (R), 1503
Braidwood, R. J. (R), 534
Brand, C. F. (R), 981, 1392
Brand, J. L., "Doctors and the State," 196
Brandt, W. J., "The Shape of Medieval History," 550
"Bransford, Wolstan de, Bishop of Worcester 1339–49, A Calendar of the Register of," by Haines, 1374
Braubach, Max, "Prinz Eugen von Savoyen," V, 223
Braudel, F. *See* Jara, A.
Bray, Bernard. *See* Chapelain, Jean
"Brazil, Modern, A History of, 1889–1964," by Bello, tr. by Taylor, 350
"Brazza explorateur: L'Ogooué, 1875–1879," by Brunschwig, 1048
Brecht, Arnold, "Aus nächster Nähe," 620
Brelot, Claude, "Besançon révolutionnaire," 992
"Brentano, Lujo, The Career of: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany," by Sheehan, 1014
"Brestskii Mir," by Chubar'ian, 532
Brickman, W. W. (R), 222
"Briefe," VI, by Jacob Burckhardt, ed. by Max Burckhardt, 226
"Briefwechsel, 1850–1890," II by Döllinger and Acton, ed. by Conzemius, 170
"Bright, John: Victorian Reformer," by Ausubel, 590
Brinton, Crane (R), 119
"Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891–1900," by Wehrle, 132
"Britain and Africa," by Kirkwood, 133
"British and Their Successors: A Study in the Development of the Government Services in the New States," by Symonds, 1397
British Commonwealth and Ireland: book reviews, 173–99, 573–96, 966–87, 1385–1400; lists of articles and other books

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"British Mediation in the Danish-German Conflict, 1848–1850," by Hjelholt, pt. 1, 192; pt. 2, 1395
"British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole," by Baugh, 183
"British Party System, The Growth of the," I and II, by Bulmer-Thomas, 585
"British Subministers and Colonial America, 1763–1783," by Wickwire, 588
Brody, David, "Labor in Crisis," 324; (R), 321
Broeker, Galen (R), 197
Brooke, C. N. L., and Morey, Adrian, "Gilbert Foliot and His Letters," 153
Brookes, E. H., and Webb, C. D., "A History of Natal," 256
Broomfield, J. H. (R), 268, 1061
"Brouchoven, Jan van, Graaf van Bergeyck 1644–1725: Een halve eeuw staatkunde in de Spanse Nederlanden en in Europa," by Schryver, 210
Broughton, T. R. S., lists of articles, 356–60, 759–63, 1134–38, 1530–34; (R), 138, 537
Brown, D. Mackenzie (R), 673, 1063
Brown, D. S., "The Catawba Indians," 1477
Brown, Dee, "The Year of the Century," 1109
Brown, Delmer M. (R), 261
Brown, G. T., "Ships That Sail No More," 1513
Brown, J. A., and Ruby, R. H., "Half-Sun on the Columbia," 306
Brown, M. H., "The Flight of the Nez Perce," 1504
Brown, R. H. (R), 298
Brown, S. G., "The American Presidency," 279
Brown, T. M., "Irish-American Nationalism, 1870–1890," 718
Brown, T. S. (R), 1357
Browne, J. R. *See* Goodman, D. M.
Bruce, R. V. (R), 289
Bruchey, Stuart (R), 294, 1097
Bruijn, J. R. (ed.), "De oorlogvoering ter zee in journalen en andere stukken," 612
Brundage, J. A. (R), 156
Brunk, D. G. (deceased), 805
Brunschwig, Henri, "Brazza explorateur," 1048
"Brutal Friendship: Mussolini, Hitler, and the Fall of Italian Fascism," pt. 1, by Deakin, 639
Bruun, Geoffrey (R), 1342
Bruun, Henry (ed.), "Dansk historisk bibliografi, 1913–1942," I, 1411
Buck, Paul. *See* Church, R. L.
Budé, Guillaume, and the First Historical School of Law, by Kelley, 807–34
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Buffa, Domenico. *See* Costa, Emilio
Bulmer-Thomas, Ivor, "The Growth of the British Party System," I and II, 585
Buranelli, Vincent, "Louis XIV," 990
Burckhardt, Jacob, "Briefe," VI, ed. by Max Burckhardt, 226; *see also* Weintraub, K. J.
Burckhardt, Max. *See* Burckhardt, Jacob
Burdick, C. B., and Lutz, R. H. (eds.), "The Political Institutions of the German Revolution, 1918–1919," 218
Burgman, Torsten, "Svensk opinion och diplomati under Rysk-Japanska Kriget, 1904–1905," 211
Burke, R. E. (R), 1118
Burks, A. W. (R), 1059
Burks, D. D. (R), 750
Burks, R. V. (R), 643
Burma. *See* Htin Aung, Maung
"Burma—From Kingdom to Republic: A Historical and Political Analysis," by Trager, 1064
"Burma, Religion and Politics in," by Smith, 270
"Burmese Revolution, Buddhist Backgrounds of the," by Sarkisyanz, 269
Burnham, J. C. (R), 1497
Burns, E. B., "The Unwritten Alliance," 344
Burns, J. M. (R), 279
Burns, R. I., "The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest," 306
Burrow, J. W., "Evolution and Society," 980
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Butterfield, L. H., *et al.* (eds.), "The Earliest Diary of John Adams," 690
Butwell, Richard (R), 1350
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Cady, J. F. (R), 269, 678, 1064
"Cahiers de doléances des paroisses du bailliage de Troyes pour les États Généraux de 1614," pub. by Durand, 1403
Cairns, J. C., "France," 199
"Caissotti di Chiusano, Luigi, e il movimento cattolico dal 1896 al 1915," by Zussini, 231
Caizzi, Bruno, "Industria e commercio della Repubblica Veneta nel XVIII secolo," 1437
"Calabria: Economia e società. Reggio dinanzi alla peste del 1743; gli uomini e la terra dopo l'unità," by Demarco, 1438
"Calhoun, John C.," by Current, 701
California. *See* Pitt, Leonard; Terrell, J. U.
"California's First Archbishop: The Life of Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O. P., 1814–1888," by McGloin, 703
"Californios, The Decline of the: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890," by Pitt, 1089
Callahan, North (R), 1484
Callow, A. B., Jr., "The Tweed Ring," 1105
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Camariano, Nestor, and Camariano-Cioran, Ariadna (eds.), "Cronica Ghiculeştilor," 1033
Camariano-Cioran, Ariadna, and Camariano, Nestor (eds.), "Cronica Ghiculeştilor," 1033
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"Cambridge Medieval History," IV, pt. 1, ed. by Hussey, 943
Cameron, M. E. (R), 132
Cameron, M. M. *See* Lanctot, Gustave
Cammett, J. M., "Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism," 1441; (R), 638
Camp, C. L. (ed.), "George C. Yount and His Chronicles of the West," 702
Campbell, C. S., Jr. (R), 130
Campbell, Eric, "The Rallying Point," 274
Campbell, Mildred (R), 972
Canada: book reviews, 341–43, 745–48, 1125–27, 1519–21
"Canada, A History of," III, by Lanctot, tr. by Cameron, 341
"Canada in World Affairs," XI, by Preston, 1126
"Canadian Biography, Dictionary of," I, 745
Cannon, M. H. (R), 1109
"Canterbury, The Lordship of: An Essay on Medieval Society," by Du Boulay, 950
Cantimori, Delio (deceased), 803
Cappon, L. J. (R), 682
"Captain's Best Mate: The Journal of Mary Chipman Lawrence on the Whaler *Addison*, 1856–1860," ed. by Garner, 711
Caracciolo, Alberto, "Le istituzioni del nuovo stato nelle dimensioni mondiali," 1026; "Le port franc d'Ancône," 635; *see also* Anzilotti, Antonio; Belloni, Girolamo
Carbone, G. A. (R), 1101
"Cardozo, Jacob N.: Economic Thought in the Antebellum South," by Leiman, 1495
Caristia, Carmelo, "Riflessi politici del Giansenismo italiano," 1023
Carlson, L. H., lists of articles, 365–68, 767–70, 1142–45, 1538–40; (R), 969, 986
Carlson, R. E. (R), 927
Carr, E. H., "Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926," III, pts. 1 and 2, 246
Carr, Raymond, "Spain, 1808–1939," 610
Carrière, J. M. (R), 343
Carrigan, J. A. (R), 1102
Carrillo, E. A., "Alcide De Gasperi," 234
Carroll, H. B. (deceased), 1207
Carson, Gerald, "The Polite Americans," 278
Carsten, F. L., "The Reichswehr and Politics, 1918 to 1933," 1424
Carstensen, Vernon (R), 714
Carter, C. H. (R), 551
Carter, G. M. (R), 1051; *see also* Sklar, R. L.
Carter, H. L. (R), 700
Cartography. *See* Heusser, A. H.
Caruso, J. A., "The Mississippi Valley Frontier," 1074
Cary, John (R), 287, 1478
Casdorph, Paul, "A History of the Republican Party in Texas 1865–1965," 1106
Case, L. M. (R), 203, 963
Casper, H. W., "History of the Catholic Church in Nebraska," II and III, 1500
"Cassatt, Miss Mary: Impressionist from Pennsylvania," by Sweet, 716
Casson, Lionel (R), 539
"Cast of Ravens: The Strange Case of Sir Thomas Overbury," by White, 1386
"Catalog of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1920–1945," III, ed. by Kent, 1427
"Catawba Indians: The People of the River," by Brown, 1477
Cate, J. L. (R), 143
"Catherine of Aragon and Her Friends," by Paul, 1385
"Catlin, George, and His Family, The Letters of: A Chronicle of the American West," by Roehm, 1086
"Catskill Mountain House," by Van Zandt, 1493

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"Cavell, Edith: Pioneer and Patriot," by Clark-Kennedy, 197
Cawelti, J. G., "Apostles of the Self-Made Man," 685
"Censorial System of Ming China," by Hucker, 666
Central African Republic. *See* Sklar, R. L.
"Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change," by Bacon, 1449
Chad. *See* Sklar, R. L.
Chadwick, N. K., "The Druids," 136
Chai Hon-Chan, "The Development of British Malaya, 1896–1909," 1066
"Chalcedon, The Council of, and the Armenian Church," by Sarkissian, 941
Chambers, C. A. (R), 741
Chambers, R. L. (R), 250
Chambers, W. N. (R), 296
Chandler, D. G., "The Campaigns of Napoleon," 994
Chandra, Bipan, "The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India," 1465
Chaney, W. A. (R), 593
"Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738–1801), The Life and Thought of," by Nivison, 667
"Chantries, Perpetual, in Britain," by Wood-Legh, 163
Chapelain, Jean, "Soixante-dix-sept lettres inédites à Nicolas Heinsius (1649–1658)," pub. by Bray, 568
Charanis, Peter (R), 943, 1365
"Charbon et sciences humaines: Actes du colloque organisé par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lille en mai 1963," under the direction of Trenard, 1378
"Charles II and the Cavalier House of Commons, 1663–1674," by Witcombe, 976
"Chemical Warfare Service: Chemicals in Combat," by Kleber and Birdsell, 736
Cherbuliez, A.-E. *See* Rappard, W. E.
Chibnall, A. C., "Sherington," 173
Chicago. *See* Davis, R. L.; Duncan, H. D.
"Chicago Urban League, History of the," by Strickland, 1514
"Chichester Towers," by Curtis, 586
Chilston, Viscount, "W. H. Smith," 194
"China, American Missionaries in: Papers from Harvard Seminars," ed. by Liu, 1055
"China, Foreign Investment and Economic Development in, 1840–1937," by Hou, 260
" 'China,' The Function of, in Marx, Lenin, and Mao," by Lowe, 1052
"China, Policies toward: Views from Six Continents," ed. by Halpern, 135
"China, Republican, Party Politics in: The Kuomintang, 1912–1924," by Yu, 1055
"China, Student Nationalism in, 1927–1937," by Israel, 1056
"Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: Variations on a Theme," by Balazs, tr. by H. M. Wright, ed. by A. F. Wright, 258
"Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872–1949," by Wang, 261
"Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yü-hsiang," by Sheridan, 1460
Chiu, S. M. (R), 1066
Chivers, J. K. D. (deceased), 803
Christensen, A. E. *See* Christiansen, T. E.
"Christian Caucasian History, Studies in," by Toumanoff, 1363
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Christiansen, T. E., *et al.* (eds.), "Middelalder studier," 1368
"Christina of Sweden," by Weibull, 1002
Chubar'ian, A. O., "Brestskii Mir," 532
Chubaty, N. D., "Istoriya Khrystyanstva na Rusy-Ukraini," I, 1364
Church, F. C. (deceased), 1209
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Church, W. F. (R), 989, 1401
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Churchill, R. S., "Winston S. Churchill," I, 1396
"Churchill, Winston S.," I, by Churchill, 1396
Cienciala, A. M. (R), 572
Cipolla, C. M., "Guns, Sails and Empires," 564
"City Development, International History of," II, by Gutkind, 166
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Clark, Orange. *See* Camp, C. L.

Clark, T. D., and Kirwan, A. D., "The South since Appomattox," 1501; (R), 715

Clark, T. W. (R), 264

Clarke, Aidan, "The Old English in Ireland, 1625–42," 986

Clarke, I. F., "Voices Prophesying War, 1763–1984," 1344

Clark-Kennedy, A. E., "Edith Cavell," 197

Clarkson, J. D. (R), 648

Clasen, C.-P., "Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Württemberg und in benachbarten Herrschaften," 1006; (R), 1414

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Cleugh, James. *See* Schreiber, Hermann

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Cline, H. F. (R), 1129

Clissold, Stephen. *See* Darby, H. C.

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Clive, John (R), 980

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Cohen, I. B. (R), 974

Cohen, J. B. (R), 1347

Cohen, P. A. (R), 1055

Colapietra, Raffaele, "La formazione diplomatica di Leone XII," 1024

Colbourn, Trevor (R), 186, 575

"Cold War, Beginnings of the," by Herz, 534

Coleman, P. J. (R), 273

Coleman, William, *Science and Symbol in the Turner Frontier Hypothesis,* 22–49

Coleman-Norton, P. R., "Roman State & Christian Church," 1361

Colie, R. L. (R), 524

Colleges and universities: Ambrose, "Duty, Honor, Country," 703; Church *et al.,* "Social Sciences at Harvard, 1860–1920," ed. by Buck, 313; Cowen, "Medical Education," 1083; Donaghy, "Conceived in Crisis," 1499; Lhotsky, "Die Wiener Artistenfakultät, 1365–1497," 164; Marti (ed. and tr.), "The Spanish College at Bologna in the Fourteenth Century," 955; Miller, "Light on the Hill," 312; Storr, "Harper's University," 1113; "Wien, Studien zur Geschichte der Universität," I–III, 222

Collins, R. O. (R), 254, 661, 1453

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"Colorado River, War for the," I and II, by Terrell, 743

Coltman, Derek. *See* Bernardy, Françoise de

Colton, Joel, "Léon Blum," 604; (R), 605, 996

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Conacher, J. B. (R), 191

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Concordia Seminary. *See* Meyer, C. S.

Cone, J. F., "Oscar Hammerstein's Manhattan Opera Company," 727

Confer, Vincent, "France and Algeria," 1454

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Congo. *See* Sklar, R. L.

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Conlon, P. M., "Jean-François Bion et sa relation des tourments soufferts par les forçats protestants," 960

Conn, Stetson (R), 730

Connable, Alfred, and Silberfarb, Edward, "Tigers of Tammany," 1490

Connell-Smith, Gordon, "The Inter-American System," 1069

Connelly, Owen, "Napoleon's Satellite Kingdoms," 167

Conrad, D. E., "The Forgotten Farmers," 329

Conroy, Hilary, lists of articles, 386–87, 786–87, 1164, 1556–58

Constable, Giles (R), 547

Constance, Council of. *See* Spinka, Matthew

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Conway, Alan, "The Reconstruction of Georgia," 1502
Conzemius, Victor. *See* Döllinger, Ignaz von
Cook, A. N. (R), 253
Cook, Ramsay (R), 1520
Cook, T. I. (R), 1007
Cooke, J. E. (R), 695
Coolidge, C. W. (R), 961
Cooper, G. B. (R), 183
Cooper, V. M. (deceased), 1576
"Cooper, James Fenimore, The Letters and Journals of," III and IV, ed. by Beard, 1091
Coornaert, Émile, "Les compagnonnages en France," 1400
Copeland, T. W. (R), 1390
Coppola, Nunzio (ed.), "Carteggi di Vittorio Imbriani," 1025
Cord, S. B., "Henry George," 1507
"Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations," by Barros, 232
"Corinth: Results of Excavations," VIII, pt. 3, by Kent, 1359
"Cornbelt Rebellion: The Farmers' Holiday Association," by Shover, 328
Cornford, John. *See* Stansky, Peter
Corpuz, O. D., "The Philippines," 270
"Corregidor: The Saga of a Fortress," by Belote and Belote, 1517
Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, J. A. García de, "Vizcaya en el siglo xv," 558
Costa, Emilio (ed.), "Il regno di Sardegna nel 1848–1849 nei carteggi di Domenico Buffa," I, 1439
Costello, Jane. *See* Levi, M. A.
Costigan, Giovanni, "Makers of Modern England," 1392
Coutrot, Aline, and Dreyfus, F. G., "Les forces religieuses dans la société française," 204
Covey, Cyclone, "The Gentle Radical," 1479
Cowan, L. G. (R), 1047
Cowen, D. L., "Medical Education," 1083
Craig, G. A., "The Battle of Königgrätz," 1012; "War, Politics, and Diplomacy," 1343; (R), 603, 624
Crane, R. I. (R), 267, 676, 1466
Crankshaw, Edward, "Khrushchev," 1041
Crassweller, R. D., "Trujillo," 755
Creese, W. L., "The Search for Environment," 190
Cremona. *See* Alessandro, Vincenzo D'
"Crete, The Struggle for, 20 May–1 June 1941: A Story of Lost Opportunity," by Stewart, 644
"Crispi e lo 'Stato di Milano,'" by Fonzi, 230
"Croatia, The Military Border in, 1740–1881: A Study of an Imperial Institution," by Rothenberg, 641
Crocker, L. G. (R), 991, 992
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Cross, R. D. (R), 692
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Cunningham, A. B. (ed.), "The Early Correspondence of Richard Wood, 1831–1841," 1043
Cunningham, N. E., Jr. (R), 299, 1078
Cunningham, R. J., *The Impact of Christian Science on the American Churches, 1880–1910,* 885–905; (R), 1092
Current, R. N., "John C. Calhoun," 701
Current Soviet Theory of History: New Trends or Old? by Mendel, 50–73
Curry, George (R), 585
Curtis, L. P., "Chichester Towers," 586
Curtiss, J. S. (R), 239
Cushman, Dan, "The Great North Trail," 302
"Custer's Gold: The United States Cavalry Expedition of 1874," by Jackson, 1109
Cutter, Donald, and Destéfani, L. H., "Tadeo Haënke y el final de una vieja polémica," 1523; (R), 1496
Cuttino, G. P. (R), 141
Czechoslovakia. *See* Heymann, F. G.

Dabrowski, Jan, *et al.* (eds.), "Rozbiór Krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z Lat 1445–1480," II, 1376
Dahlberg, J. S., "The New York Bureau of Municipal Research," 1512
Dahmus, Joseph (R), 163
"Dal 25 luglio all'8 settembre (Nuove rivelazioni sugli armistizi fra l'Italia e le Nazioni Unite)," by Toscano, 1029

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Da Silva, J. G., "En Espagne," 996
Datta, Kalikinkar, "Shah Alam II and the East India Company," 674
Daumard, Adeline, "Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiens au XIX^e siècle, 1809–1880," 600
Davidovich, D. S., "Revoliutsionnyi Krizis 1923 g. v Germanii i Gamburgskoe Vosstanie," 623
Davids, Jules, "The United States in World Affairs, 1964," 340; (ed.), "Documents on American Foreign Relations, 1964," 340
Davies, R. O., "Housing Reform during the Truman Administration," 741
Davis, C. T. (R), 151
Davis, D. B., "The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture," 926
Davis, Dorothy, "Fairs, Shops, and Supermarkets," 174
Davis, R. L., "Opera in Chicago," 727
Davis, Vincent, "Postwar Defense Policy and the U. S. Navy, 1943–1946," 738
Davis, W. G. (deceased), 406
Davison, R. H. (R), 652, 1042
Dawson, J. F., "Friedrich Schleiermacher," 1010
Dawson, Philip (R), 598
"De la Franc-Maçonnerie mystique au sacerdoce: Ou la vie romantique de Friedrich-Ludwig-Zacharias Werner (1768–1823)," by Guinet, 617
"De l'impérialisme à la décolonisation," by Ardant *et al.*, 929
Deak, Istvan (R), 238, 1036, 1435
Deakin, F. W., "The Brutal Friendship," pt. 1, 639
"Deakin, Alfred: A Biography," by La Nauze, 681
Deane, Phyllis, "The First Industrial Revolution," 184
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Debus, A. G. (R), 1341
DeConde, Alexander (R), 345, 694
Dedijer, Vladimir, "The Road to Sarajevo," 570
de' Dondi, Giovanni. *See* Bedini, S. A.
Degler, C. N. (R), 688, 1501
de Heer, Cornelius. *See* Lesky, Albin
Deininger, Jürgen, "Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit," 138
Deininger, W. T. (R), 117
D'Elia, D. J. (R), 1076
Delzell, C. F. (R), 233, 1029, 1441, 1443
Demarco, Domenico, "La Calabria," 1438
Dement'ev, I. P., "Amerikanskaia Istoriografiia Grazhdanskoi Voiny v SShA (1861–1865)," 735
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De Pauw, L. G., "The Eleventh Pillar," 1081
De Pillis, M. S. (R), 693, 1095
de Roover, Raymond (R), 116, 1438
Derry, Warren, "Dr. Parr," 185
De Santis, V. P. (R), 717
Destéfani, L. H., and Cutter, Donald, "Tadeo Haënke y el final de una vieja polémica," 1523
Detwiler, D. S. (R), 1426
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De Vore, B. B., "Land and Liberty," 1129
Dew, C. B., "Ironmaker to the Confederacy," 1100
Dickerson, O. M. (deceased), 1208
Dien Bien Phu, siege of. *See* Fall, B. B.
Dietrich, Richard, "Kleine Geschichte Preussens," 1413
Diffie, B. W. (R), 1068
Dillon, M. L., "Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom," 1486
Dimacopoulos, G. D., "Hē Dioikētikē Organōsis kata tēn Hellēnikēn Epanastasin 1821–1827," 1037
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Dirks, Walter, and Böhm, Franz (eds.), "Judentum," 525
Disciples of Christ. *See* Harrell, D. E., Jr.
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"Discovery of Time," by Toulmin and Goodfield, 925
"Discrimination in International Trade: The Policy Issues, 1945–1965," by Patterson, 933
"Dividing the Waters: A Century of Controversy between the United States and Mexico," by Hundley, 748
Dixon, F. J. (deceased), 1208
Długosz, Jan. *See* Dąbrowski, Jan
Dmytryshyn, Basil (R), 1445
"Doctors and the State: The British Medical Profession and Government Action in Public Health, 1870–1912," by Brand, 196
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Dodge, E. S. (R), 711, 749
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Donaghy, T. J., "Conceived in Crisis," 1499
Donahoe, B. F., "Private Plans and Public Dangers," 334
Donald, David, "The Politics of Reconstruction 1863–1867," 315; (R), 701, 707
Donaldson, Gordon, "Scotland," 576
Donnison, F. S. V., "Civil Affairs and Military Government," 985
Dorfman, Joseph (R), 330, 1117
Dorpalen, Andreas (R), 217
Douzens. *See* Gérard, Pierre
Dow, Sterling (R), 535, 1359
Dowd, D. L. (C), 409
Dowdey, Clifford, "Lee," 308
Dowse, R. E., "Left in the Centre," 981
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Drew, R. F. (R), 929
Dreyfus, F. G., and Coutrot, Aline, "Les forces religieuses dans la société française," 204
Driscoll, G. R. (R), 1402
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"Druids," by Chadwick, 136
Drury, C. M. (ed.), "First White Women over the Rockies," III, 706
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Dubois, Alain, "Die Salzversorgung des Wallis 1500–1610," 630

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Duly, L. C. (R), 664
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Duncan, H. D., "Culture and Democracy," 320
Dunham, W. H., Jr. (R), 545, 1338
Dunkel, Wilbur, "William Lambarde, Elizabethan Jurist, 1536–1601," 577
Dupree, A. H. (R), 1115
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Duzinchevici, G. *See* Kraus, Georg
Dyck, H. L., "Weimar Germany & Soviet Russia, 1926–1933," 964
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East India Company. *See* Datta, Kalikinkar; Sanwal, B. D.
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Eccles, W. J. (R), 341
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Edwards, Francis, "The Dangerous Queen," 971
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Ekman, Ernst (R), 613, 1379
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Elkins, S. M. (R), 713
Ellersieck, H. E. (R), 1002, 1411
Elliott, R. R., "Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom," 1116
Ellis, C. T., "A Giant Step," 332
Ellis, D. M. (R), 1493
Ellis, L. E. (R), 1511
Ellis, M. B., "Rousseau's Venetian Story," 992
Elson, R. M. (R), 716
Elting, J. R. (R), 994
Ely, R. T. *See* Rader, B. G.
"Emancipation of the American Woman," by Sinclair, 704
Embree, A. T. (R), 266, 1397
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Emerson, D. E. (R), 1382
Emery, Ruth (R), 190
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Erasmus, Desiderius. *See* Reynolds, E. E.
Erickson, E. L. (R), 1043
Ericson, F. J. (deceased), 1576
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Ernst, Robert (R), 698
Erskine, Robert. *See* Heusser, A. H.
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Ethiopia. *See* Sklar, R. L.
"Eugen von Savoyen, Prinz: Eine Biographie," V, by Braubach, 223
Euler, R. C. (R), 1110
"Europäischen Integration, Die Idee der, in der westdeutschen bürgerlichen Geschichtsschreibung," by Mérei, 1431
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Evans, F. B. (R), 1070
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Fairbank, J. K. (R), 135, 261, 1460
"Fairs, Shops, and Supermarkets: A History of English Shopping," by Davis, 174
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Falk, S. L., "Decision at Leyte," 337; (R), 1517
Fall, B. B., "Hell in a Very Small Place," 1470; (R), 929
Falnes, O. J., lists of articles, 374, 775, 1150–51, 1546–47; (R), 166
"Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History," by Lamar, 1496
"Farmers' Frontier, 1865–1900," by Fite, 714
Farmers' Holiday Association. *See* Shover, J. L.
Farquhar, F. P., "History of the Sierra Nevada," 303
Fascism: Aquarone, "L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario," 638; Deakin, "The Brutal Friendship," pt. 1, 639
Favier, Jean (pub.), "Cartulaire et actes d'Enguerran de Marigny," 150
Fehrenbacher, D. E. (R), 309
Feldman, G. D., "Army, Industry, and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918," 622; (R), 1424
Felice, Renzo De, "Mussolini il rivoluzionario, 1883–1920," 1027
Fellman, David (R), 338, 697
Feng Yü-hsiang. *See* Sheridan, J. E.
Fenton, W. N. (R), 1477
Ferguson, A. D., and Levin, Alfred (eds.), "Essays in Russian History," 239
Ferguson, O. W. (R), 188
Ferguson, W. K. (R), 557
Ferrell, R. H., "George C. Marshall," 740; (R), 326, 534
"Ferrero, Guglielmo: Histoire et politique au xx^e siècle," by Salvatorelli *et al.*, 1028
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"Fifth Monarchy Men," by Rogers, 1387
Filler, Louis (R), 712
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"Financial Institutions and Industrialization in the Rhineland, 1815–1870," by Tilly, 618
"Finch, the Late Allan George, Esq., of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland, Report on the Manuscripts of," IV, ed. by Bickley, 181
Findlay, James (R), 301
Fine, Sidney (R), 1508
Finland. *See* Paasivirta, Juhani
Finn, R. W., "Domesday Studies," 949
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Fischel, W. J. (R), 126, 263, 1045, 1371
Fischer, D. H., "The Revolution of American Conservatism," 296
Fischer, Louis (R), 964
Fischer, S. N. (R), 251
"Fischer, J. C. H.: Politiske dagbøger, 1852–56, 1872–75," ed. by Gejl, 1411
Fischer-Galați, Stephen (R), 235, 1032
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Fishman, Sterling (R), 617
Fite, G. C., "The Farmers' Frontier, 1865–1900," 714; (R), 328
Fletcher, W. A., "The Mission of Vincent Benedetti to Berlin 1864–1870," 603
Fliess, P. J., "Thucydides and the Politics of Bipolarity," 936
Flint, J. E., "Nigeria and Ghana," 1046
Florance, Eleanor (deceased), 407
"Florence, The Government of, under the Medici (1434 to 1494)," by Rubinstein, 633
Fogel, R. W., "Railroads and American Economic Growth," 1493
Fohlen, Claude (under the direction), "Histoire de Besançon," II, 200
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Fontaine, André, "Histoire de la guerre froide," I, 533
Fonzi, Fausto, "Crispi e lo 'Stato di Milano,'" 230
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Forster, Kent (R), 131
Forster, Robert (R), 596
Fosdick, R. B., "Letters on the League of Nations," 730
Foster, E. R. (ed.), "Proceedings in Parliament, 1610," I and II, 973
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Fox, D. M. (R), 934
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Franklin, Benjamin: Ketcham, "Benjamin Franklin," 285; Korty, "Benjamin Franklin and Eighteenth-Century American Libraries," 286; Labaree *et al.* (eds.), "The Papers of Benjamin Franklin," IX, 1077
Franklin, J. H. (R), 1486
Franklin, W. M. (R), 984
Frantz, J. B. (R), 743
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Frick, G. F. (R), 1481
Fried, R. C. (R), 1440
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Friend, Theodore (R), 270
Fritz, H. E. (R), 306, 719, 1086
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Fuchs, W. P. *See* Ranke, Leopold von
Fullman, Charles. *See* Friedländer, Saul
Funck family. *See* Pickl, Othmar
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Furber, Holden (R), 675, 1465
Fursenko, A. A., "Neftianiye Tresty i Mirovaia Politika 1880-e Gody–1918 g.," 129
Futrell, R. F. (R), 337

Gabon. *See* Sklar, R. L.
Gailey, H. A., Jr. (R), 657
Gaines, W. H., Jr., "Thomas Mann Randolph," 1082
Galambos, Louis, "Competition & Cooperation," 1117
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Gargan, E. T. (R), 529
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Gash, Norman, "Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics, 1832–1852," 191
Gąsiorowski, Antoni, "Powiat w Wielkopolsce XIV–XVI Wieku," 1034
Gasiorowski, Z. J. (R), 171, 1447
"Gasperi, Alcide De: The Long Apprenticeship," by Carrillo, 234
Gatell, F. O. (R), 1510
Gates, P. W. (R), 720, 1515
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"Georgia, The Reconstruction of," by Conway, 1502
Gérard, Pierre, and Magnou, Élisabeth (pubs.), "Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens," under the direction of Wolff, 150
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Gerschenkron, Alexander. *See* Rosovsky, Henry
"Geschichte als Wissenschaft: Eine Einführung," by Schieder, 117
"Gesellschaft in der Geschichte des Mittelalters," by Bosl, 1366
Geyl, Pieter (deceased), 1208
Ghana. *See* Flint, J. E.
Ghica family. *See* Camariano, Nestor
"Giansenismo italiano, Riflessi politici del," by Caristia, 1023
"Giant Step," by Ellis, 332
Gibb, H. A. R. *See* Makdisi, George
Gibbon, Edward. *See* White, Lynn, jr.
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Gilb, C. L., "Hidden Hierarchies," 683
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Gilbert, B. F. (R), 303
Gilbert, Felix (R), 987
Gill, C. C. (R), 349
Gille, Bertrand, "Engineers of the Renaissance," 1341; "Histoire de la Maison Rothschild," I, 1406
Giraud, Marcel, "Histoire de la Louisiane française," III, 1075
Gjelsness, R. H. *See* Kaser, David
Glamann, Kristof, "Otto Thott's uforgribelige tanker om kommerciens tilstand," 613
Glanz, Rudolf, "Jew and Irish," 698
Glazer, Sidney, lists of articles, 382–83, 783–84, 1159–60, 1554; (R), 1045
Glazier, I. A. (R), 229, 635
Gluek, A. C., Jr., "Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest," 1125
Gneisenau, A. N. von. *See* Clausewitz, Carl von
Gobée, E., and Adriaanse, C. (eds.), "Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889–1936," III, 1000
Goddard, W. G., "Formosa," 670
Godfrey, J. L. (R), 1383
Goetzmann, W. H., "Exploration and Empire," 699
Gokhale, B. G. (R), 265, 672, 1462

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"Gold in the Black Hills," by Parker, 1504
Goldsmith, M. M., "Hobbes's Science of Politics," 971
Golino, C. L. (ed.), "Galileo Reappraised," 634
"Gompers, Samuel: A Biography," by Mandel, 1111
Gondos, D. D. (R), 286
Goodfield, June, and Toulmin, Stephen, "The Discovery of Time," 925
Goodman, D. M., "A Western Panorama, 1849–1875," 1096
Goodman, Gordon (deceased), 805
Goodwin, C. D. W., "Economic Enquiry in Australia," 680
Gordon, David C., "The Passing of French Algeria," 656
Gordon, Donald C., "The Dominion Partnership in Imperial Defense, 1870–1914," 196; (R), 1472
Gordon, Leonard (R), 670
"Gospodarstwo Magnackie w Województwie Podolskim w Drugiej Połowie XVIII Wieku," by Serczyk, 642
"Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987–1108)," by Lemarignier, 144
Goveia, E. V., "Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century," 751
"Governing Soil Conservation: Thirty Years of the New Decentralization," by Morgan, 1515
Grab, Walter, "Demokratische Strömungen in Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein zur Zeit der ersten französischen Republik," 1419
Graham, J. W. (R), 1356
"Grain Trade in the Old Northwest," by Clark, 1088
"Gramsci, Antonio, and the Origins of Italian Communism," by Cammett, 1441
Grat, Félix, *et al.*, "Annales de Saint-Bertin," 142
Graubard, S. R. (R), 573, 931
"Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650–1815," by Ludwig, 689
Gray, Wood, lists of articles, 388–99, 788–95, 1166–74, 1560–69
"Great American Desert: Then and Now," by Hollon, 304
"Great Britain and United States Expansion: 1898–1900," by Neale, 130
"Great North Trail: America's Route of the Ages," by Cushman, 302
"Great Powers, Lithuania, and the Vilna Question, 1920–1928," by Senn, 1383
"Greek Civil War, 1944–1949," by O'Ballance, 1038
"Greek Literature, A History of," by Lesky, tr. by Willis and De Heer, 535
Green, C. M. (R), 697
Greene, D. P. (R), 1096
Greene, J. P. (R), 1484
Greenleaf, W. H., "Order, Empiricism and Politics," 175
Greever, W. S. (R), 1504
Gregory VII, pope. *See* Meulenberg, L. F. J.
Grekulov, E. F., "Pravoslavnaia Inkvizitsiia v Rossii," 239
Gressley, G. M., "Bankers and Cattlemen," 720
Grew, J. C. *See* Heinrichs, W. H., Jr.
Grew, Raymond (R), 1024
Griffin, Charles (R), 753, 1525
Griffith, W. E. (ed.), "Communism in Europe," II, 573
Grimm, H. J. (R), 164, 1414
Groh, G. W., "Gold Fever," 1497
Gromyko, A. A. *See* Vygodskii, S. Iu.
"Growth and Welfare in the American Past: A New Economic History," by North, 294
Guatemala. *See* Woodward, R. L., Jr.
Guéhenno, Jean, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau," I and II, tr. by Weightman and Weightman, 991
"Guerra civile americana, Storia della," by Luraghi, 1101
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"Guerre froide, Histoire de la," I, by Fontaine, 533
"Guicciardini, Francesco, Carteggi di," XI, ed. by Ricci, 1436
Guinet, Louis, "De la Franc-Maçonnerie mystique au sacerdoce," 617
Guinn, Paul (R), 982, 1051
Guizot, F. P. G. *See* Weintraub, K. J.
Gundersheimer, W. L., "The Life and Works of Louis Le Roy," 988
"Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion 1400–1700," by Cipolla, 564
"Guntur District, 1788–1848: A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India," by Frykenberg, 675
Gutkind, E. A., "International History of City Development," II, 166
Gutman, H. G., *Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: The Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age,* 74–101; (R), 324, 733
Guttmann, Allen (R), 198
Guttridge, G. H. (R), 588

"Habit of Authority: Paternalism in British History," by Thornton, 573
"Haënke, Tadeo, y el final de una vieja polémica," by Destéfani and Cutter, 1523
Hafen, L. R. (R), 1488
Hagan, W. T., "Indian Police and Judges," 719

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Haiti. *See* Fagg, J. E.
Hale, G. E. *See* Wright, Helen
Hale, O. J. (R), 1381
Halecki, O. (R), 1034, 1364
"Halévy, Daniel, and His Times: A Gentleman-Commoner in the Third Republic," by Silvera, 996
"Half-Sun on the Columbia: A Biography of Chief Moses," by Ruby and Brown, 306
"Halifax: The Life of Lord Halifax," by the Earl of Birkenhead, 983
Hall, A. R., and Hall, M. B. (eds. and trs.), "The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg," I–III, 974
Hall, H. D. (R), 583, 665
Hall, J. W., "Government and Local Power in Japan, 500 to 1700," 261
Hall, Richard, "Zambia," 257
Hall, Wade, "The Smiling Phoenix," 715
Hallgarten, G. W. F. (R), 1013
Halperin, S. W. (R), 604
Halpern, A. M. (ed.), "Policies toward China," 135
Halsband, Robert (ed.), "The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," I, 182; II, 1390
Hamburg. *See* Grab, Walter
Hamerow, T. S. (R), 216, 1012, 1415
Hamilton, Alexander: Levi, "Alexander Hamilton e il federalismo americano," 293; Syrett (ed.), "The Papers of Alexander Hamilton," VIII and IX, 294
Hamilton, W. B., *et al.* (eds.), "A Decade of the Commonwealth, 1955–1964," 592
"Hammerstein, Oscar: Manhattan Opera Company," by Cone, 727
Hammond, Mason (R), 1354
Hammond, R. J., "Portugal and Africa, *1815–1910*," 1050
Hanák, Péter (ed.), "Die nationale Frage in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1900–1918," 1433
Hancock, W. K., and van der Poel, Jan (eds.), "Selections from the Smuts Papers," I–IV, 665
Handover, P. M., "A History of the London Gazette, 1665–1965," 585
Hanke, Lewis (R), 609; *see also* Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, Bartolomé
Hannak, Jacques, "Karl Renner und seine Zeit," 1021; *see also* Renner, Karl
"Hannibal's Legacy: The Hannibalic War's Effects on Roman Life," I and II, by Toynbee, 537
Hanning, R. W., "The Vision of History in Early Britain," 542
"Hapsburg Monarchy, The Passing of the, 1914–1918," by May, 628
Hardacre, P. H. (R), 180, 1388
Harlan, L. R. (R), 1104
Harootunian, H. D., and Silberman, B. S. (eds.), "Modern Japanese Leadership," 1058
"Harper's University: The Beginnings," by Storr, 1113
Harrell, D. E., Jr., "Quest for a Christian America," 301
Harris, D. R., and Thompson, G. R., "The Signal Corps," 1122
Harris, Neil, "The Artist in American Society," 1486
Harrison, Brian (R), 1467
Hart, C. R., "The Early Charters of Eastern England," *1367*
Hartz, Louis, "The Founding of New Societies," 122
"Harvard, Social Sciences at, 1860–1920: From Inculcation to the Open Mind," by Church *et al.*, ed. by Buck, 313
Hasluck, Alexandra, "Thomas Peel of Swan River," *1067*
Hassler, W. W., Jr. (R), 335, 1102, 1485
Hastings, Margaret (R), 177, 956
"Hastings, Warren, The Impeachment of," by Marshall, 187
Hattersley, A. F., "The Convict Crisis and the Growth of Unity," 256
Hauser, Walter (R), 1060, 1062
Havighurst, Walter, "Three Flags at the Straits," 1074
Havinden, M. A., "Estate Villages," 591
Hawaii. *See* Adler, Jacob
Hawkins, Hugh (R), 312, 1113
Hawley, E. W., "The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly," 330
Heathcote, R. L., "Back of Bourke," 273
Hecht, J. J. (R), 174
Heimert, Alan, "Religion and the American Mind," 1482
Heinrichs, W. H., Jr., "American Ambassador," 1511
"Heinsius, Nicolas, Soixante-dix-sept lettres inédites à, (1649–1658)," by Chapelain, pub. by Bray, 568
Helgaud de Fleury, "Vie de Robert le Pieux," ed. and tr. by Bautier and Labory, 145
"Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu," by Fall, 1470
Helmreich, E. C. (R), 1377
"Helper, Hinton Rowan: Abolitionist-Racist," by Bailey, 713
Henry III. *See* Beamish, Tufton
"Henry VIII and the Lutherans: A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547," by Tjernagel, 968
Hepple, Alex, "South Africa," 1051
Hermann, C. H., "Deutsche Militärgeschichte," 1004
Hermes, W. G., "Truce Tent and Fighting Front," 1123
Hernon, J. M., Jr. (R), 718
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Herr, Richard (R), 208, 997

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Hewitt, H. J., "The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338–62," 555
Hexter, J. H., and Surtz, Edward (eds.), "The Complete Works of St. Thomas More," IV, 177; (R), 175
Heymann, F. G., "Poland & Czechoslovakia," 1444
Hibbert, Christopher, "Garibaldi and His Enemies," 637
Hicken, Victor, "Illinois in the Civil War," 1102
"Hidden Hierarchies: The Professions and Government," by Gilb, 683
Higby, C. P. (deceased), 802
Higden, Ranulf. *See* Taylor, John
Higgins, Trumbull, "Hitler and Russia," 965; (R), 336, 932, 1516
Higham, John, *The Schism in American Scholarship*, 1–21
Higham, Robin, "The Military Intellectuals in Britain," 982; and Zook, D. H., Jr., "A Short History of Warfare," 120; (R), 592, 1344; (C), 1209
Hilberg, Raul (R), 1425
Hill, Francis, "Georgian Lincoln," 976
Hilleary, W. M. *See* Nelson, H. B.
Hillerbrand, H. J. (R), 1006
Hillgruber, Andreas, "Hitlers Strategie," 625
Hillman, B. J. (ed.), "Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia," VI, 1077
"Hilt of the Sword: The Career of Peyton C. March," by Coffman, 730
"Hindenburg und der Staat: Aus den Papieren des Generalfeldmarschalls und Reichspräsidenten von 1878 bis 1934," by Hubatsch, 217
Hinsley, F. H., "Sovereignty," 1338
Hirsch, F. E. (R), 620
Hirschberg, H. Z., "Tōledōth hay-Yehūdīm be-Afrīḳah haṣ-Ṣefōnīth," 1045
Hirshson, S. P. (R), 317
"His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years War," by Savory, 184
Hiscocks, Richard, "The Adenauer Era," 1017
"Historians against History: The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in American Historical Writing since 1830," by Noble, 276
"Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding: Report of a Committee on National Bias in Anglo-American History Textbooks," by Billington *et al.*, 527
"Historical Interpretations and American Historianship," by Sanders, 275
Historiography: Anzilotti, "Movimenti e contrasti per l'unità italiana," ed. by Caracciolo, 227; Billington (ed.), "The Reinterpretation of Early American History," 1478; *id. et al.*, "The Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding," 527; Brandt, "The Shape of Medieval History," 550; Dąbrowski *et al.* (eds.), "Rozbiór Krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z Lat 1445–1480," II, 1376; Furber (ed.), "Changing Views on British History," 966; Gay, "A Loss of Mastery," 1479; Hanning, "The Vision of History in Early Britain," 542; Jahn, "Rashīd al-Dīn's History of India," 263; Mendel, *Current Soviet Theory of History: New Trends or Old?* 50–73; Mérei, "Die Idee der europäischen Integration in der westdeutschen bürgerlichen Geschichtsschreibung," 1431; Momigliano, "Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e dal mondo antico," 1354; Pathak, "Ancient Historians of India," 1461; Rodrigues, "Vida e história," 1522; Sanders, "Historical Interpretations and American Historianship," 275; Stadter, "Plutarch's Historical Methods," 140; Strel'skii, "Istochnikovedenie Istorii SSSR," 648; Swain, "Edward Gibbon the Historian," 1391; Taylor, "The *Universal Chronicle* of Ranulf Higden," 558; Unger, *The "New Left" and American History: Some Recent Trends in United States Historiography*, 1237–63; Vainshtein, "Zapadnoevropeiskaia Srednevekovaia Istoriografiia," 542; White (ed.), "The Transformation of the Roman World," 1362; Winks (ed.), "The Historiography of the British Empire-Commonwealth," 583. *See also* Civil War and Reconstruction; Intellectual history
"History and Truth," by Ricoeur, tr. by Kelbley, 118
History in a Self-Governing Culture, by Nichols, 411–24
"History Makers: The Press of Europe from Its Beginnings through 1965," by Olson, 565
Hitchins, Keith (R), 1033
Hitler, Adolf. *See* Adám, Magda; Deakin, F. W.
"Hitler & Japan: The Hollow Alliance," by Meskill, 1353
"Hitler and Russia: The Third Reich in a Two-Front War, 1937–1943," by Higgins, 965
"Hitlers Mein Kampf: Entstehung, Aufbau, Stil, Änderungen, Quellen, Quellenwert, kommentierte Auszüge," by Maser, 1425
"Hitlers Strategie: Politik und Kriegführung 1940–1941," by Hillgruber, 625
Hjelholt, Holger, "British Mediation in the

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Danish-German Conflict, 1848–1850," pt. 1, 192; pt. 2, 1395
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"Hobbes's Science of Politics," by Goldsmith, 971
Hobbs, Cecil, lists of articles, 387–88, 787–88, 1165, 1558–59; (R), 270
Hodges, T. B. (R), 1001
Hofstadter, Richard, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays," 281
Hogue, A. R., "Origins of the Common Law," 545; (R), 558
Holbo, P. S., *Presidential Leadership in Foreign Affairs: William McKinley and the Turpie-Foraker Amendment,* 1321–35
Hollister, C. W. (R), 1367
Hollon, W. E., "The Great American Desert," 304
Hollyday, F. B. M. (R), 215, 240, 1012
Holm, B. J., lists of articles, 361–64, 763–66, 1138–41, 1535–37
Holmberg, Åke, "African Tribes and European Agencies," 1457
"Holstein, Friedrich von: Ein Mitarbeiter Bismarcks," by Richter, 1013
Holtman, R. B. (R), 167
"Homme et son 'Institution': De Montaigne à Bérulle, 1580–1625," by Bady, 989
Homze, E. L., "Foreign Labor in Nazi Germany," 1429
Hoogenboom, Ari (R), 1109
Hooker, J. R. (R), 1050
"Hoosier Disciples: A Comprehensive History of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) in Indiana," by Shaw, 709
"Hopewell Village: A Social and Economic History of an Iron-Making Community," by Walker, 289
Hornykiewicz, Theophil, "Ereignisse in der Ukraine, 1914–1922," I, 1445
Horthy, Miklós von Nagybánya. *See* Ádám, Magda
Hoskins, J. W. (R), 235, 1376
Hosmer, C. B., Jr., "Presence of the Past," 682
Hou, Chi-ming, "Foreign Investment and Economic Development in China, 1840–1937," 260
Hourani, G. F. (R), 249, 653
"Housing Reform during the Truman Administration," by Davies, 741
Howe, J. R., Jr., "The Changing Political Thought of John Adams," 691
Howe, L. L. (R), 1358
Hoyt, R. S. (R), 949
Htin Aung, Maung, "The Stricken Peacock," 1350
Hubatsch, Walther, "Hindenburg und der Staat," 217
Hucker, C. O., "The Censorial System of Ming China," 666
Hudson, J. J. (R), 1123
Hudson, W. S., "Religion in America," 277; (R), 1482
Hughes, P. L. (R), 575, 970, 1386
Hughes, T. P. (R), 1346
Huizinga, Johan. *See* Weintraub, K. J.
Hulme, Harold (R), 973
Humbaraci, Arslan, "Algeria," 1455
Hume, I. N., "1775," 1484
"Hume, David: Prophet of the Counter-Revolution," by Bongie, 201
Hundley, Norris, Jr., "Dividing the Waters," 748
Hunt, R. N. (R), 1015
Hurewitz, J. C. (R), 1351
Hurwitz, S. J. (R), 1396
"Hus, John, at the Council of Constance," tr. by Spinka, 560
"Hus, John: Concept of the Church," by Spinka, 165
"Hussarek, Max: Nationalitäten und Nationalitätenpolitik in Österreich im Sommer des Jahres 1918," by Rumpler, 1020
Hussey, J. M. (ed.), "The Cambridge Medieval History," IV, pt. 1, 943
Huston, J. A., "The Sinews of War," 1485; (R), 1122
Hustvedt, Lloyd, "Rasmus Bjørn Anderson," 1108
Hutchison, W. R. (R), 318
Huthmacher, J. J. (R), 327
Hyde, J. K., "Padua in the Age of Dante," 554
"Hyksos: A New Investigation," by Van Seters, 1355
Hyslop, B. F., "L'apanage de Philippe-Égalité, duc d'Orléans (1785–1791)," 202; lists of articles, 370–71, 771–72, 1146–47, 1542–43; (R), 992; (C), 1576

"Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture," by Billington, 1039
Idzerda, S. J. (R), 600
Iggers, G. G. (R), 118, 523, 928
"Illiberal Liberal: Robert Lowe in New South Wales, 1842–1850," by Knight, 1472
Illick, J. E., "William Penn the Politician," 284
"Illinois in the Civil War," by Hicken, 1102
"Imbriani, Vittorio, Carteggi di. Voci di esuli politici meridionali: Lettere e documenti dal 1849 al 1861 con appendici varie," ed. by Coppola, 1025
Imlah, A. H. (R), 184, 589, 1394
"Imperialism, Doctrines of," by Thornton, 125
"Incas, Royal Commentaries of the, and General History of Peru," by Garcilaso de la Vega, tr. by Livermore, 1522
"Income Tax, A History of," by Sabine, 589
Independent Labour party. *See* Dowse, R. E.
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"Indian Feudalism: *C.* 300–1200," by Sharma, 673
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Indiana. *See* Shaw, H. K.
Indians: Brown, D. S., "The Catawba Indians," 1477; Brown, M. H., "The Flight of the Nez Perce," 1504; Burns, "The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest," 306; Hagan, "Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control," 719; Jones, "Pueblo Warriors & Spanish Conquest," 282; Josephy, "The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest," 305; Ruby and Brown, "Half-Sun on the Columbia," 306; Vaughn, "Indian Fights: New Facts on Seven Encounters," 720
"Indien, Die politische Willensbildung in, 1900–1960," by Rothermund, 1060
"Indo-Afghan Relations, 1880–1900," by Rastogi, 1458
"Indonesian Communism, The Rise of," by McVey, 1468
"Industrial Revolution, The First," by Deane, 184
"Industrialization in Two Systems: Essays in Honor of Alexander Gerschenkron by a Group of His Students," ed. by Rosovsky, 1347
"Inghilterra, Storia d'," IV, by Rossi, 581
Innsbruck, University of. *See* Lanzinger, Klaus
"Inscripţile Medievale ale României. Oraşul Bucureşti," I, ed. by Elian *et al.*, 1033
Institutional history: Davis, "The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture," 926; Ponteil, "Les institutions de la France de 1814 à 1870," 204; Vogt, "Sklaverei und Humanität," 937
"Institutions de la France de 1814 à 1870," by Ponteil, 204
Intellectual history: Allison, "Lessing and the Enlightenment," 1009; Artz, "Renaissance Humanism, 1300–1550," 557; Bady, "L'homme et son 'Institution,'" 989; Beyme, "Politische Soziologie im zaristischen Russland," 1450; Burckhardt, Jacob, "Briefe," VI, ed. by Max Burckhardt, 226; Chadwick, "The Druids," 136; Coates *et al.*, "The Emergence of Liberal Humanism," I, 563; Cord, "Henry George," 1507; Duncan, "Culture and Democracy," 320; Garin, "Italian Humanism," tr. by Munz, 631; Gundersheimer, "The Life and Works of Louis Le Roy," 988; Higham, *The Schism in American Scholarship*, 1–21; Krieger, "The Politics of Discretion," 1007; Kwok, "Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900–1950," 669; Levenson, "Confucian China and Its Modern Fate," III, 668; McConica, "English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI," 179; Nauert, "Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought," 616; Nivison, "The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738–1801)," 667; Noble, "Historians against History," 276; Nye, "This Almost Chosen People," 1071; Oberländer, "Tolstoj und die revolutionäre Bewegung," 243; O'Kelly (ed.), "The Renaissance Image of Man and the World," 526; Rader, "The Academic Mind and Reform," 1508; Ranke, "Tagebücher," ed. by Fuchs, 213; Rappard, "Économistes genevois du XIX^e siècle," 1022; Salvatorelli *et al.*, "Guglielmo Ferrero," 1028; Sarkisyanz, "Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution," 269; Schorske, *The Transformation of the Garden: Ideal and Society in Austrian Literature*, 1283–1320; Sheehan, "The Career of Lujo Brentano," 1014; Silvera, "Daniel Halévy and His Times," 996; Skotheim, "American Intellectual Histories and Historians," 1475; Stansky and Abrahams, "Journey to the Frontier," 198; Toulmin and Goodfield, "The Discovery of Time," 925; Wang, "Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872–1949," 261; Weeks, "The Lowells and Their Institute," 1093
"Inter-American System," by Connell-Smith, 1069
"Interêsse nacional e política externa," by Rodrigues, 1525
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"Irish Struggle, 1916–1926," by Martin *et al.*, ed. by Williams, 595

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"Islamic Law of Nations: Shaybānī's Siyar," tr. by Khadduri, 650
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Israel, F. L. (ed.), "The War Diary of Breckinridge Long," 734
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Jääskeläinen, Mauno, "Die ostkarelische Frage," 615
Jackson, Donald, "Custer's Gold," 1109; (ed.), "The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike," 700
Jackson, G. D., Jr., "Comintern and Peasant in East Europe, 1919–1930," 643
Jackson, Gabriel (R), 610
Jackson, R. N., "Pickering," 1467
Jacobean Diplomatic Service, by Lee, 1264–82
Jacobs, W. R. (R), 699, 1074
Jacquemyns, G., "Langrand-Dumonceau, promoteur d'une puissance financière catholique," V, 999
Jahn, Karl, "Rashīd al-Dīn's History of India," 263
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James, F. G. (R), 986
James, Patricia (ed.), "The Travel Diaries of Thomas Robert Malthus," 961
Jansen, M. B. (R), 531
Japan. *See* Meskill, J. M.
"Japan, Government and Local Power in, 500 to 1700: A Study Based on Bizen Province," by Hall, 261
"Japan, Prewar, The Social Democratic Movement in," by Totten, 1059
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Jarausch, K. H., "The Four Power Pact, 1933," 571
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Jefferson, Thomas. *See* Allison, J. M.; Gaines, W. H., Jr.
Jelavich, Barbara (R), 241
Jellema, D. W. (R), 526, 1409
Jenkins, Romilly, "Byzantium," 1365
Jenks, W. A. (R), 629, 1434
Jerusalem. *See* Bell, J. B.
"Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest," by Burns, 306
"Jew and Irish: Historic Group Relations and Immigration," by Glanz, 698
"Jewish Crafts and Guilds, A History of," by Wischnitzer, 126
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Johnson, E. N. (R), 639
Johnson, R. E. (R), 1087
Johnston, John, of Grange. *See* Walker, R. S.
Jonas, Manfred, "Isolationism in America, 1935–1941," 1120
Jones, B. Z., "Lighthouse of the Skies," 311
Jones, G. F. (ed.), "Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks," 1482
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Jones, G. W. (R), 684
Jones, Gwyn (R), 947
Jones, H. G., "For History's Sake," 1070
Jones, H. R., "John Muir and the Sierra Club," 303
Jones, O. L., Jr., "Pueblo Warriors & Spanish Conquest," 282
Jones, P. d'A. (R), 1393
Jones, P. E. (ed.), "The Fire Court," I, 1389
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Jordan, W. M. (deceased), 801
Jordy, W. H. (R), 320
Joranson, Einar (deceased), 1576
Josephy, A. M., Jr., "The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest," 305
Joshi, V. C. (ed.), "Lala Lajpat Rai," I and II, 1466
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"Judenstatus, Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des, im 11. Jahrhundert," by Dasberg, 146
"Judentum: Schicksal, Wesen und Gegenwart," ed. by Böhm and Dirks, 525
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"Kaisergedankens im Mittelalter, Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des," by Stengel, 543
"Kalb, General de, LaFayette's Mentor," by Zucker, 290
Kaldis, W. P. (R), 1038
Kamińska-Linderska, Anna, "Między Polską a Brandenburgią," 1034
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Kane, L. M., "The Waterfall That Built a City," 299
Kann, R. A., "Die Sixtusaffäre und die geheimen Friedensverhandlungen Österreich-Ungarns im Ersten Weltkrieg," 1019; (R), 225, 628, 1433
Kaplow, Jeffry, *et al., Class in the French Revolution: A Discussion,* 497–522; (R), 1416
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Katz, Martin, "Mikhail N. Katkov," 1450
Katz, Milton, "The Things That Are Caesar's," 1339
Katz, Robert, "Death in Rome," 1443
Kaufengauz, B. B. *See* "Absoliutizm v Rossii (xvii–xviii vv.)"
Keeton, G. W., "The Norman Conquest and the Common Law," 545
Kelbley, C. A. *See* Ricoeur, Paul
Kellenbenz, Hermann, and Konetzke, Richard (eds.), "Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas," II, 1127
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Kelly, G. A., "Lost Soldiers," 206
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Kent, J. H., "Corinth," VIII, pt. 3, 1359; (deceased), 804
Kenyon, J. P. (ed.), "The Stuart Constitution, 1603–1688," 580
Kerekes, Lajos. *See* Ádám, Magda
Kerr, M. H., "Islamic Reform," 653
Ketcham, R. L., "Benjamin Franklin," 285
Kevles, D. J. (R), 135
Key, V. O., Jr., "The Responsible Electorate," 331
Keyes, G. L., "Christian Faith and the Interpretation of History," 940
"Keynes, The Age of," by Lekachman, 931
Khadduri, Majid (tr.), "The Islamic Law of Nations," 650; (R), 134
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Kiernan, V. G., "The Revolution of 1854 in Spanish History," 610
Kimball, E. G. (R), 148, 1367
King, J. C. (R), 608
"Kingdoms of the Savanna," by Vansina, 658
Kingdon, R. M. (R), 630
Kirchner, Walther (R), 1448
Kirkendall, R. S., "Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt," 1118; (R), 739
Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. (ed.), "The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria," 1046
Kirkland, E. C. (R), 1088, 1493
Kirkwood, Kenneth, "Britain and Africa," 133
Kirwan, A. D., and Clark, T. D., "The South since Appomattox," 1501
Kleber, B. E., and Birdsell, Dale, "The Chemical Warfare Service," 736
Klein, P. S. (R), 1090
Kling, B. B. (R), 1464
Knapton, E. J. (R), 601
Knight, Ruth, "Illiberal Liberal," 1472
Knowles, David, "From Pachomius to Ignatius," 547
Knowlton, D. C. (deceased), 802
Koch, Adrienne, "Madison's 'Advice to My Country,'" 1083
Kock, W. J. de, "Reize in de binnen-landen van Zuid-Afrika," 664
Koehl, Robert (R), 222

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Koenig, Duane (R), 1439
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Kogan, Norman, "A Political History of Postwar Italy," 1030; (R), 232, 639
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Konvitz, M. R., "Expanding Liberties," 338
Kopits, George (R), 1446
Koplin, Raimund, "Carl von Ossietzky als politischer Publizist," 219
Kopytoff, J. H., "A Preface to Modern Nigeria," 1047
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Kosambi, D. D., "Ancient India," 672
Kossmann, Oskar, "Lodz," 1444
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Kostich, D. D. (R), 236, 570; (C), 1578
Kowalski, W. T., "ZSSR a Granica na Odrze i Nysie Łużyckiej, 1941–1945," 572
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Kracke, E. A., Jr. (R), 258
Kramarz, Joachim, "Claus Graf Stauffenberg, 15. November 1907–20. Juli 1944," 1428
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Kriegel, Annie, "Aux origines du communisme français, 1914–1920," 205
Krieger, Leonard, "The Politics of Discretion," 1007
"Krimpende horizon van de hollandse kooplieden: Hollands welvaren in het caribisch zeegebied (1780–1830)," by Jong, 1409
Krout, J. A. (R), 1107
"Krushenie Avstro-Vengerskoi Monarkhii," by Rubinshtein, 224
Kublin, Hyman (R), 262
Kuehl, W. F. (R), 730
Kühn, Joachim (ed.), "Das Ende des Maximilianischen Kaiserreichs in Mexico," 348
Kuhn, T. S. (R), 925
Kumar, Dharma, "Land and Caste in South India," 267
Kumar, Ravinder, "India and the Persian Gulf Region, 1858–1907," 1351
Kuomintang. *See* Yu, G. T.
Kupisch, Karl, "Die deutschen Landeskirchen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 1419
Kurasov, V. V., *et al.* (eds.), "Vsemirnaia Istoriia," X, 1337
Kurland, J. E. (R), 640
Kurtz, S. G. (R), 288, 690
Kutler, S. I., Ex parte McCardle: *Judicial Impotency? The Supreme Court and Reconstruction Reconsidered,* 835–51
Kwok, D. W. Y., "Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900–1950," 669

Labaree, B. W. (R), 686
Labaree, L. W., *et al.* (eds.), "The Papers of Benjamin Franklin," IX, 1077
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"Labor Politics in a Democratic Republic: Moderation, Division, and Disruption in the Presidential Election of 1928," by Bornet, 326
Labory, Gillette. *See* Helgaud de Fleury
"Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194," by Wightman, 148
LaFeber, Walter (R), 340
La Follette, Robert (deceased), 1576
"Lajpat Rai, Lala: Writings and Speeches," I and II, ed. by Joshi, 1466
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Lamb, Alastair, "The McMahon Line," I and II, 1051
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Lammers, D. N., "Explaining Munich," 1399
Lamprecht, Karl. *See* Weintraub, K. J.
Lan, V. I., "SShA v Voennye i Poslevoennye Gody (1940–1960)," 735; (C), 1578
La Nauze, J. A., "Alfred Deakin," 681
Lanctot, Gustave, "A History of Canada," III, tr. by Cameron, 341
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Landes, D. S. (R), 1406
Landynski, J. W., "Search and Seizure and the Supreme Court," 697
Lane, F. C., "Venice and History," 116; (R), 554
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Lanzinger, Klaus (ed.), "Americana-Austriaca," 934
Larkin, Emmet, *Economic Growth, Capital Investment, and the Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland,* 852–84
Larner, John, "The Lords of Romagna," 160
Larsen, A. J. (R), 299, 1089, 1489
La Salle College. *See* Donaghy, T. J.
Laslett, Peter, "The World We Have Lost," 972
Lassen, Aksel, "Fald og fremgang," 1002
Latham, Earl, "The Communist Controversy in Washington," 1120
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"Latin America, Contemporary, Nationalism in," by Whitaker and Jordan, 347
Laurent, P. H., list of articles, 1545
"Lavigerie, le Saint-Siège et l'Église: De l'avènement de Pie IX à l'avènement de Léon XIII, 1846–1878," by Montclos, 602
Lavoie, Elzéar, and Galarneau, Claude (eds.), "France et Canada français du xvi^e^ au xx^e^ siècle," 1519
Law, John. *See* Giraud, Marcel
Lawrence, M. C. *See* Garner, Stanton
Leach, D. E., "The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1607–1763," 687
League of Nations. *See* Barros, James; Spenz, Jürgen
"League of Nations, Letters on the: From the Files of Raymond B. Fosdick," 730
Lear, F. S. (R), 543, 1361
"Lebanon, The Modern History of," by Salibi, 251
Lebedev, V. V., "Russko-Amerikanskie Ekonomicheskie Otnosheniia (1900–1917 gg.)," 930
Le Bras, G., *et al.*, "Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident," VII, 153
LeDuc, Thomas (R), 305
"Ledyard, John: Journey through Russia and Siberia, 1787–1788: The Journal and Selected Letters," ed. by Watrous, 1448
Lee, Maurice, Jr., *The Jacobean Diplomatic Service,* 1264–82; (R), 576, 967, 971
Lee, R. A., "Truman and Taft-Hartley," 1518
Lee, Ulysses, "The Employment of Negro Troops," 1121
"Lee," by Dowdey, 308
"Lee, Robert E.: A Portrait (1807–1861)," by Sanborn, 1498
Leeward Islands, British. *See* Goveia, E. V.
Lefebvre, Georges. *See* Kaplow, Jeffry
Lefler, H. T. (R), 1480
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Le Guin, C. A., "Roland de La Platière," 1405
Lehoux, Françoise, "Jean de France, duc de Berri," I, 954
Leighton, R. M. (R), 120; (C), 1209
Leiman, M. M., "Jacob N. Cardozo," 1495
Leith, J. A. (C), 408
Lekachman, Robert, "The Age of Keynes," 931
Leland, H. M. *See* Leland, Mrs. W. C.
Leland, Mrs. W. C., "Master of Precision," 725
Leland, W. G. (deceased), 804
Lemarignier, J.-F., "Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987–1108)," 144
Lenel, Edith (R), 290
Lenin, Nikolai. *See* Lowe, D. M.
Lensen, G. A. (ed.), "Korea and Manchuria between Russia and Japan, 1895–1904," 531
"Leo XIII and the Rise of Socialism," by Wallace, 529
"Leone XII, La formazione diplomatica di," by Colapietra, 1024
"Leopold, King, Legacy: The Congo under Belgian Rule, 1908–1960," by Anstey, 660
Lerner, Warren (R), 1040
Leroi-Gourhan, André, *et al.*, "La préhistoire," 534
"Le Roy, Louis, The Life and Works of," by Gundersheimer, 988
Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel, "Les paysans de Languedoc," I and II, 596
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"Lessing and the Enlightenment: His Philos-

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Leuchtenburg, W. E., *The New York Meeting, 1966,* 1185–86; (R), 339
Levenson, J. R., "Confucian China and Its Modern Fate," III, 668; (R), 1459
Levi, Lucio, "Alexander Hamilton e il federalismo americano," 293
Levi, M. A., "Political Power in the Ancient World," tr. by Costello, 137
Levin, Alfred, and Ferguson, A. D. (eds.), "Essays in Russian History," 239
Levine, L. W. (R), 731
Levine, Mortimer, "The Early Elizabethan Succession Question, 1558–1568," 578
Lewis, A. R. (R), 546, 1368
Lewis, M. J. T., "Temples in Roman Britain," 541
"Leyte, Decision at," by Falk, 337
Lhotsky, Alphons, "Die Wiener Artistenfakultät, 1365–1497," 164
"Liberals and Communism: The 'Red Decade' Revisited," by Warren, 327
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Lichtheim, George, "Marxism in Modern France," 605
Liebel, H. P., "Enlightened Bureaucracy versus Enlightened Despotism in Baden, 1750–1792," 212; (R), 1418, 1429
Lieuwen, Edwin, "U. S. Policy in Latin America," 343
"Light on the Hill: A History of Tufts College 1852–1952," by Miller, 312
"Lighthouse of the Skies. The Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory: Background and History, 1846–1955," by Jones, 311
Lijphart, Arend, "The Trauma of Decolonization," 679
Lilley, William, III (R), 1098; (C), 1580
Limoli, D. A. (R), 230, 1440
Lincoln, Abraham: Simon, "Lincoln's Preparation for Greatness: The Illinois Legislative Years," 309
"Lincoln, Georgian," by Hill, 976
Lindgren, R. E. (R), 211
Lindsay, Jack, "Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt," 139
Ling, D. L. (R), 252
Link, A. S. (R), 322, 323
List of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States, 801
Literary history: Bannister, "Ray Stannard Baker," 726; Beard (ed.), "The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper," III and IV, 1091; Bishop (tr.), "Letters from Petrarch," 1375; Chapelain, "Soixante-dix-sept lettres inédites à Nicolas Heinsius (1649–1658)," pub. by Bray, 568; Derry, "Dr. Parr," 185; Duberman, "James Russell Lowell," 1491; Galbraith (ed.), "The Journal of the Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens," 188; Guinet, "De la Franc-Maçonnerie mystique au sacerdoce," 617; Hall, "The Smiling Phoenix," 715; Halsband (ed.), "The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," I, 182; II, 1390; Hustvedt, "Rasmus Bjørn Anderson," 1108; Lesky, "A History of Greek Literature," tr. by Willis and De Heer, 535; Shaw, "Problems and Policies of Malesherbes as *Directeur de la librairie* in France (1750–1763)," 1404; Surtz and Hexter (eds.), "The Complete Works of St. Thomas More," IV, 177; Walker (ed.), "The Correspondence of James Boswell and John Johnston of Grange," 587; Wright (ed.), "Shakespeare Celebrated," 1340; Ziff, "The American 1890s," 723. *See also* Rousseau, J.-J.
Lithuania. *See* Senn, A. E.
Liu, Kwang-Ching (ed.), "American Missionaries in China," 1055; (R), 260
Livermore, H. V. *See* Garcilaso de la Vega
Livermore, S. W., "Politics Is Adjourned," 322
Lockinge (Berks). *See* Havinden, M. A.
"Lodz: Eine historisch-geographische Analyse," by Kossmann, 1444
Loetscher, F. W. (deceased), 802
Loewenberg, B. J. (R), 122
Loewenberg, Gerhard, "Parliament in the German Political System," 1432
Loewenheim, F. L. (R), 1421
Lofchie, M. F., "Zanzibar," 255
"Log Cabin to Luther Tower: Concordia Seminary during One Hundred and Twenty-five Years. Toward a More Excellent Ministry, 1839–1964," by Meyer, 310
"Lollards, The Later, 1414–1520," by Thomson, 561
Lomax, D. W., "La Orden de Santiago (1170–1275)," 1370
Lombardo Toledano, Vicente. *See* Millon, R. P.
London. *See* Bell, J. B.
"London Gazette, A History of the, 1665–1965," by Handover, 585
"Long, Breckinridge, The War Diary of: Selections from the Years 1939–1944," ed. by Israel, 734
Longworth, Philip, "The Art of Victory," 241
Lorwin, V. R. (R), 205

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"Loss of Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America," by Gay, 1479
Lossky, Andrew (R), 645
"Lost Soldiers: The French Army and Empire in Crisis, 1947–1962," by Kelly, 206
"Louis XIV," by Buranelli, 990
"Louis XIV's View of the Papacy (1661–1667)," by Sonnino, 597
"Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, The Police State of, 1851–1860," by Payne, 995
"Louisiane française, Histoire de la," III, by Giraud, 1075
Love, W. D. (deceased), 1576
Lovell, C. R. (R), 257, 1457
Lovett, G. H., "Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain," I and II, 208
Low Countries: book reviews, 210–11, 611–13, 998–1002, 1409–10; lists of articles and other books received, 372–73, 773–74, 1149–50, 1545
Lowe, D. M., "The Function of 'China' in Marx, Lenin, and Mao," 1052
Lowe, Robert. *See* Knight, Ruth
"Lowell, James Russell," by Duberman, 1491
"Lowells and Their Institute," by Weeks, 1093
Lowitt, Richard (R), 332
Ludwig, A. I., "Graven Images," 689
Lütge, Friedrich, "Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," 1005
Luiggi, A. H., "65 Valiants," 349
Lukacs, John, "Decline and Rise of Europe," 1377; (R), 1028
Lukashevich, Stephen, "Ivan Aksakov, 1823–1886," 242
"Lundy, Benjamin, and the Struggle for Negro Freedom," by Dillon, 1486
Luraghi, Raimondo, "Storia della Guerra civile americana," 1101
Lutz, J. G. (R), 1056
Lutz, R. H., and Burdick, C. B. (eds.), "The Political Institutions of the German Revolution, 1918–1919," 218
Luxenburg, Norman (R), 247
Lystad, R. A. (R), 658

McAvoy, T. T. (R), 703, 1073, 1500
McCaffrey, L. J., "Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal Year," 594; (R), 595, 1400
McCall, D. F. (R), 1049
McCardle, Ex parte: *Judicial Impotency? The Supreme Court and Reconstruction Reconsidered,* by Kutler, 835–51
McClellan, W. D. (R), 237
McClements, E. C. *See* Bates, L. J.
McConica, J. K., "English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI," 179
McConnell, Allen (R), 243
McCormick, R. P., "The Second American Party System," 299
McCulloch, S. C. (R), 272, 681
McCullough, H. C. (tr.), "Yoshitsune," 1057
McDonald, Joan, "Rousseau and the French Revolution, 1762–1791," 599
McGann, T. F. (R), 1523
McGinn, D. J., "John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy," 579
McGloin, J. B., "California's First Archbishop," 703
McGrew, R. E. (R), 1450
McInnis, Edgar (R), 533
Mackinac, Straits of. *See* Havighurst, Walter
McKinley, William. *See* Holbo, P. S.
MacKirdy, K. A. (R), 680
McLane, C. B., "Soviet Strategies in Southeast Asia," 1066
McLoughlin, W. G. (R), 284
"McMahon Line: A Study in the Relations between India, China and Tibet, 1904 to 1914," I and II, by Lamb, 1051
McManus, E. J., "A History of Negro Slavery in New York," 283
MacMullen, Ramsay, "Enemies of the Roman Order," 939; (R), 139, 937
McNally, Robert (ed.), "Old Ireland," 593
McNeil, G. H. (R), 599
McRandle, J. H. (R), 622, 1016
McVey, R. T., "The Rise of Indonesian Communism," 1468
Maddison, F. R., and Bedini, S. A., "Mechanical Universe," 1377
"Madison's 'Advice to My Country,'" by Koch, 1083
Madras. *See* Beaglehole, T. H.; Kumar, Dharma
Madrid. *See* Bell, J. B.
Madsen, Brigham (R), 306, 1504
"Maghreb, Histoire générale du: Algérie—Maroc—Tunisie; Des origines à nos jours," by Peyrouton, 655
Maghrib. *See* Dufourcq, C.-E.
Magnou, Élisabeth, and Gérard, Pierre (pubs.), "Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens," 150
Magnus, Anton von. *See* Kühn, Joachim
Magrath, C. P., "Yazoo," 1487
"Magyarország Gazdasága az Elsö Világháború Után, 1919–1929," by Berend and Ránki, 1446
Mahon, J. K. (R), 736; *see also* Bemrose, John
Majumdar, Bimanbehari, "Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature (1818–1917)," 676
Majumdar, R. C., "Svāmī Vivekānanda," 268
Makdisi, George (ed.), "Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb," 249
"Makers of Modern England: The Force of Individual Genius in Modern History," by Costigan, 1392
"Malagasy Republic: Madagascar Today," by Thompson and Adloff, 257
"Malaya, British, The Development of, 1896–1909," by Chai, 1066
"Malaya: The Communist Insurgent War, 1948–60," by O'Ballance, 1469
"Malaysia, A Short History of," by Miller, 679

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"Malthus, Thomas Robert, The Travel Diaries of," ed. by James, 961
Mamatey, V. S. (R), 244, 1022
"Man Singh, Raja, of Amber," by Prasad, 673
"Manchester Men and Indian Cotton, 1847–1872," by Silver, 1394
Manchuria. *See* Lensen, G. A.
Mandel, Bernard, "Samuel Gompers," 1111
Mandelbaum, S. J. (R), 1105
"Manitoba: The Birth of a Province," by Morton, 746
Mann, Arthur (R), 1114
Manning, Helen (R), 125
"Manuscrits en écriture latine, Catalogue des, portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste," V, by Samaran and Marichal, 141
Mao Tse-tung. *See* Lowe, D. M.
"Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, 1927–1935," by Rue, 1461
"Map Maker, George Washington's: A Biography of Robert Erskine," by Heusser, ed. by Schmidt, 1484
March, P. C. *See* Coffman, E. M.
Marcus, H. G. (R), 654, 1456
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Marder, A. J., "From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow," III, 592
Marichal, Robert, and Samaran, Charles, "Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste," V, 141
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Maring, N. H., "Baptists in New Jersey," 284
"Mark of Honour," by Mathews, 342
"Marranos of Spain, from the Late xivth to the Early xvith Century: According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources," by Netanyahu, 1408
Marraro, H. R. (ed.), "L'unificazione italiana vista dai diplomatici statunitensi," II, 1440
Marshall, J. D. (ed.), "Approaches to Library History," 1070
Marshall, L. L., *The Strange Stillbirth of the Whig Party*, 445–68
Marshall, P. J., "The Impeachment of Warren Hastings," 187
Marshall, Ronald, "Massimo d'Azeglio," 636
"Marshall, George C.," by Ferrell, 740
"Marshall, George C.: Ordeal and Hope, 1939–1942," by Pogue, 1516
"Marshall, Louis, Defender of Jewish Rights," by Rosenstock, 726
Martel, André, "Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881–1911)," 252
Marti, B. M. (ed. and tr.), "The Spanish College at Bologna in the Fourteenth Century," 955
Martin, Briton, Jr. (deceased), 1576
Martin, F. X., *et al.*, "The Irish Struggle, 1916–1926," ed. by Williams, 595
Martines, Lauro (R), 633
Martz, J. D., "Acción Democrática," 351
Marx, Karl. *See* Lowe, D. M.
"Marxism in Modern France," by Lichtheim, 605
Maser, Werner, "Hitlers Mein Kampf," 1425
"Mask of Jove: A History of Graeco-Roman Civilization from the Death of Alexander to the Death of Constantine," by Barr, 1358
Massachusetts. *See* Bedford, H. F.; Blodgett, Geoffrey
"Master of Precision: Henry M. Leland," by Leland, 725
Masur, Gerhard (R), 348
Mateos, M. D., "Salamanca," 997
"Mathematical Practitioners of Hanoverian England, 1714–1840," by Taylor, 587
Mathews, D. G., "Slavery and Methodism," 291
Mathews, H. C., "The Mark of Honour," 342
Maturi, Walter. *See* Anzilotti, Antonio
Maximilian. *See* Arnáiz y Freg, Arturo
"Maximilianischen Kaiserreichs, Das Ende des, in Mexico: Berichte des Königlich Preussischen Ministerresidenten Anton von Magnus an Bismarck, 1866–1867," ed. by Kühn, 348
May, A. J., "The Passing of the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1914–1918," 628; (R), 1020
May, H. F. (R), 277
Mazlish, Bruce, "The Riddle of History," 928; (ed.), "The Railroad and the Space Program," 280
Mazour, A. G. (R), 248
"Mazzini, L'Inghilterra di," by Morelli, 193
Mead, S. E. (R), 686
Mecham, J. L. (R), 351, 755
"Mechanical Universe: The Astrarium of Giovanni de' Dondi," by Bedini and Maddison, 1377
"Medical Department: Medical Service in the Mediterranean and Minor Theaters," by Wiltse, 737
"Medical Education: The Queen's-Rutgers Experience, 1792–1830," by Cowen, 1083
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Medieval history: book reviews, 141–66, 542–63, 943–58, 1363–77; lists of articles and other books received, 361–65, 763–67, 1138–42, 1535–37
Medlicott, W. N., "Bismarck and Modern Germany," 215; (R), 1398

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Meier, August (R), 1121
Meier, Christian, "Res Publica Amissa," 1360
"Memoirs 1945–53," by Adenauer, tr. by Rhum von Oppen, 627
Menasha, Wis. *See* Smith, A. E.
Mendel, A. P., *Current Soviet Theory of History: New Trends or Old?* 50–73; (R), 245
"Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung zu Nürnberg, Das Hausbuch der: Deutsche Handwerkerbilder des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," ed. by Treue *et al.*, 562
Mendoza, Gunnar. *See* Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, Bartolomé
Mérei, Gy, "Die Idee der europäischen Integration in der westdeutschen bürgerlichen Geschichtsschreibung," 1431
Meritt, L. S. (R), 541
Merrill, H. S. (R), 1509
Merrill, J. M., "Spurs to Glory," 1087
Merritt, R. L., "Symbols of American Community, 1735–1775," 287
"Merthyr Politics: The Making of a Working-Class Tradition," by G. A. Williams *et al.*, ed. by Glanmor Williams, 1392
Meskill, J. M., "Hitler & Japan," 1353
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Metcalf, T. R. (R), 671
"Methuens and Portugal, 1691–1708," by Francis, 959
Meulenberg, L. F. J., "Der Primat der Römischen Kirche im Denken und Handeln Gregors VII," 1369
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Mexican Revolution. *See* De Vore, B. B.
Mexico. *See* Kühn, Joachim
"Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810–1822: Eight Essays," ed. by Benson, 1525
Meyer, C. S., "Log Cabin to Luther Tower," 310
Meyer, Donald, "The Positive Thinkers," 318
Meyer, M. A. (R), 525
Michael, Franz, "The Taiping Rebellion," I, 1053
Michel, Henri, "Vichy," 1407
"Middelalder studier: Tilegnede Aksel E. Christensen på tresårsdagen, 11. september 1966," ed. by Christiansen *et al.*, 1368
Middlekauff, Robert (R), 1482
"Middlingness: *Juste milieu* Political Theory in France and England, 1815–48," by Starzinger, 168
"Midland Railway, The Rise of the, 1844–1874," by Barnes, 1393
"Między Polską a Brandenburgią: Sprawa Lenna Lęborsko-Bytowskiego w Drugiej Połowie XVII W.," by Kamińska-Linderska, 1034
Mihordea, Vasile, *et al.* (eds.), "Documente Privind Relațiile Agrare în Veacul al XVIII-Lea," II, 1032
Milan. *See* Fonzi, Fausto
Military history: Ambler, "The French Army in Politics, 1945–1962," 608; Beamish, "Battle Royal," 552; Beeler, "Warfare in England, 1066–1189," 948; Bell, "Besieged," 932; Bemrose, "Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War," ed. by Mahon, 1492; Chandler, "The Campaigns of Napoleon," 994; Clarke, "Voices Prophesying War, 1763–1984," 1344; Clausewitz, "Schriften—Aufsätze—Studien—Briefe," I, ed. by Hahlweg, 1011; Craig, "The Battle of Königgrätz," 1012; *id.*, "War, Politics, and Diplomacy," 1343; Dowdey, "Lee," 308; Fall, "Hell in a Very Small Place," 1470; Ferrill, *Herodotus and the Strategy and Tactics of the Invasion of Xerxes*, 102–15; Gordon, "The Dominion Partnership in Imperial Defense, 1870–1914," 196; Hermann, "Deutsche Militärgeschichte," 1004; Hermes, "Truce Tent and Fighting Front," 1123; Hewitt, "The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338–62," 555; Higham, "The Military Intellectuals in Britain: 1918–1939," 982; Huston, "The Sinews of War," 1485; Kelly, "Lost Soldiers," 206; Longworth, "The Art of Victory," 241; Merrill, "Spurs to Glory," 1087; Michael, "The Taiping Rebellion," I, 1053; Nikulin, "Tukhachevski," 247; O'Ballance, "The Greek Civil War, 1944–1949," 1038; *id.*, "Malaya," 1469; Paxton, "Parades and Politics at Vichy," 606; Pogue, "George C. Marshall: Ordeal and Hope, 1939–1942," 1516; Presseisen, "Before Aggression," 262; Redlich, "The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force," II, 617; Rothenberg, "The Military Border in Croatia, 1740–1881," 641; Sanborn, "Robert E. Lee," 1498; Savory, "His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years War," 184; Scouller, "The Armies of Queen Anne," 1389; Sharma, "Indian Army through the Ages," 1462; Toynbee, "Hannibal's Legacy," I and II, 537; Webb, "Elizabethan Military Science," 180; Zgórniak, "Wojskowe Aspekty Kryzysu Czechosłowackiego 1938 Roku," 1447; Zook and Higham, "A Short History of Warfare," 120. *See also* American Revolution; Civil War and Reconstruction; Colleges and universities; Indians; World War I; World War II
Miller, D. A. (R), 542
Miller, Harry, "A Short History of Malaysia," 679
Miller, L. B., "Patrons and Patriotism," 1486; (R), 689
Miller, Loren, "The Petitioners," 712
Miller, R. E., "Light on the Hill," 312
Miller, R. M. (R), 709
Millon, R. P., "Mexican Marxist," 1130

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Mills, L. A. (R), 679, 1066, 1469
"Millstone and Saw: The Origins of Neenah-Menasha," by Smith, 1489
"Mind of the European Romantics: An Essay in Cultural History," by Schenk, 961
Minneapolis. *See* Kane, L. M.
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"Missouri under Radical Rule, 1865–1870," by Parrish, 317
Mitchell, E. L. (deceased), 801
Molho, Anthony (R), 952
Momigliano, Arnaldo, "Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e dal mondo antico," 1354
"Monde hellénistique, Histoire politique du, (323–30 av. J. C.)," I, by Will, 1357
"Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, The Complete Letters of," ed. by Halsband, I, 182; II, 1390
Montclos, Xavier de, "Lavigerie, le Saint-Siège et l'Église," 602
Montfort, Simon de. *See* Beamish, Tufton
Moody, R. E. (R), 687
Moore, Barrington, Jr., "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy," 1338
Moore, Ruth, "Niels Bohr," 1003
Moote, A. L. (R), 597
Mootham, Orby (R), 187
"Moran, Thomas: Artist of the Mountains," by Wilkins, 710
"More, St. Thomas, The Complete Works of," IV, ed. by Surtz and Hexter, 177
"More, Thomas, and Erasmus," by Reynolds, 566
Moreau, J. A. (R), 565
Morelli, Emilia, "L'Inghilterra di Mazzini," 193
Morey, Adrian, and Brooke, C. N. L., "Gilbert Foliot and His Letters," 153
Morgan, H. W. (R), 1506
Morgan, R. J., "Governing Soil Conservation," 1515
Morgan, W. J. (R), 314
Morley, Charles, lists of articles, 380, 781–82, 1156–57
Morris, R. B. (R), 1487
Morris-Jones, W. H., "The Government and Politics of India," 1062
Morse, H. T. (deceased), 406
Morse, R. M. (R), 1525
Morsey, Rudolf, "Die deutsche Zentrumspartei, 1917–1923," 1422
Morton, Louis (R), 703
Morton, W. L., "Manitoba," 746; (R), 747
Moses, Chief. *See* Ruby, R. H.
Mosse, G. L. (R), 961
Mosse, W. E. (ed.), "Entscheidungsjahr 1932," 1425
"'Most English Minister . . .': The Policies and Politics of Palmerston," by Southgate, 978
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Mowat, C. L. (R), 981
"München 1938. England zwischen Hitler und Preussen," by Wendt, 984
"Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb," by Ali, 1463
"Muir, John, and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite," by Jones, 303
Mukherjee, S. N. (ed.), "The Movement for National Freedom in India," 1061
Mulka, K. L. *See* Naumann, Bernd
Mullett, C. F. (R), 185, 542, 586, 966, 1391
Mulvey, H. F. (R), 594
Munilla, Martín de. *See* Kelly, Celsus
"Munro, Thomas, and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras, 1792–1818: The Origins of 'The Munro System,'" by Beaglehole, 265
Munroe, J. A. (R), 696
Munz, Peter. *See* Garin, Eugenio
Murray, J. E. (R), 746
Musset, Lucien, "Les invasions," 544
Mussolini, Benito. *See* Ádám, Magda; Barros, James; Deakin, F. W.
"Mussolini il rivoluzionario, 1883–1920," by Felice, 1027
"Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age," by Mylonas, 935
Mylonas, G. E., "Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age," 935

Naidis, Mark, "India," 671; (R), 674, 1458
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"Napoleon III and the German Crisis, 1865–1866," by Pottinger, 963
"Napoleon, The Campaigns of," by Chandler, 994
"Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain," I and II, by Lovett, 208
"Napoleon's Satellite Kingdoms," by Connelly, 167
"Nariño, Don Antonio, Segundo centenario del nacimiento de, 1765–1795," 750
"Natal, A History of," by Brookes and Webb, 256
"Nation: Mythos und Wirklichkeit," by Renner, ed. by Hannak, 1021
"Nation on Trial: America and the War of 1812," by White, 298
National Board of Fire Underwriters. *See* Todd, A. L.
"National Insurance in Great Britain, The Evolution of: The Origins of the Welfare State," by Gilbert, 981

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Pearson, J. B. (R), 312
Pearson, N. H. (R), 1091
Pech, S. Z. (R), 224
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Pereyra, L. A., "James Lusk Alcorn," 707
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Pernoud, Régine, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine," 152
Pershing, B. H. (deceased), 802
Persian Gulf. *See* Kumar, Ravinder
Persons, Stow (R), 1479
Peru. *See* Garcilaso de la Vega
Peters, Victor (R), 1419
Peterson, M. D. (R), 691, 1083
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Pomerans, A. J. *See* Taton, René

Pomeroy, Earl (R), 1513

Pomfret, J. E. *See* Billington, R. A.

Ponteil, Félix, "Les institutions de la France de 1814 à 1870," 204

Pool, Bernard, "Navy Board Contracts, 1660–1832," 1388

Poppers, H. L. (R), 127

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Pratt, J. W. (R), 1124

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Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," by Deininger, 138
Prugh, C. M. *See* Ernst, Fritz
"Pueblo Warriors & Spanish Conquest," by Jones, 282
"Puerto Rico, The United States in, 1898–1900," by Berbusse, 1510
Pufendorf, Samuel. *See* Krieger, Leonard
"Pulitzer's *Post-Dispatch*, 1878–1883," by Rammelkamp, 1505
Pundeff, Marin (R), 573
Pundt, A. G. (R), 1010
"Punjab, Minority Politics in the," by Nayar, 677
"Putsch de Hitler à Munich en 1923," by Bonnin, 622
Pylos. *See* Blegen, C. W.

Qualey, C. C. (R), 1108
Quarles, Benjamin (R), 283
"Quartermaster Corps: Operations in the War against Germany," by Ross and Romanus, 335
Quazza, Guido, "La resistenza italiana," 233
"Quebec, The Clergy and Economic Growth in, (1896–1914)," by Ryan, 1521
"Québec, Histoire économique et sociale du, 1760–1850: Structures et conjoncture," by Ouellet, 1520
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Quigley, Carroll, "Tragedy and Hope," 123
Quinn, D. B., "The Elizabethans and the Irish," 986
Quint, H. H. (R), 1111
Quirós, P. F. de. *See* Kelly, Celsus

Rader, B. G., "The Academic Mind and Reform," 1508
Rae, J. B. (R), 725
Rae, T. I., "The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513:1603," 967
Raeff, Marc, "Plans for Political Reform in Imperial Russia, 1730–1905," 647; (R), 646, 1450
Ragatz, Lowell (R), 751
Ragusa. *See* Aymard, Maurice
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Rastogi, R. S., "Indo-Afghan Relations, 1880–1900," 1458
Rath, R. J. (R), 1021
Raubitschek, A. E. (R), 137
Rauch, Günter, "Die Bündnisse deutscher Herrscher mit Reichsangehörigen vom Regierungsantritt Friedrich Barbarossas bis zum Tod Rudolfs von Habsburg," 951
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Redlich, Fritz, "The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force," II, 617
Reed, M. E., "New Orleans and the Railroads," 301
Rees, A. W. (R), 256
Reggio. *See* Demarco, Domenico
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Remak, Joachim (R), 218; (C), 1577
Remini, R. V. (R), 1490
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Reshetar, J. S., Jr. (R), 170
"Resistenza italiana: Appunti e documenti," by Quazza, 233
"Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936–1960," by Key, 331
Reus-Mîrza, E. *See* Kraus, Georg
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Reynolds, E. E., "Thomas More and Erasmus," 566
Reynolds, R. L. (deceased), 406
Reynolds, W. R. (deceased), 1208
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Rhineland. *See* Tilly, Richard
Rhode, Gotthold, "Kleine Geschichte Polens," 235
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Rhum von Oppen, Beate. *See* Adenauer, Konrad
Riasanovsky, N. V. (R), 239
Ricci, P. G. (ed.), "Carteggi di Francesco Guicciardini," XI, 1436
Rich, Norman (R), 1044, 1420
Richeson, A. W., "English Land Measuring to 1800," 967
Richter, Günter, "Friedrich von Holstein," 1013
Ricoeur, Paul, "History and Truth," tr. by Kelbley, 118
Riḍa, Rashīd. *See* Kerr, M. H.
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Riddleberger, P. W., "George Washington Julian, Radical Republican," 1495
Rieber, A. J. (R), 649, 1452
Riegel, R. E. (R), 304
Riley, C. L., and Lange, C. H. (eds.), "The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1880–1882," 1110
Rilling, J. R. (R), 578
Ringrose, D. R. (R), 996
Rio-Branco, Baron. *See* Burns, E. B.
Rippy, J. F., "Bygones I Cannot Help Recalling," 732
Rischin, Moses (R), 1089, 1513
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Ritcheson, C. R. (R), 587
Ritt, Lawrence (R), 978
Rivkin, Ellis (R), 1408
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"Road to Sarajevo," by Dedijer, 570
Robb, N. A., "William of Orange," II, 958
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Robinton, M. R. (R), 976
Robson, L. L., "The Convict Settlers of Australia," 272
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Rodrigues, J. H., "Interêsse nacional e política externa," 1525; "Vida e história," 1522
Rodríguez, Mario (R), 344, 1524

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Rogers, G. C., Jr. (R), 292
Rogers, P. G., "The Fifth Monarchy Men," 1387
Rogers, W. W., and Ward, R. D., "Labor Revolt in Alabama," 321
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Rollins, A. B., Jr. (R), 734
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Romani, G. T. (R), 637
Romanus, C. F., and Ross, W. F., "The Quartermaster Corps," 335
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"Romme, Gilbert, (1750–1795) et son temps: Actes du colloque tenu à Riom et Clermont les 10 et 11 juin 1965," 598
Roosevelt, F. D.: Donahoe, "Private Plans and Public Dangers," 334
Ropp, Theodore (R), 196, 617, 1004
Rosenberg, Hans (R), 957, 1005
Rosenberg, Harry (R), 940
Rosenfeld, Paul, lists of articles, 372–73, 773-74, 1149–50
Rosenstock, Morton, "Louis Marshall, Defender of Jewish Rights," 726
Rosenthal, E. I. J., "Islam in the Modern National State," 134
Rosovsky, Henry (ed.), "Industrialization in Two Systems," 1347
Ross, S. R. (R), 754, 1130
Ross, W. F., and Romanus, C. F., "The Quartermaster Corps," 335
Rossi, M. M., "Storia d'Inghilterra," IV, 581
Rossi, Pellegrino L. E. *See* Rappard, W. E.
"Rossiia i Voina za Nezavisimost' v Ispanskoi Amerike," by Slezkin, 752
Rossiter, Clinton, "1787," 695; (R), 294
Rotberg, R. I. (R), 663
Rothenberg, G. E., "The Military Border in Croatia, 1740–1881," 641; (R), 1343
Rothermund, Dietmar, "Die politische Willensbildung in Indien, 1900–1960," 1060
Rothman, D. J., "Politics and Power," 717; (R), 1495
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Rowen, H. H. (R), 210, 958
Rozanov, G. L., "Germaniia pod Vlast'iu Fashizma (1933–1939 gg.)," 623
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Rozhkova, M. K., "Ekonomicheskie Sviazi Rossii so Srednei Azii," 528
Rubinshtein, E. I., "Krushenie Avstro-Vengerskoi Monarkhii," 224
Rubinstein, Nicolai, "The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434 to 1494)," 633

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Ruby, R. H., and Brown, J. A., "Half-Sun on the Columbia," 306
Ruches, P. J., "Albania's Captives," 236
Rudnytsky, I. L. (R), 642
Rudy, Willis (R), 1499
Rue, J. E., "Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, 1927–1935," 1461
Rumpler, Helmut, "Max Hussarek," 1020; "Das Völkermanifest Kaiser Karls vom 16. Oktober 1918," 629
Rundell, Walter, Jr. (R), 274, 727, 1473
Rush, Benjamin. *See* Binger, Carl
Rush, N. O., "Spain's Final Triumph over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico," 1079
Russell, E. J., "A History of Agricultural Science in Great Britain, 1620–1954," 584
Russell, Majors and Waddell. *See* Settle, R. W.
"Russian History, Essays in: A Collection Dedicated to George Vernadsky," ed. by Ferguson and Levin, 239
"Russians at Sea: A History of the Russian Navy," by Woodward, 240
"Russische Emigration in Deutschland, 1919–1929," by Volkmann, 1382
"Russko-Amerikanskie Ekonomicheskie Otnosheniia (1900–1917 gg.)," by Lebedev, 930
Russo-Japanese War. *See* Burgman, Torsten
Rutgers College. *See* Cowen, D. L.
Rutland, R. A., "The Ordeal of the Constitution," 696
Ryan, W. F., "The Clergy and Economic Growth in Quebec (1896–1914)," 1521

Sabine, B. E. V., "A History of Income Tax," 589
Sadler, Sir Ralph. *See* Slavin, A. J.
Said, B. M., "The Sudan," 254
"Saint-Bertin, Annales de," by Grat *et al.*, 142
"St. Pierre and Miquelon *Affaire* of 1941: A Study in Diplomacy in the North Atlantic Quadrangle," by Anglin, 607
Saitta, Armando (ed.), "Le conferenze e la pace di Zurigo nei documenti diplomatici francesi," ser. 3, I, 169
"Salamanca," by Mateos, 997
"Salerno, L'economia della provincia di, nell'opera della Camera di Commercio, 1862–1962," ed. by Santoro, 1437
Salibi, K. S., "The Modern History of Lebanon," 251
Salmon, E. T. (R), 939
Salomone, A. W. (R), 193, 227, 1026
Salvadori, M. (R), 234, 637
Salvatorelli, L., *et al.*, "Guglielmo Ferrero," 1028
"Salzversorgung des Wallis 1500–1610: Wirtschaft und Politik," by Dubois, 630
Samaran, Charles, and Marichal, Robert, "Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste," V, 141
Sanborn, Margaret, "Robert E. Lee," 1498
Sanders, J. B., "Historical Interpretations and American Historianship," 275
"Santiago, La Orden de, (1170–1275)," by Lomax, 1370
Santillana, Giorgio de (R), 634
Santoro, Giuseppe (ed.), "L'economia della provincia di Salerno nell'opera della Camera di Commercio, 1862–1962," 1437
Sanwal, B. D., "Nepal and the East India Company," 264
"Sardegna, Il regno di, nel 1848–1849 nei carteggi di Domenico Buffa," I, ed. by Costa, 1439
Sarkissian, A. O. (R), 941
Sarkissian, Karekin, "The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church," 941
Sarkisyanz, E., "Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution," 269
Sarti, Roland (R), 1027, 1437
Satow, Sir Ernest. *See* Lensen, G. A.
Sauer, C. O., "The Early Spanish Main," 749
Savelle, Max (R), 1077
Saveth, E. N. (R), 313
Savory, Reginald, "His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years War," 184
Saywell, J. T. (R), 1126
Scarborough, W. K., "The Overseer," 688
Schäfer, Dieter, "Der Deutsche Industrie- und Handelstag als politisches Forum der Weimarer Republik," 1423
Schanz, Wolfgang, "Das Tübinger Stadtrecht von 1493," 957
Scharnhorst, G. J. D. von. *See* Clausewitz, Carl von
Schelven, A. A. van, "Het Calvinisme gedurende zijn bloeitijd," III, 640
Schenk, H. G., "The Mind of the European Romantics," 961
Scherer, P. H. (R), 1395
Scherft, P., "Het sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje," 611
"Schicksalsjahr 1866," by Wandruszka, 1381
Schieder, Theodor, "Geschichte als Wissenschaft," 117
Schism in American Scholarship, by Higham, 1–21
Schlebecker, J. T. (R), 584
"Schleiermacher, Friedrich: The Evolution of a Nationalist," by Dawson, 1010
Schlesinger, A. M., Jr., "A Thousand Days," 339; (R), 740
Schleswig-Holstein. *See* Grab, Walter
Schlossberg, Herbert (R), 960
Schmidt, H. G. *See* Heusser, A. H.
Schmitt, B. E. (R), 125
Schmitt, H. A. (R), 1431
Schmitt, Martin (R), 710
Schnabel, Franz (deceased), 801
Schoeps, H.-J., "Barocke Juden—Christen—Judenchristen," 127; "Preussen," 1415
Schorske, C. E., *The Transformation of the Garden: Ideal and Society in Austrian Literature*, 1283–1320
Schreiber, Hermann, "Teuton and Slav," tr. by Cleugh, 639

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Schrier, Arnold (R), 295
"Schriften—Aufsätze—Studien—Briefe: Dokumente aus dem Clausewitz-, Scharnhorst- und Gneisenau-Nachlass sowie aus öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen," I, by Clausewitz, ed. by Hahlweg, 1011
Schroeder, P. W. (R), 1353
Schryver, Reginald de, "Jan van Brouchoven, Graaf van Bergeyck 1644–1725," 210
Schubert, F. H., "Die deutschen Reichstage in der Staatslehre der frühen Neuzeit," 1412
Schullian, D. M. (R), 159
Schulman, A. R. (R), 1355
Schurhammer, Georg, "Orientalia," 121; "Varia," I, 121
Schuyler, R. L. (deceased), 803
Schwartz, Harold (R), 726
Schwarz, F. A. O., Jr., "Nigeria," 1047
"Schwertbrüder, Der Orden der: Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia," by Benninghoven, 156
Science and Symbol in the Turner Frontier Hypothesis, by Coleman, 22–49
Science and technology: Armytage, "A Social History of Engineering," 927; Bedini and Maddison, "Mechanical Universe," 1377; Berkeley and Berkeley (eds.), "The Reverend John Clayton," 1481; Cipolla, "Guns, Sails and Empires," 564; Emme, "A History of Space Flight," ed. by Bernardo, 135; Gatewood, "Preachers Pedagogues & Politicians," 731; Gille, "Engineers of the Renaissance," 1341; Golino (ed.), "Galileo Reappraised," 634; Hall and Hall (eds. and trs.), "The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg," I–III, 974; Jones, "Lighthouse of the Skies," 311; Moore, "Niels Bohr," 1003; Richeson, "English Land Measuring to 1800," 967; Sharlin, "The Convergent Century," 1346; Taton (ed.), "Science in the Twentieth Century," tr. by Pomerans, 1347; Taylor, "The Mathematical Practitioners of Hanoverian England, 1714–1840," 587; Thorndike, "Michael Scot," 159; White, *Jacopo Aconcio as an Engineer,* 425–44; Wright, "Explorer of the Universe," 1115. *See also* Education
"Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900–1950," by Kwok, 669
"Scot, Michael," by Thorndike, 159
"Scotland: James V to James VII," by Donaldson, 576
Scott, F. D. (R), 1002, 1411
"Scottish Frontier, The Administration of the, 1513:1603," by Rae, 967
Scouller, R. E., "The Armies of Queen Anne," 1389
"Scritture inedite e dissertazione 'Del commercio,'" by Belloni, ed. by Caracciolo, 229
"Search and Seizure and the Supreme Court: A Study in Constitutional Interpretation," by Landynski, 697
"Search for Environment. The Garden City: Before and After," by Creese, 190
"Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era," by McCormick, 299
"Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abenland: Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650–1040)," by Eickhoff, 546
Seigel, J. E. (R), 1375
Selby, J. E. (R), 1082
Sellers, Charles, "James K. Polk, Continentalist," 1094
"Seminole War, Second, Reminiscences of the," by Bemrose, ed. by Mahon, 1492
Semonche, J. E. (R), 726
Senn, A. E., "The Great Powers, Lithuania, and the Vilna Question, 1920–1928," 1383
Serczyk, W. A., "Gospodarstwo Magnackie w Województwie Podolskim w Drugiej Połowie XVIII Wieku," 642
Settle, R. W., and Settle, M. L., "War Drums and Wagon Wheels," 307
Setton, K. M. (R), 944
Seven Years' War. *See* Savory, Reginald
"1787: The Grand Convention," by Rossiter, 695
"1775: Another Part of the Field," by Hume, 1484
Seymour, Charles, "Letters from the Paris Peace Conference," ed. by Whiteman, 323
"Shah Alam II and the East India Company," by Datta, 674
Shaibānī. *See* Khadduri, Majid
"Shakespeare Celebrated: Anniversary Lectures Delivered at the Folger Library," ed. by Wright, 1340
Shannon, D. A. (R), 722, 1112
"Shape of Medieval History: Studies in Modes of Perception," by Brandt, 550
Shapiro, Gilbert, *et al., Class in the French Revolution: A Discussion,* 497–522
Sharkey, R. P. (R), 705
Sharlin, H. I., "The Convergent Century," 1346; (R), 1347
Sharma, Gautam, "Indian Army through the Ages," 1462
Sharma, R. S., "Indian Feudalism," 673
Sharp, Morrison (deceased), 407
Shaskol'skii, I. P., "Stolbovskii Mir 1617 g. i Torgovye Otnosheniia Rossii so Shvedskim Gosudarstvom," 567
Shaw, E. P., "Problems and Policies of Malesherbes as *Directeur de la librairie* in France (1750–1763)," 1404
Shaw, H. K., "Hoosier Disciples," 709
Sheehan, J. J., "The Career of Lujo Brentano," 1014
Shelmidine, L. S. (deceased), 407
Shepperson, W. S., "Retreat to Nevada," 1116
Sheridan, J. E., "Chinese Warlord," 1460
"Sherington: Fiefs and Fields of a Buckinghamshire Village," by Chibnall, 173
Sherwood, M. B. (R), 302

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Shideler, J. H. (R), 329
Shinoda, Minoru (R), 1057
"Ships That Sail No More: Marine Transportation from San Diego to Puget Sound, 1910–1940," by Brown, 1513
Shover, J. L., "Cornbelt Rebellion," 328
Shryock, R. H., "Medicine in America," 684
Shufelt, L. M. (deceased), 406
"Sicily and the Surrender of Italy," by Garland and Smyth, 336
Sierra Club. *See* Jones, H. R.
"Sierra Nevada, History of the," by Farquhar, 303
"Signal Corps: The Outcome (Mid-1943 through 1945)," by Thompson and Harris, 1122
Sijes, B. A., "De arbeidsinzet," 612
"Sikhs, A History of the," II, by Singh, 1465
Silberfarb, Edward, and Connable, Alfred, "Tigers of Tammany," 1490
Silberman, B. S., and Harootunian, H. D. (eds.), "Modern Japanese Leadership," 1058
Silbey, J. H. (R), 1336
Silver, A. W., "Manchester Men and Indian Cotton, 1847–1872," 1394
Silvera, Alain, "Daniel Halévy and His Times," 996
Simon, Joan, "Education and Society in Tudor England," 178
Simon, Paul, "Lincoln's Preparation for Greatness," 309
Simon, W. M. (R), 170
Simons, E. N., "The Reign of Edward IV," 956
Simpson, A. E. (R), 1423
Sinclair, Andrew, "The Emancipation of the American Woman," 704
"Sinews of War: Army Logistics, 1775–1953," by Huston, 1485
Singapore. *See* Bell, J. B.
Singh, Khushwant, "A History of the Sikhs," II, 1465
Sinha, Pradip, "Nineteenth Century Bengal," 266
Sirmans, M. E., "Colonial South Carolina," 1480
Sismondi, Simonde de. *See* Rappard, W. E.
"Sixtusaffäre und die geheimen Friedensverhandlungen Österreich-Ungarns im Ersten Weltkrieg," by Kann, 1019
"65 Valiants," by Luiggi, 349
Sjöblom, Paul. *See* Paasivirta, Juhani
Skard, Sigmund (ed.), "USA in Focus," 742
Sklar, R. L., *et al.*, "National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States," ed. by Carter, 654
"Sklaverei und Humanität: Studien zur antiken Sklaverei und ihrer Erforschung," by Vogt, 937
Skotheim, R. A., "American Intellectual Histories and Historians," 1475
"Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century," by Goveia, 751
"Slavery, The Problem of, in Western Culture," by Davis, 926
"Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780–1845," by Mathews, 291
Slavin, A. J., "Politics and Profit," 575
Slezkin, L. Iu., "Rossiia i Voina za Nezavisimost' v Ispanskoi Amerike," 752
Sloan, E. W., III, "Benjamin Franklin Isherwood, Naval Engineer," 314
Slottman, W. B. (R), 1035
"Smiling Phoenix: Southern Humor from 1865 to 1914," by Hall, 715
Smith, A. B. *See* Drury, C. M.
Smith, A. E., "George Smith's Money," 705; "Millstone and Saw," 1489
Smith, C. E. (R), 152
Smith, D. E., "Religion and Politics in Burma," 270; (ed.), "South Asian Politics and Religion," 1063
Smith, H. H., "The War on Powder River," 724
Smith, L. B. (R), 968
Smith, Page, "As a City upon a Hill," 1072
Smith, R. M. (R), 271
Smith, S. W. *See* Drury, C. M.
"Smith, George: Money: A Scottish Investor in America," by Smith, 705
"Smith, W. H.," by Chilston, 194
Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. *See* Jones, B. Z.
"Smuts Papers, Selections from the," I–IV, ed. by Hancock and Van der Poel, 665
Smyth, H. M., and Garland, A. N., "Sicily and the Surrender of Italy," 336; (R), 293, 625
Snell, J. L. (R), 1014
Snider, D. A. (R), 933
"Snouck Hurgronje, C., Ambtelijke adviezen van, 1889–1936," III, ed. by Gobée and Adriaanse, 1000
Snow, P. G., "Argentine Radicalism," 351
Social history: Alden, "Pioneer America," 686; Allen, "The Company Town in the American West," 721; Bernardy, "Talleyrand's Last Duchess," tr. by Coltman, 601; Bosl, "Die Gesellschaft in der Geschichte des Mittelalters," 1366; Brown, "The Year of the Century," 1109; Burrow, "Evolution and Society," 980; Carson, "The Polite Americans," 278; Cawelti, "Apostles of the Self-Made Man," 685; Chibnall, "Sherington," 173; Clarke, "The Old English in Ireland, 1625–42," 986; Coornaert, "Les compagnonnages en France," 1400; Davis, "Fairs, Shops, and Supermarkets," 174; Fishman *et al.*, "Language Loyalty in the United States," 1513; Gilb, "Hidden Hierarchies," 683; Hume, "1775," 1484; Laslett, "The World We Have Lost," 972; Lindsay, "Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt," 139; MacMullen, "Enemies of the

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Roman Order," 939; Meyer, "The Positive Thinkers," 318; Pitt, "The Decline of the Californios," 1089; Quinn, "The Elizabethans and the Irish," 986; Simon, "Education and Society in Tudor England," 178; Sinha, "Nineteenth Century Bengal," 266; Smith, "As a City upon a Hill," 1072; Thornton, "The Habit of Authority," 573; Toumanoff, "Studies in Christian Caucasian History," 1363; Treue *et al.* (eds.), "Das Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung zu Nürnberg," 562; Van Zandt, "The Catskill Mountain House," 1493; Voigt, "American Baseball," 1107; Walker, "Hopewell Village," 289; Wightman, "The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194," 148. *See also* Demography; Economic history

"Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World," by Moore, 1338

"Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt," by Kirkendall, 1118

"Social Security, The Formative Years of," by Altmeyer, 1119

Socialism: Wallace, "Leo XIII and the Rise of Socialism," 529. *See also* Nevada

"Socialism and the Workers in Massachusetts, 1886–1912," by Bedford, 1112

"Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926," III, pts. 1 and 2, by Carr, 246

Solt, L. F. (R), 1387

"Somalia, Italian Colonialism in," by Hess, 1456

Sonevytsky, L. C. (deceased), 1208

Sonnino, Paul, "Louis XIV's View of the Papacy (1661–1667)," 597

Sontag, R. J. (R), 1427

Sorensen, T. C., "Kennedy," 744

Sosin, J. M., "Agents and Merchants," 186

Soulis, G. C. (deceased), 406

Souter, Gavin, "New Guinea," 679

"South Africa: A Political and Economic History," by Hepple, 1051

"South Asian Politics and Religion," ed. by Smith, 1063

South Carolina. *See* Freehling, W. W.

"South Carolina, Colonial: A Political History, 1663–1763," by Sirmans, 1480

"South East Asia, The Making of," by Cœdès, tr. by Wright, 678

"South since Appomattox: A Century of Regional Change," by Clark and Kirwan, 1501

"Southeast Asia, A Concise History of," by Tarling, 1065

"Southeast Asia, Soviet Strategies in: An Exploration of Eastern Policy under Lenin and Stalin," by McLane, 1066

Southgate, Donald, " 'The Most English Minister . . . ,' " 978

Southgate, W. M. (R), 178, 579

"Sovereignty," by Hinsley, 1338

Soviet Union: book reviews, 238–49, 645–50, 1039–42, 1448–53; lists of articles and other books received, 381–82, 782–83, 1158–59, 1552–53

Sowards, J. K. (R), 566

"Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Studien zur: Gesammelte Abhandlungen," by Lütge, 1005

"Space Flight, A History of," by Emme, ed. by Bernardo, 135

"Spain, 1808–1939," by Carr, 610

"Spain, Islamic, A History of," by Watt, 142

Spain and Portugal: book reviews, 208–10, 609–11, 996–98, 1408–1409; lists of articles and other books received, 371–72, 772–73, 1148–49, 1544

"Spain in America," by Gibson, 1068

"Spain's Final Triumph over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781," by Rush, 1079

Spanish Civil War: Eby, "The Siege of the Alcázar," 209

"Spanish College at Bologna in the Fourteenth Century," ed. and tr. by Marti, 955

"Spanish Main, The Early," by Sauer, 749

"Spanish Seaborne Empire," by Parry, 609

"Spark Lighted in Portland: The Record of the National Board of Fire Underwriters," by Todd, 1106

Spellman, J. W. (R), 673, 1461

Spence, C. C. (R), 1116

Spence, J. D., "Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and Master," 1459

Spenz, Jürgen, "Die diplomatische Vorgeschichte des Beitritts Deutschlands zum Völkerbund 1924–1926," 220

Spielman, J. P., Jr. (R), 223

Spiller, R. E. (R), 723

Spinka, Matthew, "John Hus' Concept of the Church," 165; (tr.), "John Hus at the Council of Constance," 560; (R), 121

Spitz, L. W. (R), 630

"Spreckels, Claus: The Sugar King in Hawaii," by Adler, 1503

Spring, David (R), 591

"Spurs to Glory: The Story of the United States Cavalry," by Merrill, 1087

"SShA v Voennye i Poslevoennye Gody (1940–1960)," by Lan, 735

"SSSR-Angliia, 1929–1945 gg.: Anglo-Sovietskie Otnosheniia Nakanune i v Period Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny," by Volkov, 170

Stadler, K. R., "The Birth of the Austrian Republic, 1918–1921," 225

Stadter, P. A., "Plutarch's Historical Methods," 140

Stalingrad. *See* Bell, J. B.

Stansky, Peter, and Abrahams, William, "Journey to the Frontier," 198; (R), 194

Starn, Randolph (R), 1436

Starr, C. G. (R), 938, 1362

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Starr, Isidore (R), 527
Starzinger, V. E., "Middlingness," 168
"Stauffenberg, Claus Graf, 15. November 1907–20. Juli 1944: Das Leben eines Offiziers," by Kramarz, 1428
Stavrianos, L. S. (R), 123, 1345
Stearns, P. N. (R), 200, 999, 1400
Stebbins, R. P., "The United States in World Affairs, 1965," 1124; (ed.), "Documents on American Foreign Relations, 1965," 1124
Steele, A. T., "The American People and China," 135
Stein, G. H., "The Waffen SS," 624
Steinberg, Jean. *See* Naumann, Bernd
Steiner, P. E., "Physician-Generals in the Civil War," 1102
Steiner, Zara (R), 192
Stengel, E. E., "Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisergedankens im Mittelalter," 543
Stern, Fritz (R), 213
Stern, S. M. *See* Aubin, J.
Stevens, H. R. (R), 1116
"Stevens, the Rev. William Bagshaw, The Journal of," ed. by Galbraith, 188
Stevenson, J. L. *See* Bell of Antermony, John
Stewart, E. I. (R), 720
Stewart, I. M. G., "The Struggle for Crete, 20 May–1 June 1941," 644
Stoianovich, Traian (R), 228, 1031
"Stolbovskii Mir 1617 g. i Torgovye Otnosheniia Rossii so Shvedskim Gosudarstvom," by Shaskol'skii, 567
Stone, I. (R), 623
Stone, Lawrence (C), 407
Storr, R. J., "Harper's University," 1113
"Stosunki Polsko-Niemieckie, 1933–1938," by Wojciechowski, 171
Stover, J. F. (R), 280
Strauss, F. F. (R), 559, 562
Strauss, Gerald, "Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century," 1414
Strayer, J. R. (R), 144, 956, 1373
Strel'skii, V. I., "Istochnikovedenie Istorii SSSR," 648
"Stricken Peacock: Anglo-Burmese Relations, 1752–1948," by Htin Aung, 1350
Strickland, A. E., "History of the Chicago Urban League," 1514
"Stuart Constitution, 1603–1688: Documents and Commentary," ed. by Kenyon, 580
"Stuart England, The Growth of Responsible Government in," by Roberts, 582
"Sudan: Crossroads of Africa," by Said, 254
Sullivan, L. H. *See* Duncan, H. D.
Sullivan, R. E. (R), 1369
Surtz, Edward, and Hexter, J. H. (eds.), "The Complete Works of St. Thomas More," IV, 177
Sutherland, A. E., "Constitutionalism in America," 1474
Suttor, T. L., "Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia, 1788–1870," 1471
Suvorov, A. V. *See* Longworth, Philip
"Svensk opinion och diplomati under Rysk-Japanska Kriget, 1904–1905," by Burgman, 211
Swain, J. W., "Edward Gibbon the Historian," 1391
Swann, L. A., Jr., "John Roach, Maritime Entrepreneur," 314
Sweet, F. A., "Miss Mary Cassatt," 716
Swint, H. L. (ed.), "Dear Ones at Home," 714
Swisher, Earl (R), 1055
Sworakowski, W. S. (R), 1380
"Sword of Pestilence: The New Orleans Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1853," by Duffy, 709
"Symbols of American Community, 1735–1775," by Merritt, 287
Symonds, Richard, "The British and Their Successors," 1397
Syrett, H. C. (ed.), "The Papers of Alexander Hamilton," VIII and IX, 294
"Syrian Social Nationalist Party: An Ideological Analysis," by Yamak, 1045

Taft-Hartley Act. *See* Lee, R. A.
"Tagebücher," by Ranke, ed. by Fuchs, 213
"Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents," I, by Michael, 1053
"Talleyrand's Last Duchess," by Bernardy, tr. by Coltman, 601
Talman, J. J. (R), 342
Tamborra, Angelo, "Imbro I. Tkalac e l'Italia," 1025
"Tammany, Tigers of: Nine Men Who Ran New York," by Connable and Silberfarb, 1490
Tannenbaum, E. R. (R), 199, 204
Tannenbaum, Frank (R), 926
Tarling, Nicholas, "A Concise History of Southeast Asia," 1065
Taton, René (ed.), "Science in the Twentieth Century," tr. by Pomerans, 1347
Taylor, E. G. R., "The Mathematical Practitioners of Hanoverian England, 1714–1840," 587
Taylor, G. V., *Noncapitalist Wealth and the Origins of the French Revolution*, 469–96
Taylor, J. L. *See* Bello, J. M.
Taylor, John, "The *Universal Chronicle* of Ranulf Higden," 558
Taylor, P. A. M., "Expectations Westward," 1095
Teall, J. L. (R), 544, 941
"Technical Education in France, The Development of, 1500–1850," by Artz, 1402
"Technik und Moral einer Verschwörung: 20. Juli 1944," by Ehlers, 1428
"Temas de historia económica hispanoamericana: Ensayos," by Jara *et al.*, presented by Braudel and Pereira Salas, 346
"Temples in Roman Britain," by Lewis, 541
"Templiers de Douzens, Cartulaires des,"

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pub. by Gérard and Magnou, under the direction of Wolff, 150
Terrell, J. U., "War for the Colorado River," I and II, 743
"Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e dal mondo antico," by Momigliano, 1354
"Teuton and Slav: The Struggle for Central Europe," by Schreiber, tr. by Cleugh, 639
"Texas, A History of the Republican Party in, 1865–1965," by Casdorph, 1106
Thickett, D. *See* Pasquier, Estienne
Thielen, P. G., "Die Verwaltung des Ordensstaates Preussen," 559
"Things That Are Caesar's," by Katz, 1339
"This Almost Chosen People: Essays in the History of American Ideas," by Nye, 1071
Thomas, J. L. (R), 291, 1475
Thompson, G. R., and Harris, D. R., "The Signal Corps," 1122
Thompson, J. M. (R), 532, 1337
Thompson, Laurence, "1940," 1383
Thompson, Virginia, and Adloff, Richard, "The Malagasy Republic," 257; (R), 1065, 1470
Thomson, J. A. F., "The Later Lollards, 1414–1520," 561
Thomson, S. H. (R), 560
Thorndike, Lynn, "Michael Scot," 159
Thornton, A. P., "Doctrines of Imperialism," 125; "The Habit of Authority," 573
"Thott, Otto: Uforgribelige tanker om kommerciens tilstand: Et nationaløkonomisk programskrift fra 1735," by Glamann, 613
"Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House," by Schlesinger, 339
"Three Flags at the Straits: The Forts of Mackinac," by Havighurst, 1074
Thrupp, S. L. (R), 1372
"Thucydides and the Politics of Bipolarity," by Fliess, 936
Tierney, Brian (R), 1371
Tignor, R. L. (R), 1455
Tilly, Richard, "Financial Institutions and Industrialization in the Rhineland, 1815–1870," 618
Tipton, C. L. (R), 948
Tjaden, K. H., "Struktur und Funktion der 'KPD-Opposition' (KPO)," 1015
Tjernagel, N. S., "Henry VIII and the Lutherans," 968
"Tkalac, Imbro I., e l'Italia," by Tamborra, 1025
Todd, A. L., "A Spark Lighted in Portland," 1106
"Tōledōth hay-Yehūdīm be-Afrīḳah haṣ-Ṣefōnīth," by Hirschberg, 1045
"Tolstoj und die revolutionäre Bewegung," by Oberländer, 243
Tordoff, William, "Ashanti under the Prempehs, 1888–1935," 253
Tornöe, J. K., "Columbus in the Arctic? And the Vineland Adventure," pts. 1 and 2, 947; "Early American History," 947
Torre, Augusto, "I Polentani fino al tempo di Dante," 952
Toscano, Mario, "Dal 25 luglio all'8 settembre (Nuove rivelazioni sugli armistizi fra l'Italia e le Nazioni Unite)," 1029
Totten, G. O., III, "The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan," 1059
Toulmin, Stephen, and Goodfield, June, "The Discovery of Time," 925
Toumanoff, Cyril, "Studies in Christian Caucasian History," 1363; (R), 250
Toynbee, A. J., "Hannibal's Legacy," I and II, 537
Trade and commerce: Aymard, "Venise, Raguse et le commerce du blé pendant la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle," 228; Caizzi, "Industria e commercio della Repubblica Veneta nel XVIII secolo," 1437; Caracciolo, "Le port franc d'Ancône," 635; Clark, "The Grain Trade in the Old Northwest," 1088; Dubois, "Die Salzversorgung des Wallis 1500–1610," 630; Jong, "De krimpende horizon van de hollandse kooplieden," 1409; Patterson, "Discrimination in International Trade," 933; Rougé, "Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain," 937; Veale, "The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages," 1372; Wuorinen, "Turku kauppakaupunkina ruotsin vallan loppukautena," II, 1410
"Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time," by Quigley, 123
Trager, F. N., "Burma—From Kingdom to Republic," 1064
Transformation of the Garden: Ideal and Society in Austrian Literature, by Schorske, 1283–1320
"Transilvaniei, Cronica, 1608–1665," by Kraus, tr. by Duzinchevici and Reus-Mîrza, 235
Transportation: Barnes, "The Rise of the Midland Railway, 1844–1874," 1393; Brown, "Ships That Sail No More," 1513; Fishlow, "American Railroads and the Transformation of the Ante-Bellum Economy," 1097; Mazlish (ed.), "The Railroad and the Space Program," 280; Pixton, "The Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad, 1845–1883," 708; Reed, "New Orleans and the Railroads," 301; Settle and Settle, "War Drums and Wagon Wheels," 307; Walker, "The Wagonmasters," 1488
Trask, D. F. (R), 729
"Trauma of Decolonization: The Dutch and West New Guinea," by Lijphart, 679
"Travaux et mémoires," No. 1, 549
Travel: Bell of Antermony, "A Journey from St Petersburg to Pekin, 1719–22," ed. by Stevenson, 929; Destéfani and Cutter, "Tadeo Haënke y el final de una vieja polémica," 1523; Goodman, "A Western Panorama, 1849–1875," 1096; James (ed.), "The Travel Diaries of Thomas Robert

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Malthus," 961; Kock (ed.), "Reize in de binnen-landen van Zuid-Afrika," 664; Watrous (ed.), "John Ledyard's Journey through Russia and Siberia, 1787–1788," 1448
Treadgold, D. W. (R), 1041, 1449
Tredegar Iron Works. *See* Dew, C. B.
Trenard, Louis (under the direction), "Charbon et sciences humaines," 1378
Treue, Wilhelm, *et al.* (eds.), "Das Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung zu Nürnberg," 562
Troyes (France). *See* Durand, Yves
"Truce Tent and Fighting Front," by Hermes, 1123
"Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator," by Crassweller, 755
"Truman and Taft-Hartley: A Question of Mandate," by Lee, 1518
"Truman Presidency: The History of a Triumphant Succession," by Phillips, 739
"Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and Master," by Spence, 1459
Tucker, F. H. (R), 128, 1052
"Tübinger Stadtrecht von 1493: Herkunft und Bedeutung," by Schanz, 957
Tufts College. *See* Miller, R. E.
"Tukhachevski," by Nikulin, 247
Tuleja, T. V. (R), 738
"Tunisie, Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la, (1881–1911)," by Martel, 252
"Tunstall, John Henry, The Life & Death of: The Letters, Diaries & Adventures of an Itinerant Englishman Supplemented with Other Documents & Annotations," ed. by Nolan, 319
"Turku kauppakaupunkina ruotsin vallan loppukautena," II, by Wuorinen, 1410
Turner, F. J. *See* Coleman, William
Turner, R. V. (R), 136
"Turning Points of the Civil War," by Rawley, 1499
Turpie-Foraker amendment. *See* Holbo, P. S.
"Tweed Ring," by Callow, 1105

Uganda. *See* Sklar, R. L.
"Ukraine, Ereignisse in der, 1914–1922: Deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe," I, by Hornykiewicz, 1445
"Ukrainian Republic, The Formation of the," by Pidhainy, 1451
Ulam, A. B., "The Bolsheviks," 245
"Umiliati di Cremona, Le pergamene degli," ed. by Alessandro, 151
"Uncertain Giant: 1921–1941. American Foreign Policy between the Wars," by Adler, 326
Unger, Irwin, *The "New Left" and American History: Some Recent Trends in United States Historiography,* 1237–63
"Unificazione italiana, Problemi dell'," by Pischedda, 1440
"Unificazione italiana vista dai diplomatici statunitensi," II, ed. by Marraro, 1440
United States: book reviews, 274–341, 682–745, 1068–1125, 1473–1519; lists of articles and other books received, 388–402, 788–97, 1166–80, 1560–72
"United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942," by Wood, 345
"United States in World Affairs, 1964," by Davids, 340
"United States in World Affairs, 1965," by Stebbins, 1124
"U. S. Policy in Latin America: A Short History," by Lieuwen, 343
"*Universal Chronicle* of Ranulf Higden," by Taylor, 558
"Unwritten Alliance: Rio-Branco and Brazilian-American Relations," by Burns, 344
Uphoff, W. H., "Kohler on Strike," 733
Urban history: Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, "Historia de la villa imperial de Potosí," ed. by Hanke and Mendoza, 1128; Boutruche (under the direction), "Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715," 1401; Creese, "The Search for Environment," 190; Daumard, "Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiens au XIX^e siècle, 1809–1880," 600; Fohlen (under the direction), "Histoire de Besançon," II, 200; Gutkind, "International History of City Development," II, 166; Hill, "Georgian Lincoln," 976; Hyde, "Padua in the Age of Dante," 554; Kane, "The Waterfall That Built a City," 299; Kossmann, "Lodz," 1444; Renouard (under the direction), "Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre," 157; Smith, "Millstone and Saw," 1489; Strauss, "Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century," 1414. *See also* French Revolution
"USA in Focus: Recent Re-interpretations," ed. by Skard, 742
Usher, A. P. (deceased), 406
Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. *See* Arrington, L. J.

Vainshtein, O. L., "Zapadnoevropeiskaia Srednevekovaia Istoriografiia," 542
Valev, L. B., "Bolgarskii Narod v Bor'be Protiv Fashizma (Nakanune i v Nachal'nyi Period Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny)," 237
Valiani, Leo, "La dissoluzione dell'Austria Ungheria," 1434
Vandenbosch, Amry (R), 679, 1409
van der Kroef, J. M. (R), 1468
van der Poel, Jan, and Hancock, W. K. (eds.), "Selections from the Smuts Papers," I–IV, 665
Van Deusen, G. G. (R), 1094
Vanlangenhove, F., and Visscher, Ch. De (pubs.), "Documents diplomatiques belges, 1920–1940. La politique de sécurité extérieure," III and IV, 1001
Van Seters, John, "The Hyksos," 1355
Vansina, Jan, "Kingdoms of the Savanna," 658
Van Tassel, D. D. (R), 276

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Van Zandt, Roland, "The Catskill Mountain House," 1493
"Varia," I, by Schurhammer, 121
Vasina, Augusto, "I Romagnoli fra autonomie cittadine e accentramento papale nell'età di Dante," 161
Vaughan, Richard, "John the Fearless," 956; (R), 145
Vaughn, J. W., "Indian Fights," 720
Veale, E. M., "The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages," 1372
"Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny Sovetskogo Soiuza, 1941–1945, Istoriia," VI, 1452
Venezuela. *See* Martz, J. D.
"Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane," 116
"Venise, Raguse et le commerce du blé pendant la seconde moitié du XVI[e] siècle," by Aymard, 228
Vercel, M. C., "Les rescapés de Nuremberg," 1430
"Verkenning en onderzoek: Bundel aangeboden aan de schrijver bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijks-Universiteit te Groningen," by Winter, 526
Varnadsky, George. *See* Ferguson, A. D.
"Versuchung oder Chance? Zur Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbolshewismus," by Paetel, 221
"Verwaltung des Ordensstaates Preussen: Vornehmlich im 15. Jahrhundert," by Thielen, 559
"Vichy: Année 40," by Michel, 1407
"Vichy, Parades and Politics at: The French Officer Corps under Marshal Pétain," by Paxton, 606
"Victors in World War I and Finland: Finland's Relations with the British, French and United States Governments in 1918–1919," by Paasivirta, tr. by Sjöblom, 131
"Vida e história," by Rodrigues, 1522
"Vie politique en France depuis 1789," I, by Rémond, 203
Vignery, R. J., "The French Revolution and the Schools," 600
Vinacke, H. M. (R), 1461
"Virginia, Colonial, Executive Journals of the Council of," VI, ed. by Hillman, 1077
"Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth," by Hanning, 542
"Visions of Culture: Voltaire; Guizot; Burckhardt; Lamprecht; Huizinga; Ortega y Gasset," by Weintraub, 524
Visscher, Ch. De, and Vanlangenhove, F. (pubs.), "Documents diplomatiques belges, 1920–1940. La politique de sécurité extérieure," III and IV, 1001
"Vivekānanda, Svāmī: A Historical Review," by Majumdar, 268
"Vizcaya en el siglo XV: Aspectos económicos y sociales," by Cortázar, 558
"Vneshniaia Politika Rossii XIX i Nachala XX Veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del," 1st ser., III and IV, 647
"Völkermanifest Kaiser Karls vom 16. Oktober 1918: Letzter Versuch zur Rettung des Habsburgerreiches," by Rumpler, 629
Vogt, Joseph, "Sklaverei und Humanität," 937
"Voices Prophesying War, 1763–1984," by Clarke, 1344
Voigt, David, "American Baseball," 1107
"Voina za Nezavisimost' Meksiki (1810–1824)," by Al'perovich, 752
Volkmann, H.-E., "Die russische Emigration in Deutschland, 1919–1929," 1382
Volkov, F. D., "SSSR-Angliia, 1929–1945 gg.," 170
Voltaire. *See* Weintraub, K. J.
"Voltaire's Concept of International Order," by Perkins, 1342
von Grunebaum, G. E. (R), 650
von Klemperer, Klemens (R), 1417
Von Laue, T. H. (R), 129
"Vozniknovenie Pervoi Mirovoi Voiny (Iiul'skii Krizis 1914 g.)," by Poletika, 244
Vryonis, Speros, Jr. (R), 1363
"Vsemirnaia Istoriia," X, ed. by Kurasov *et al.*, 1337
"Vsesoiuznoe Soveshchanie o Merakh Uluchsheniia Podgotovki Nauchno-Pedagogicheskikh Kadrov po Istoricheskim Naukam, 18–21 Dekabria 1962 g.," 248
Vygodskii, S. Iu., *et al.*, "Istoriia Diplomatii," III, ed. by Gromyko *et al.*, 1040

Wabeke, B. H. (R), 612
Wacher, J. S. (ed.), "The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain," 540
Wade, Mason (R), 1125
"Waffen SS: Hitler's Elite Guard at War, 1939–1945," by Stein, 624
"Wagonmasters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880," by Walker, 1488
Waite, R. G. L. (R), 221, 627, 1017
Walcott, Robert (R), 182
Walker, H. P., "The Wagonmasters," 1488
Walker, J. E., "Hopewell Village," 289
Walker, R. S. (ed.), "The Correspondence of James Boswell and John Johnston of Grange," 587
Wallace, L. P., "Leo XIII and the Rise of Socialism," 529
Wallace, P. A. W. (deceased), 1576
Wallach, Luitpold (R), 142
Wallot, J.-P., "Intrigues françaises et américaines au Canada 1800–1802," 343
"Walsh, Tom, in Dakota Territory: Personal Correspondence of Senator Thomas J. Walsh and Elinor C. McClements," ed. by Bates, 1509
Wandruszka, Adam, "Schicksalsjahr 1866," 1381
Wang, Y. C., "Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872–1949," 261
Wank, Solomon (R), 1019

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"War, Politics, and Diplomacy: Selected Essays," by Craig, 1343
"War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell," by Settle and Settle, 307
War of 1812. *See* White, P. C. T.
Ward, Mrs. C. C. (deceased), 805
Ward, J. W. (R), 1071
Ward, P. L., report of the executive secretary for 1966, 1186–89; (R), 577
Ward, R. D., and Rogers, W. W., "Labor Revolt in Alabama," 321
"Warfare, A Short History of," by Zook and Higham, 120
"Warfare in England, 1066–1189," by Beeler, 948
Warmbrunn, Werner (R), 612
Warner, S. B., Jr. (R), 1512
Warren, F. A., III, "Liberals and Communism," 327
Warsaw. *See* Bell, J. B.
"Washington Community, 1800–1828," by Young, 697
Waskow, A. I., "From Race Riot to Sit-in, 1919 and the 1960s," 325
Wasserman, E. R. (ed.), "Aspects of the Eighteenth Century," 569
Wassermann, F. M. (R), 226
"Waterfall That Built a City: The Falls of St. Anthony in Minneapolis," by Kane, 299
Watrous, S. D. (ed.), "John Ledyard's Journey through Russia and Siberia, 1787–1788," 1448
Watt, J. A., "The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century," 1371
Watt, W. M., "A History of Islamic Spain," 142
Webb, C. D., and Brookes, E. H., "A History of Natal," 256
Webb, H. J., "Elizabethan Military Science," 180
Webb, R. K. (R), 168
Weber, Eugen (R), 606
"Webfoot Volunteer: The Diary of William M. Hilleary, 1864–1866," ed. by Nelson and Onstad, 317
Weeks, Edward, "The Lowells and Their Institute," 1093
Weeks, O. D. (R), 1106
Wehrle, E. S., "Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891–1900," 132
Weibull, Curt, "Christina of Sweden," 1002
Weightman, John and Doreen. *See* Guéhenno, Jean
Weill, H. N. (R), 1412
"Weimar Germany & Soviet Russia, 1926–1933: A Study in Diplomatic Instability," by Dyck, 964
Weinberg, G. L. (R), 965
Weinstein, Donald (R), 616
Weintraub, K. J., "Visions of Culture," 524
Welch, C. E., Jr., "Dream of Unity," 657
Welles, C. B. (R), 536, 936
Wende, Peter, "Die geistlichen Staaten und ihre Auflösung im Urteil der zeitgenössischen Publizistik," 1418
Wendt, B.-J., "München 1938," 984
Wermter, E. M. (ed.), "Acta Pacis Westphalicae," ser. 2, pt. C, I, 1379
Werner, F.-L.-Z. *See* Guinet, Louis
Weske, D. B. (R), 1374
West, Francis, "The Justiciarship in England, 1066–1232," 148
West Point. *See* Ambrose, S. E.
"Western Panorama, 1849–1875: The Travels, Writings and Influence of J. Ross Browne on the Pacific Coast, and in Texas, Nevada, Arizona and Baja California, as the First Mining Commissioner, and Minister to China," by Goodman, 1096
"Westfälischen Friedenskongress, Corpus Evangelicorum und Corpus Catholicorum auf dem: Die Einfügung der konfessionellen Ständeverbindungen in die Reichsverfassung," by Wolff, 1414
Weston, C. C. (R), 580
"Westphalicae, Acta Pacis," ser. 2, pt. C, I, ed. by Wermter, 1379
Westphall, Victor, "The Public Domain in New Mexico, 1854–1891," 312
Whig Party, The Strange Stillbirth of the, by Marshall, 445–68
Whitaker, A. P., and Jordan, D. C., "Nationalism in Contemporary Latin America," 347; (R), 351, 1069
White, Beatrice, "Cast of Ravens," 1386
White, G. T. (R), 708
White, H. M. (ed.), "Ho! for the Gold Fields," 1099
White, Lynn, jr., *Jacopo Aconcio as an Engineer,* 425–44; (ed.), "The Transformation of the Roman World," 1362
White, P. C. T., "A Nation on Trial," 298
Whiteman, H. B., Jr. *See* Seymour, Charles
Wickwire, F. B., "British Subministers and Colonial America, 1763–1783," 588
"Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Württemberg und in benachbarten Herrschaften: Ausbreitung, Geisteswelt und Soziologie," by Clasen, 1006
Wiedner, D. L. (R), 662
"Wien, Studien zur Geschichte der Universität," I–III, 222
"Wiener Artistenfakultät, 1365–1497," by Lhotsky, 164
Wightman, W. E., "The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194," 148
Wilbur, C. M. (R), 669
Wilkes, J. W. (R), 189
Wilkins, Thurman, "Thomas Moran," 710
Wilkinson, B. (R), 154
Will, Édouard, "Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323–30 av. J. C.)," I, 1357
"Willem van Oranje, Het sterfhuis van," by Scherft, 611
"William I and the Norman Conquest," by Barlow, 147

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"William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650–1702," by Baxter, 958
"William of Orange: A Personal Portrait," II, by Robb, 958
Williams, Desmond. *See* Martin, F. X.
Williams, G. A., *et al.*, "Merthyr Politics," ed. by Glanmor Williams, 1392
Williams, Glanmor. *See* Williams, G. A.
Williams, R. L. (R), 962
Williams, Roger. *See* Covey, Cyclone
Williams, T. H. (R), 308, 1498
Willis, James. *See* Lesky, Albin
"Willkie, Wendell: Fighter for Freedom," by Barnard, 333
Wilson, A. J. N., "Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome," 539
Wilson, H. A., "The Imperial Policy of Sir Robert Borden," 747
Wilson, H. E. (deceased), 805
Wilson, H. S. (R), 657
Wilson, T. B., "The Black Codes of the South," 1104
Wilson, Woodrow. *See* Livermore, S. W.
Wiltse, C. M., "The Medical Department," 737
Winder, R. B., "Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century," 652
Winkler, H. R., report of the managing editor for 1966, 1189–90; (R), 983
Winks, R. W. (ed.), "The Historiography of the British Empire-Commonwealth," 583; (R), 745, 1470
Winter, P. J. Van, "Verkenning en onderzoek," 526
Wischnitzer, Mark, "A History of Jewish Crafts and Guilds," 126
Wish, Harvey (R), 275
Witcombe, D. T., "Charles II and the Cavalier House of Commons, 1663–1674," 976
Wittke, Carl, "The First Fifty Years," 1116
Wojciechowski, Marian, "Stosunki Polsko-Niemieckie, 1933–1938," 171
"Wojskowe Aspekty Kryzysu Czechosłowackiego 1938 Roku," by Zgórniak, 1447
Wolf, J. B. (R), 569
Wolff, Fritz, "Corpus Evangelicorum und Corpus Catholicorum auf dem westfälischen Friedenskongress," 1414
Wolff, Philippe. *See* Gérard, Pierre
Woltring, J. (ed.), "Bescheiden betreffende de buitenlandse politiek van Nederland, 1848–1919," 2d period, II, 1409
Women: Sinclair, "The Emancipation of the American Woman," 704
Wood, Bryce, "The United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942," 345
Wood, C. T., "The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy, 1224–1328," 551
Wood, E. I., "Report of Project History Retrieval," 1336
Wood, R. G. (deceased), 1576
"Wood, Richard, The Early Correspondence of, 1831–1841," ed. by Cunningham, 1043
Woodbridge, George (R), 985
Woodfill, W. L. (R), 1340
Wood-Legh, K. L., "Perpetual Chantries in Britain," 163
Woodward, C. V. (R), 315, 1502
Woodward, David, "The Russians at Sea," 240
Woodward, R. L., Jr., "Class Privilege and Economic Development," 1524
Worcester, D. E., lists of articles, 402–404, 797–99, 1180–83, 1572–74; (R), 350, 1079, 1522
World War I: Beaver, "Newton D. Baker and the American War Effort, 1917–1919," 729; Clark-Kennedy, "Edith Cavell," 197; Coffman, "The Hilt of the Sword," 730; Dedijer, "The Road to Sarajevo," 570; Feldman, "Army, Industry, and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918," 622; Kann, "Die Sixtusaffäre und die geheimen Friedensverhandlungen Österreich-Ungarns im Ersten Weltkrieg," 1019; Koeltz, "La guerre de 1914–1918," 1352; Poletika, "Voznikno-venie Pervoi Mirovoi Voiny (Iiul'skii Krizis 1914 g.)," 244. *See also* International relations; Naval history
World War II: Anglin, "The St. Pierre and Miquelon *Affaire* of 1941," 607; Belote and Belote, "Corregidor," 1517; Donnison, "Civil Affairs and Military Government," 985; Falk, "Decision at Leyte," 337; Garland and Smyth, "Sicily and the Surrender of Italy," 336; Higgins, "Hitler and Russia," 965; Hillgruber, "Hitlers Strategie," 625; "Istoriia Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny Sovetskogo Soiuza, 1941–1945," VI, 1452; Katz, "Death in Rome," 1443; Kleber and Birdsell, "The Chemical Warfare Service," 736; Lee, "The Employment of Negro Troops," 1121; Meskill, "Hitler & Japan," 1353; Michel, "Vichy," 1407; Pozdeeva, "Anglo-Amerikanskie Otnosheniia v Gody Vtory Mirovoi Voiny, 1939–1941 gg.," 735; Quazza, "La resistenza italiana," 233; Ross and Romanus, "The Quartermaster Corps," 335; Sijes, "De arbeidsinzet," 612; Stein, "The Waffen SS," 624; Stewart, "The Struggle for Crete, 20 May–1 June 1941," 644; Thompson, G. R., and Harris, "The Signal Corps," 1122; Thompson, Laurence, "1940," 1383; Toscano, "Dal 25 luglio all'8 settembre (Nuove rivelazioni sugli armistizi fra l'Italia e le Nazioni Unite)," 1029; Valev, "Bolgarskii Narod v Bor'be Protiv Fashizma (Nakanune i v Nachal'nyi Period Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny)," 237; Wiltse, "The Medical Department," 737. *See also* Legal history
"World We Have Lost," by Laslett, 972
Wright, A. F. (R), 666; *see also* Balazs, Etienne
Wright, Conrad (R), 1479
Wright, Gordon (R), 1407

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Wright, H. M. *See* Balazs, Etienne; Cœdès, G.
Wright, Helen, "Explorer of the Universe," 1115
Wright, L. B. (ed.), "Shakespeare Celebrated," 1340; (R), 285
Wright, M. C. (R), 1053
Wroth, L. K., and Zobel, H. B. (eds.), "Legal Papers of John Adams," I–III, 288
Württemberg. *See* Clasen, C.-P.
Wuorinen, Aimo, "Turku kauppakaupunkina ruotsin vallan loppukautena," II, 1410
Wuorinen, J. H. (R), 615
Wyckoff, W. L. (deceased), 406
Wyllie, I. G. (R), 685

Xerxes. *See* Ferrill, Arther

Yamak, L. Z., "The Syrian Social Nationalist Party," 1045
Yanaga, Chitoshi (R), 530
"Yankee Rebel: The Civil War Journal of Edmund DeWitt Patterson," ed. by Barrett, 1103
"Yazoo: Law and Politics in the New Republic. The Case of *Fletcher* v. *Peck*," by Magrath, 1487
"Year of the Century: 1876," by Brown, 1109
Yosemite. *See* Jones, H. R.
"Yoshitsune: A Fifteenth-Century Japanese Chronicle," tr. by McCullough, 1057
Young, C. R. (R), 148, 153, 950, 953
Young, Crawford (R), 660
Young, J. S., "The Washington Community, 1800–1828," 697
"Yount, George C., and His Chronicles of the West: Comprising Extracts from His 'Memoirs' and from the Orange Clark 'Narrative,'" ed. by Camp, 702
Yu, G. T., "Party Politics in Republican China," 1055
"Yugoslavia, A Short History of: From Early Times to 1966," by Darby *et al.*, ed. by Clissold, 1031

Zacek, J. F. (R), 1384
Zagorin, Perez (R), 971
"Zambia," by Hall, 257
Zangrando, R. L. (R), 325, 1514
"Zanzibar: Background to Revolution," by Lofchie, 255
"Zapadnoevropeiskaia Srednevekovaia Istoriografiia," by Vainshtein, 542
Zgórniak, Marian, "Wojskowe Aspekty Kryzysu Czechosłowackiego 1938 Roku," 1447
Ziff, Larzer, "The American 1890s," 723
Zimmerman, J. J. (R), 284
Zobel, H. B., and Wroth, L. K. (eds.), "Legal Papers of John Adams," I–III, 288
Zook, D. H., Jr., and Higham, Robin, "A Short History of Warfare," 120; (C), 1209
"ZSSR a Granica na Odrze i Nysie Łużyckiej, 1941–1945," by Kowalski, 572
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Zucker, N. L., "George W. Norris," 1114
"Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa," by Omer-Cooper, 661
"Zurigo, Le conferenze e la pace di, nei documenti diplomatici francesi," ser. 3, I, ed. by Saitta, 169
Zussini, Alessandro, "Luigi Caissotti di Chiusano e il movimento cattolico dal 1896 al 1915," 231
"Zwingli and the Arts," by Garside, 630
Zyzniewski, S. J. (R), 1444

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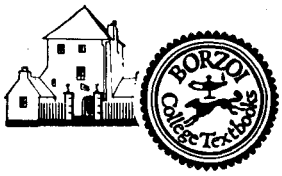
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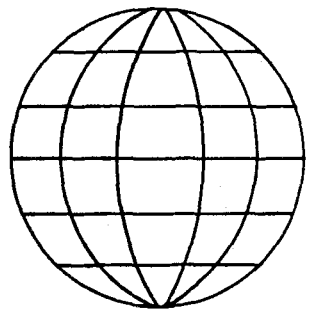
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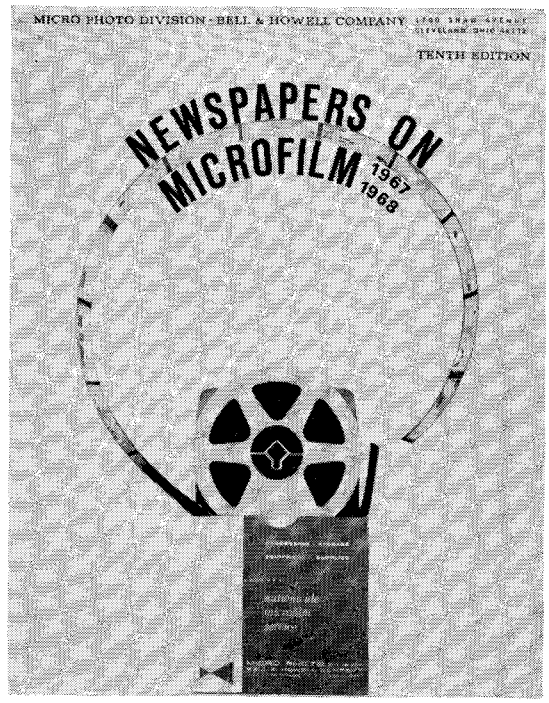
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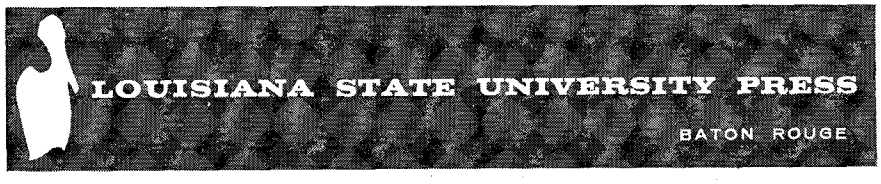
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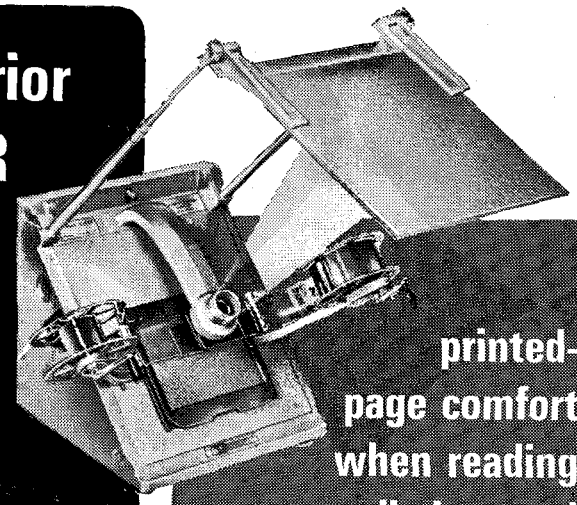
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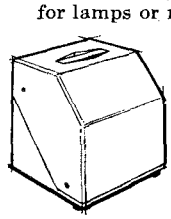
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